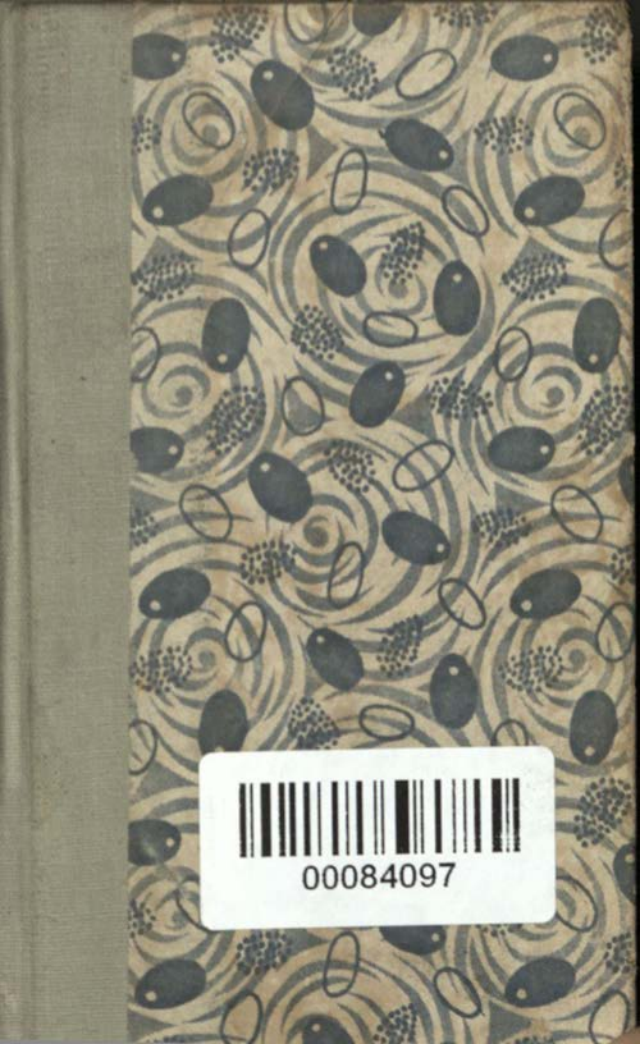
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THE

MODERN TRAVELLER.

DESCRIPTION,

GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL,

OF THE

84097

VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE.

IN THIRTY VOLUMES.

By JOSIAH CONDER.

VOLUME THE TWENTY-THIRD.

LONDON:

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THE

MODERN TRAVELLER,

&c. &c.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

[Extending from latitude 24° 20′ to 49° N., and from longitude 67° to 124° W. Bounded, on the N., by the British Possessions; E. by the Atlantic Ocean; S. by the Gulf of Mexico; S.W. by the Mexican territory; and W. by the Pacific Ocean.]

Of the New World, which the great Italian Navigator had the glory of giving to Castile and Leon,* it is remarkable, that no part now belongs to the crown of Spain, except the noble island † which holds his mortal remains, and that of Porto Rico. In vain Pope Alexander made over these vast regions to their Most Christian Majesties in perpetuity. The English language and the Protestant faith have taken root and spread themselves over the greater part of the Northern America, as well as the islands of the Caribbean Sea; while the Spanish possessions on both sides of the Isthmus, are divided among seven Republics,‡ and what was once Portuguese America,

* The inscription on Columbus's monument at Seville, is;—

" A Castilla y a Leon
Nuevo Mundo dio Colon."

† His bones were transported to America, and deposited in the cathedral of the city of San Domingo, whence they were transferred, in the year 1796, to Havana.

‡ The Dictatorship of Paraguay is at present an eighth state,

forms the empire of Brazil. According to Baron Humboldt's computations, the continent of America, from the south-eastern extremity of the Isthmus of Panama to the parallel of 68°, forms an area of 607,337 square marine leagues; while South America comprises 571,290 square leagues. To the West Indies and Newfoundland is assigned a territorial surface of about 8303. The total is 1,186,930 square leagues, or about 12,000,000 square miles, with a population now amounting to nearly forty millions. The political distribution of these regions is thus stated :—

	Sq. leagues.	*Population.*
I. British Possessions	205,000*	2,300,000
II. United States	174,300	11,700,000
	379,000	14,000,000
III. Spanish Republics	371,380	17,000,000
IV. Brazilian Empire	256,990	5,000,000
V. Russian, Danish, & other territories	179,266	2,700,000
	1,186,936	38,700,000

According to this calculation, English America forms rather less than a third of the territorial surface; Spanish America nearly the same, and, with Portuguese America, more than one-half. The population of the Spanish and Portuguese portions is, to the British, as about 3 to 2. But the relative population of the United States is by far the greatest.

but there can be little doubt of its eventual annexation to the southern federacy.

* It seems doubtful, whether the West India Islands are included in this estimate of territorial surface. The area of the British Possessions in North America is estimated, in Carey and Lea's Atlas, at 1,050,000 square miles, and the population at 700,000.

While comprising less than half the area of Spanish America, they contain two thirds of the population.* In the British continental possessions, the relative population is exceedingly small; while in Russian America, in the unappropriated territory bordering on New Mexico, and in the Patagonian lands south of the Rio Negro, the country is for the most part little better than desert. A large portion of the Brazilian territory is of the same barren character.

The territory of the United States, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, and from the St. Lawrence and the great chain of Lakes which divide it from Canada, to the Gulf of Mexico, is about 2500 miles in mean length, and 830 miles in mean breadth; † the area being about 2,080,800 square miles, or ten times the extent of France. This vast territory is intersected by the great central valley of the Mississippi, which runs from N. to S. through the whole length of the United States, dividing it into two grand portions. These are again divided by two principal ranges of mountains; the Alleghany Mountains in the east, running nearly parallel with the Atlantic coast, and the Rocky Mountains, W. of the

* Humboldt's Personal Narrative, vol. vi. pp. 126, 7; 345. Estimating the total population of Continental America at only thirty-four millions in 1823, the learned Author assigns sixteen and a half to the Spanish Americans, four to the Portuguese Americans, and ten to the Anglo-Americans; the proportions being as 4, 1, 2½; and the two first to the third as 2 to 1. The British possessions are omitted in this calculation.

† Its extreme length from the Pacific Ocean to Passamaquoddy Bay is, according to Malte Brun, 2780 miles; its greatest breadth, from the coast of Louisiana to the river La Pluie, 1300 miles; and its area, 2,300,000 square miles.—Malte Brun, vol. v. p. 150. In Carey and Lea, the area is stated at only 2,076,400 square miles, or 1,328,896,000 acres. We have followed Humboldt.

Mississippi. The proportions of these four grand natural departments are thus estimated :—

	Sq. miles.	*Sq. miles.*
I. Eastern Division.		
i. Atlantic States	324,000	
ii. Transalleghanian territory E. of the Mississippi	606,000	930,000
II. Western Division.		
i. Between the Mississippi and Rocky Mountains (including the Lakes)	868,400	
ii. W. of the Rocky Mountains . .	288,400	1,156,800
		2,086,800

The whole territory is a little larger than Europe to the westward of Russia. The Atlantic States are about equal to Spain and France united. The eastern division, which is rapidly advancing in culture and civilization, contains a superficial extent equal to that of Mexico; while the western, which is almost entirely wild and unpeopled, is a territory as large as that of the Republic of Colombia.*

The natural and political boundaries of the United States, eastward and westward, are now fixed and incontestable. On the south-east also, the Gulf of Mexico forms a limit not less determinate. On the south-west, the boundary (according to the treaty with Spain, ratified in 1821) extends from the Gulf of Mexico along the western bank of the Sabine river to latitude 32°; thence, by a line due N. to the river Arkansas, and along the southern bank of that river to its source; and finally, from a point in the Rocky Mountains in latitude 42° N., longitude 108° W., it passes along the forty-second parallel to the Pacific Ocean. On the side of the British possessions, the line of demarcation has never been finally adjusted.

* Humboldt's Personal Narrative, vol. vi. pp. 179—181.

On the north-east, a conventional line, drawn from the mouth of the St. Croix to the forty-eighth parallel, separates the American State of Maine from New Brunswick, embracing the head waters of the river St. John. A part of this tract, however, is claimed by the British Government; and the question remains for arbitration.* From this extreme northern point, the frontier line passes, in a south-westerly direction, along the ridge of mountains to the forty-fifth parallel, and is continued along that parallel till it strikes the river St. Lawrence 120 miles below Lake Ontario. It then proceeds up that river, and through the great lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, and Superior; whence it runs along the river La Pluie, to the most north-western point of the Lake of the Woods. From long. 95° W., it passes along the forty-ninth parallel to the Rocky Mountains. On the western side of that

* Several distinct questions of boundary remained to be determined by Commissioners on both sides, in pursuance of the provisions of the Treaty of Ghent. The first related to the islands in Passamaquoddy Bay, of which the decision of the Commissioners (Nov. 24, 1817) assigned to the United States, Moose Island, Dudley Island, and Frederic Island, and to Great Britain, all the other islands in the Bay. A more important question respects the boundary between the States of Maine and Vermont and the British territory. It is contended on the part of the American Government, that "so much of the line established prior to the year 1776, as being in the latitude of 45°, and the boundary between the then provinces of New York and Quebec, as had been actually surveyed prior to that year, under the joint authority of the two provinces," ought still to remain the boundary, notwithstanding the subsequent provisions of the Treaty of Ghent. There is a question also respecting the construction of the terms of that treaty, as regards the "north-west angle of Nova Scotia," from which the boundary was to be drawn. The territory claimed by the British Government, as belonging to New Brunswick, is something under 7,000,000 *acres*. In the Quarterly Review, it is erroneously stated at 10,000,000 of square *miles!*—See North American Review, April 1828, Art. 5, *North-eastern Boundary*. *Ib.* Oct. 1828, Art. 11.

range, the Americans lay claim to the country between the forty-second and the forty-ninth parallels; * but a counter claim has been made by the British Government to the territory near the mouth of the Colombia river, and the question is still pending. The American Government has proposed to continue the boundary along the parallel of 49°; and should that line strike the navigable waters of the Colombia, they have offered to make the navigation of that river free to the British. This arrangement, though not hitherto acceded to, will probably be the issue.†

About three-fourths of North America are still in possession of the aboriginal tribes. "If we begin on the coast of the Pacific Ocean in latitude 30° N., and draw a line along that parallel till it strikes the meridian of 94° W., and then due N. along that meridian to the parallel of 47° N., and thence due E. along that parallel to the Atlantic Ocean,—nearly all the continent south and east of this line is in the possession of the whites; while the Indians possess nearly all to the north and west of this line. That is to say, the Indians still own all the northern part of what has been termed Spanish America, the western part of the United States, and nearly the whole of British America." ‡ From the eastern division of the United States, they are fast disappearing. Dr. Morse states, as the result of his inquiries, that there were in 1822,

* M. Malte Brun states, that, "on the west side of the mountains, the Americans have an *unquestioned* claim to the country from the 42nd to the 49th parallel, and a *more doubtful* claim, which is disputed by *Russia*, to the country from the 49th to the 60th parallel."—vol. v. p. 151. This representation disposes of the British claims rather too summarily.

† See American Review, No. lxi. pp. 501—512.

‡ Carey and Lea's Atlas, No. 3.

only 8387 Indians in New England, New York, and Pennsylvania; 120,283 in the country east of the Mississippi; and about 470,000 all together in the whole territory of the United States.* Within the British American dominions, it has been estimated, that the Indians number 9500 warriors, or 34,550 souls.† In New Mexico and New California, where the population is only in the proportion of seven inha-

* Malte Brun, vol. v. pp. 151, 223. The following are the details of the latest calculation furnished by Dr. Morse:—

In New England	2,247
New York	5,184
Ohio	2,407
Michigan and North-West Territories	28,380
Illinois and Indiana	17,006
Southern States E. of Mississippi	65,122
W. of Mississippi and N. of Missouri	33,150
Between Missouri and Red River	101,070
Between Red River and Rio del Norte	45,370
W. of Rocky Mountains	171,200
	471,136

In a message communicated to the Senate by the President of the United States in 1825, the total number of Chippewas and Ottowas inhabiting the territory of Michigan, is stated at 18,473; and in an official report made the year before, the number of Chippewas inhabiting the southern shores of Lake Superior and the sources of the Mississippi, is stated at 7324. This tribe alone, therefore, must still amount to nearly 30,000. The Sioux are estimated by Pike at 21,675. The Six Nations were reduced, in 1814, to 6330. The Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees together amounted to somewhat less than 50,000. Of the western tribes, the most numerous are the Osages, the Pawnees, and the Ietans and Padoucas.—Warden, vol. iii. pp. 527—566. James, vol. ii. p. 134. Pike, pp. 134, 258. North American Review, No. lx. pp. 97, 98. Hodgson's Letters from N. Amer. vol. ii. p. 394.

† Warden, vol. iii. p. 566. This estimate is from the report of Mr. John F. Schermerhorn, who supposes the boundary line between the United States and the British possessions to run along the ridge which separates the waters of the Mississippi from those that flow into Lake Winnipeg and the Saskatchiwine river.

bitants to a square league, and in the mountainous territory of Mapimi, occupied by the Appaches, the Indians may amount to between 60,000 and 70,000 souls. Their total numbers, therefore, may be roughly estimated at rather more than half a million, or less than 600,000 souls. To the west of the Mississippi, the population of the United States is only eight persons to the square league.

The aboriginal inhabitants of New England were the great nation of Mohekaneews or Muhheakunnuks, whose language, the Algonquin, was spoken by all the tribes between the Potowmac and the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi and the Atlantic, with the exception of the Iroquois, who were a distinct race of intrusive conquerors.* Under the appellation of Chippeways, tribes of this same great family are scattered over the north-west territory of the United States, from the western side of Lake Huron to the sources of the Mississippi, round the Red Lake, and on the Red River of Lake Winipeg. The Chippewa or Algonquin language, which Major Pike characterises as one of the most copious and sonorous of all the North American dialects, serves as the medium of communication in great national conferences, as well as in all mercantile transactions, among all except the Sioux tribes, from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Lake just mentioned.† The Delaware or Len-

* Dwight, vol. i. pp. 85, 86; 102. To this family, the learned Writer states, belonged the Pequods in Connecticut; the Narrhagansetts in Rhode Island; the Wampanoags, Nipnets or Nipmuks, Nashuas, and Stockbridge Indians in Massachusetts; the Pigwacket and Coos Indians in New Hampshire; the Tarrateens, Abenaquis, and Aberginians in Maine. See also North American Review, No. lxiii. p. 361.

† Pike, p. 133. The Algonquins Proper, from which tribe the language of the Chippeways derives its name, are dispersed along the northern sides of Lakes Ontario and Erie.—Pike, p. 131.

ni-lenape, the Mohegan, the Knisteneaux, are all branches of the same stock.* The Knisteneaux (Cristinaux, Killistonous, Crees) Indians are spread over a vast extent of country. Their language, Mackenzie says, "is the same as that of the people who inhabit the coast of British America on the Atlantic, with the exception of the Esquimaux, and continues along the coast of Labrador and the Gulf and banks of St. Lawrence to Montreal. The line then follows the Utawas river to its source, and continues from thence nearly west along the high lands which divide the waters that fall into Lake Superior and Hudson's Bay. It then proceeds till it strikes the middle part of the river Winipic, following that water through the Lake Winipic to the discharge of the Saskatchiwine into it: from thence, it accompanies the latter to Fort George, when the line, striking by the head of the Beaver River to the Elk River, runs along its banks to its discharge in the Lake of the Hills; from which it may be carried back eastward to the Isle à la Crosse, and so on to Churchill by the Missinipi. The whole of the tract between this line and Hudson's

* "The Mohegan is a dialect closely allied to the Delaware; and they are both branches of the great Algonquin stock, and cognate with the Chippewa, Ottowa, Shawnese, Potawatamie, Miami, Kickapoo, Menomonie, &c. The general structure of these various dialects is the same; and there is no important syntactical formation in one, which is not found in all."—North American Review, No. lix. p. 388. To this and several other able articles on the Indian languages in the same Journal, we shall have frequent occasion to refer as an authority of high value. But the Menomenies seem to be erroneously included in the above enumeration. Like the Winebagoes and other tribes, they understand the Algonquin, and use it in their intercourse with the Whites; but their own language is peculiar, and no white man has been hitherto known to acquire it. The facility with which the Algonquin is acquired, Major Pike says, is one reason of its prevalence.—Pike, p. 125.

Bay and Straits, (except the country of the Esquimaux,) may be said to be exclusively the country of the Knisteneaux. Some of them, indeed, have penetrated further west and south to the Red River, to the south of Lake Winipec, and the southern branch of the Saskatchiwine." *

The Chippewas and Ottowas of the Michigan and North-western territory are here evidently referred to as belonging to the Knisteneaux nation. These tribes, which are the same as the *Ouchepouas* and *Saulteurs* of the French Missionaries, had separated from the Algonquins, and migrated westward, before the arrival of the French in the St. Lawrence. The main body of the tribe is now placed where it was found by the earliest discoverers, upon the shores of Lake Superior, extending northward with the boundary line of the Union, westward to the Mississippi and Red River, and southward to the source of Black River and the northern curve of Green Bay. The tract they occupy, is sterile and forbidding, affording few advantages either for the savage or the civilized state; and the inhabitants rely almost entirely upon hunting for their subsistence.†

Under the name of Chepewyan Indians, Mr. Mac-

* Mackenzie, pp. xci, xcii. A vocabulary of the Knisteneaux and the Algonquin is given (pp. cvii—cxvi.), which establishes the identity of the two languages, although differing as dialects both in pronunciation and in many of the forms of expression. The Algonquin of Mackenzie is clearly the Chippewa or Algic of the North American Reviewer. The Chippewas are said to denominate their own language *Ojibwamoong*, and call themselves *Ojibwa*; pl. *Ojibwaag*.—North American Review, No. lx. p. 111.

† North American Review, No. lx. 98, 99. Those of Lake Superior are generally denominated *Sauteaux* by the traders; others are distinguished as Crees, Nepesangs, Musconongees, Ottaways, &c.—Pike, pp. 130, 131.

kenzie, however, describes a numerous tribe occupying a very different region, and, judging from their vocabulary, of doubtful affinity to the Algonquin tribes. The country which they consider as their lands or home, lies between the parallels of 60° and 65° N., and the meridians of 100° and 110° W. "They speak a copious language, which is very difficult to be attained, and furnishes dialects to the various emigrant tribes which inhabit this immense tract of country. The boundary begins at Churchill, and runs along the line of separation between them and the Knisteneaux up the Missinipi to the Isle à la Crosse, passing on through Buffalo Lake, River Lake, and Portage la Loche. From thence it proceeds by the Elk River to the Lake of the Hills, and goes directly west to the Peace River; and up that river to its source and tributary waters; whence it proceeds to the waters of the River Colombia, and follows that river to latitude 52° 24′ N., and longitude 122° 54′ W., where the Chepewyans have the Atnah or Chin nation for their neighbours. It then takes a line due W. to the sea-coast, within which the country is possessed by a people who speak their language, and are consequently descended from them. There can be no doubt, therefore, of their progress being to the eastward. A tribe of them is even known at the upper establishments on the Saskatchiwine." Those who have intercourse with the traders, have a smattering of the Knisteneaux tongue, in which they carry on their dealings. Their numerals are, however, quite different. "They make war upon the Esquimaux, who cannot resist their superior numbers, and put them to death, as it is a principle with them, never to make prisoners. At the same time, they tamely submit to the Knisteneaux, al-

though less numerous, when they treat them as enemies." *

To the south-west of the Chippewa territory are situated the lands of the Sioux tribes, a powerful and warlike nation, the dread of all their neighbours from the river Corbeau to the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri. Their claim of limits begins at the Prairie des Chiens, and ascends the Mississippi on both sides to the Raven River, runs up that river to its source, embraces the whole length of the St. Peter's, and extending thence to the Missouri, includes the lower part of Shienne River, and all the waters of the White and Teton rivers. Major Pike characterizes them as "the most warlike and independent Indian nation within the boundaries of the United States, their every passion being subservient to that of war. Their guttural pronunciation, high cheek-bones, and distinct manners, together with their own traditions, supported by the testimony of neighbouring nations, put it," (he adds,) "in my mind, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that they have emigrated from the north-west point of America, and are absolutely descendants of a Tartar tribe." † Captain Clarke describes these same Indians as "the

* Mackenzie, pp. cxvi—cxxiv. The Chepewyans ascribe their national origin to a dog. They are the Indians of the North described by Hearne; but are confounded by Warden with the Chippewas. Whether their language is related to the Algonquin, can be determined only by a further acquaintance with its structure. It is at all events a distinct dialect, although some of the words are evidently related, *e.g.*,

	Knisteneaux.	Algonquin.	Chippewa.	Chepewyan.
Man.	*Ethini.*	*Inini.*		*Dinnie.*
Woman.	*Esquois.*	*Ichquois.*	*Eckwa.*	*Chequois.*
My father.	*Noo-ta-wie.*	*Nossai.*	*N' oas.*	*Zi tah.*
My mother.	*Nigah-wei*	*Nigah.*	*Nin guh.*	*Zi nah.*

† Pike, p. 129.

pirates of the Missouri, and the vilest miscreants of the savage race." Singularly different is the account given by Chateaubriand of this nation. "The Sioux, who came, according to their own tradition, from Mexico to the Upper Mississippi, have extended the empire of their language from that river to the Rocky Mountains in the west, and northward to the Red River. The Sioux language hisses in a manner extremely unpleasant to the ear. It is this that has given name to almost all the rivers and places to the west of Canada; the Mississippi, the Missouri, the Osage, &c." * The whole of this statement rests upon doubtful or erroneous information. The Mississippi has at least received its name from the Algonquin tribes, in whose language it signifies Great River.† The proper name of the Sioux is the Dacota nation, or, as Major Pike says they style themselves, *Narcotah*. They are subdivided into various bands, bearing the distinctive names of Yangtongs, Tetons, Washpetongs (or Leaf beds), Washpeconte, Minowa Kantongs, and Sussitongs.‡ The Ossinabwoins or Stone Sioux are a revolted band of the same nation. They have received the name of *Bwoin* (pl. *Bwoinug*) from the

* Chateaubriand, vol. i. p. 257.

† *Sipee*, *Sipi*, *Seebee*, in the Knisteneaux, Algonquin, and Chippewa, signifies river; and *Messha* is given by Mackenzie as the Algonquin for big. *Missi* or *Messe* also occurs in the sense of all; as *Missi-achki*, the whole earth. We have again the river *Missinippi*, i. e. the Great Water. Humboldt, following Heckewelder, makes Mississippi to be corrupted from *Nemœsi-sipu*, i. e. Fish River; but this appears to be a mistake.

‡ Pike, pp. 125—9. Warden, vol. iii. pp. 563, 4. Lewis and Clarke, vol. i. pp. 83, 199. According to Captain Clarke, they are divided into ten bands. "The Mindawarcarton, or Proper Sioux, or Darcota Indians, inhabit both sides of the Mississippi, above the falls of St. Anthony." There are four tribes of Tetons, two of Yanktons, one of Wahpatones, one of Wahpatoota, and one of Sistasoone; according to Captain Clarke's orthography.

Chippewas, in allusion to the Sioux practice of impaling their prisoners before a fire; the word *abwoinik* signifying a stick upon which flesh is roasted.* The more common designation applied to them by the Chippewas, however, is *Naudowaysee*, *i. e.* our enemies; a phrase which, from long application, has acquired a specific import.† A war of extermination had been carried on between the Sioux and the Chippeways for nearly two centuries, when, in 1805, Major Pike succeeded in inducing both sides to agree to a peace. The Ossinabwoins, who extend from Red River westward nearly to the Rocky Mountains, and are computed at 1500 warriors, are a very ferocious race of depredators. They are said to have maintained a war with the nation from which they have detached themselves for about a century; and, in alliance with the Crees (Knisteneaux), they are engaged in perpetual predatory warfare against the Slave Indians and other western tribes. Dr. Richardson considers the Asseenaboine (as he writes the word) as a branch of the great stock of the Iroquois.‡ This would be a curious fact, were it satisfactorily ascertained; but we suspect it to be a mistake. The Sioux will probably be found to be more nearly allied to the Missouri nations.

Of the once powerful and numerous confederacy, known under the name of the Six Nations, called by the French, the Iroquois, a feeble remnant inhabit the western parts of the State of New York. Many of them, however, have retired into Canada, where they

* North American Rev., No. lx. p. 112. The word Buccaneer is of similar derivation, from the Caribbean *boucan*, the rude apparatus for drying and smoking flesh. The Sioux are literally the Buccaneers of North America.

† North American Review, No. lx. p. 112. Mackenzie represents the Stone Indians as a tribe detached from the "Nadawasis."

‡ Franklin's Narrative, p. 105. Mackenzie, pp. lxiii, lxxii. Pike, p. 133.

are known under the appellation of Hurons. They style themselves Mingoes; but, by the Indians to the southward, with whom they were at war, they were called Massawomacs.* The confederacy originally consisted of five nations; the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas. To these, in 1712, were added the Tuscaroras (or Monacans), who originally inhabited part of North Carolina, but who, from a similarity of language, were recognized by the other tribes as a branch of the same stem. The Huron or Iroquois is said to be both melodious and energetic, but considerable difference of pronunciation distinguishes the dialects. The language has one remarkable peculiarity: it has no labials, but abounds with gutturals and aspirates.†

The Iroquois, it has already been stated, were not the original inhabitants of the country they now occupy. The Mohekaneews, Dr. Dwight says, universally considered themselves as the primitive inhabitants, and styled the Iroquois interlopers. The latter admitted

* Dwight, vol. iv. p. 177. Jefferson's Notes, p. 325. They styled themslves also, Dr. Dwight says, the *Aganuschione* (or united people), and *Onquehonwe* (men surpassing all others).

† The Iroquois say: "When white men speak, they shut their mouths; red men, when they speak, open their mouths." The Oneidas, who were considered to speak the language more gracefully and mellifluously than the other tribes, compared the harsh pronunciation of the Tuscaroras to the noise of the white man's waggon running down a stony hill. This harshness proceeded from their terminating a great part of their words with the guttural aspirate, which the other tribes use more sparingly. Oratory was cultivated by the Iroquois with great care; and an eloquent man ranked next to a renowned warrior in the estimation of his tribe.—Dwight, vol. iv. pp. 196, 7. A grammar and dictionary of the Huron or Iroquois has been composed by the French missionaries.—See Chateaubriand, vol. i. pp. 259—266. Dr. Dwight affirms, that there is not the least mixture of the Iroquois with the Algonquin or Mohekaneew dialects, as spoken by any tribe of either nation.

the fact, and gloried in having fought their way to their present possessions. This circumstance is rendered probable by their being found in the midst of a widely extended nation, with whom they appear to have had no other connexion than that of wars, conquests, and treaties, their language being totally distinct. Having been driven by the Algonquins (or Adirondacks) from their settlements between the St. Lawrence and Lake Champlain, they appear to have descended the Susquehanna to its mouth; and, at the era of William Penn's arrival in 1682, had made the Lenapies or Delawares their tributaries. The Mohawks at the same time prosecuted their conquests along the Hudson; and such was the terror they inspired, that the Indian women on the coast of New England, used to hush their crying children by telling them, "the Mohawks are coming." At subsequent periods, they were a dreadful scourge to the Canadian French, and at times brought them to the borders of extermination. The Iroquois claimed their descent from the turtle, the bear, and the wolf; but the turtle is held in pre-eminent veneration, and occupies, in their rude cosmogony, a place analogous to that which is assigned to it in the Hindoo fables. Their mythology is, in fact, Dr. Dwight says, truly Hindoo.* There seems little room to doubt, nevertheless, that they arrived in North America by the Straits of Behring. Like the inhabitants of the islands in those seas, they sacrifice the dog, and eat of the victim. Their reverence for the turtle, in whatever way explained, is a

* Dwight, vol. iv. pp. 190—291. Possibly, the learned Writer suggests, in a less rude state of society, their ancestors bore images of the turtle, wolf, and bear on their standards, and the memory of this fact may have descended to us in this distorted fable. That they were *noms de guerre* assumed by their chiefs, is more likely still. Yet, this will not explain the cosmogonic legend.

circumstance, however, deserving of some attention, in reference to their original country and national relations.

The four most considerable aboriginal nations inhabiting the states east of the Mississippi, are, the Creeks or Muskogees, the Choctaws or Flat-heads, the Chickasaws, and the Cherokees. They are found within the limits of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Tennessee; and amount together to about 50,000 souls. The Chickasaw language, according to Chateaubriand, is a dialect of the Natchez; and the Muskogee appears to be either the same as the Natchez or another dialect.* The idioms spoken by all these southern tribes, is designated by Humboldt as the Floridian; and it is probable that the various nations of Louisiana belong to the same family.† Of the dialects spoken by the Missouri and other more western tribes, little is known. The Ottoes (Wahtohtana or Wadooktodas) a branch of the ancient Missouries, who are said to inherit the enterprising and warlike character of their ancestors, still preserve the lofty and sonorous language of that tribe." ‡ The remnant of the Missouries, reduced to about

* The Algonquin was spoken by the natives of Virginia, beyond which, in the Carolinas, the Chickasaw prevailed. This language, Chateaubriand says, is destitute of the *r*, except in words borrowed from the Algonquin. It is singular, that *l* and *r* have been supposed to be wanting in the alphabet of the Mohekaneews, but erroneously.—Dwight, vol. i. p. 96. Chateaubriand, vol. i. p. 257. The Choctaws are of the same race as the Chickasaws.

† Warden states, that the *Caddoquies* or *Cados* of Louisiana, a tribe once famous for their valour, but now reduced to a small remnant, speak a language common to most of the tribes of Louisiana. The Alabamas and Apalaches are said to be emigrants from Florida. A tribe of Choctaws inhabit the banks of the Sabine.

‡ Warden, vol. iii. p. 555. Major Pike calls the language of the Winnebago Missouries, the Zoto; and says, it is the same as that of the Ottoes.

thirty families, live in friendship with the Ottoes, under the protection of the Sioux.* The Osage Indians, the Konzas (or Kansas), the Ioways (or Aiowais), the Winnebagoes (or Ochangras), the Omawhahs (or Mahaws), and the Puncahs, all speak dialects of the same language; and their similarity of manners and customs leaves no room to doubt that they are originally of the same family. These tribes have a tradition, that their fathers came from beyond the lakes; and all accounts seem to agree, that they have migrated from the north and west.† The three tribes of Pawnees, whose villages are on the borders of the Platte River, speak a strongly guttural dialect, approaching nearer to that of the Sioux, than to the

* Warden, vol. iii. p. 555. The Missouries, Mr. James says, were formerly settled near the mouth of that river, but gradually moved up it to the mouth of Grand River. About thirty years ago, they were conquered and dispersed by a combination of Sauks, Foxes, and other tribes. Five or six lodges joined the Osages; two or three took refuge with the Konzas; and the chief part of the remainder amalgamated themselves with the Otoes.—James, vol. ii. pp. 63, 4.

† Pike, p. 172. James, vol. ii. p. 65; iii. pp. 106—239. According to the information collected by the latter Traveller, this great nation originally resided somewhere to the northward of the great lakes, and on their emigration southward, a large band called *Horo-ge* (Fish-eaters), separated from the main body, and established themselves on the margin of a lake; this band is now called Winnebagoes. Another band separated from them on the Mississippi, who received the name of *Pa-ho-ja* (Grey Snow), which they still retain, but are better known by that of Ioways and Nez-percés. A third band, who detached themselves from the migrating nation, were the *Neotachas* or *Neogenees*, known to us as the Missouries. The Ottoes also separated from the nation on the Mississippi.—James, vol. ii. pp. 61, 2. The Mahaws were once a numerous tribe, and cultivated corn, beans, and tobacco. Two-thirds of the nation were destroyed by the small pox in 1802; and wars with the Sioux have reduced them still further; they now number only about 1500. Pike, p. 173. Warden, vol. iii. p. 556. James, vol. iii. p. 244.

Osage. Their figure, Major Pike says, is slim, and their high cheek-bones clearly indicate their Asiatic origin. They are distinguished by having, till very recently, retained the barbarous rite of an annual propitiatory sacrifice of a human victim to the Great Star (Venus), with a view to secure a favourable harvest. Major Long states, that their language "differs radically" from that of the Missouri tribes.* The Ricaras or Rickarees, who now reside on the banks of the Missouri, between the Sioux and Mandan nations, are considered by Mr. James as undoubtedly a branch of the Pawnee stock. Though thinned by the small-pox, they still amount to about 3000 souls. They are partly agricultural, and are said to have a method of preserving corn during several years in subterranean depositories. Mr. James is inclined to refer to the same nation, an excavation near Shell Creek, which is supposed to have been a military work.† The Mandans, like the Awahawas or Shoe Indians, are a branch of the Quehatsa or Crow nation. The Menomeni or Fols Avoin nation are a small tribe much respected for their bravery and independent spirit: they are firm friends to the whites, and have the good fortune to be held in high estimation by both Sioux and Chippeways. They understand and use the Algonquin, but are said to have a peculiar language which no white man has hitherto acquired. Their hunting-grounds are the same as those of the Winnebagoes; besides which, they frequently hunt near the Raven river, the debateable territory between the Algonquins and the Sioux.

The sources of the Platte, the Arkansa, and Red

* Pike, p. 192. James, vol. ii. p. 80; vol. iii. p. 241.
† Warden, p. 558. James, vol. ii. p. 71.

River are frequented by the nomade tribes of Kaskaias (or Bad-hearts), the Kiawas, the Shiennes (Chiens, Shawhays, or Dog Indians), the Arrapahoes, the Bald-heads, and the Shoshones or Snake Indians, who subsist almost entirely upon the flesh of the bison, which they hunt for its skin. They are perpetually at war with all the Missouri Indians as far down as the Osages. The Kaskaia and Kiaway dialects are peculiarly difficult to be acquired, or even understood; and individuals of these several nations are accustomed to hold communication chiefly by the common language of signs. The Kiawas are said to be the remains of the Great Padouca nation, who, mounted on fleet horses, and armed with the bow and lance, sometimes extended their predatory excursions into New Mexico. Under the various denominations of Snake Indians, Camanches, Ietans, Padoucas, Apaches, Utahs, Tetaws, &c., nomade hordes of the same equestrian nation seem to be included.* The Black-feet Indians, the Blood Indians, and the Picaneaux are mentioned by Mackenzie as a people who deal in horses, and take them upon the war parties towards Mexico. They appeared to be travelling north-westward; while the Sarsees, a tribe of Chepewyans, were, on the contrary, advancing from the north-westward, and the Knisteneaux were continuing to be invaders of the country from the eastward.† Such are the cross migrations which are continually taking place in the American Tatary, and which set all history at defiance.

* Warden, vol. iii. pp. 560—562. James, vol. iii. pp. 42, 52, 244. Pike, pp. 214—336. The latter Traveller represents the language of the Appaches of New Mexico to be the same as that of the "Lee Panis;" (whether the Pawnees are meant, is not clear;) and says, that it extends from Louisiana to the Sea of California.

† Mackenzie, p. lxxxi.

In this general view of the American population, we have confined ourselves to what will perhaps be regarded as a dry catalogue of the numerous nations, reserving for another place the description of their common or distinguishing manners and customs. We have refrained also from entering into any historical speculations, which, in the present state of our knowledge, can be nothing better than vague conjecture. As a specimen of these, the opposite opinions of Mr. Jefferson and M. Humboldt may deserve to be cited. The former, misled by imperfect information and fallacious reasoning, supposes, that there will probably be found twenty in America, for one in Asia, of languages radically distinct, having no resemblance to one another; and he argues, that, while a separation into dialects may be the work of a few ages only, "for two dialects to recede from one another till they have lost all vestiges of their common origin, must require an immense course of time; perhaps, not less than many people give to the age of the earth." His conclusion is, that "a greater number of those radical languages having taken place among the red men of America, proves them to be of greater antiquity than those of Asia." * Were the fact as stated, it would prove nothing of the kind, but would only indicate the greater barbarism of the American nations, of which the rapid multiplication of dialects is the natural and constant result. Humboldt, on the other hand, thinks that the researches of MM. Heckewelder and Duponceau have rendered it probable, "that the tongues scattered heretofore over more than 120,000 square leagues, between the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains, the Lakes of Canada and the Caribbean

* Jefferson's Notes, p. 164.

Sea, are reducible to a very small number of radicals, of which the Lenni-lenape (Delaware), the Iroquois, and the Floridian are the most important."* The philological investigations of Mr. Heckewelder were by no means, however, sufficiently comprehensive to warrant this premature conclusion. His personal intercourse appears to have been confined to a small band of the Delaware tribe, whose language is but a dialect of the Algonquin, and the great Indian family is arbitrarily brought to this Delaware standard. Not only was the worthy Missionary's information limited, but his predilections for his favourite tribe have given a bias and character to his researches, by which their value is materially lessened. His History of the Indian Nations is half romance; and though his veracity is unquestionable, his easy faith and feeble judgement render him an unsafe authority.† Yet, we find M. Humboldt deferring to it in the following terms. "According to the traditions collected by Mr. Heckewelder, the country east of the Mississippi was heretofore inhabited by a powerful nation of gigantic stature, called *Tallegewi*, *Talligeu*, or *Alli-*

Humboldt's Personal Narative, vol. vi. p. 359. M. Chateaubriand says: "Four principal languages seem to divide North America; the Algonquin and the Huron in the North and East, the Sioux in the West, and the Chickasaw in the South."—Travels, vol. i. p. 255.

† See the able article already cited, in North American Review, No. lix., in which Heckewelder's History is examined at some length. "In the integrity of his purposes, in the blamelessness of his life and conversation, and in his devotion to the great objects before him," it is remarked, the venerable Moravian Missionary "approached the models of the primitive ages." But it was at the extremity of a long and useful life, with enfeebled faculties, that he undertook his task; and it should excite no surprise, that his work is almost a collection of anecdotes to which he had listened in his earlier life with the faith and fondness of a Delaware."

ghewi, and which gave its name to the Alleghanian (Allighewian) mountains. The Allighewies were more celebrated than any of the other tribes found in the northern climates by the Europeans of the sixteenth century. They inhabited towns founded on the banks of the Mississippi; and the fortifications which now excite the astonishment of travellers, were constructed by them, in order to defend themselves against the Lenni-lenapes (Delawares) who came from the west, and were allied at that period with the Mengwies (Iroquois). It may be supposed, that this invasion of a barbarous people changed the political and moral state of those countries. The Allighewies were vanquished by the Lenni-lenapes after a long struggle. In their flight towards the south, they gathered together the bones of their relations in separate *tumuli*: they descended the Mississippi, and what became of them is not known."* This powerful people, the learned Traveller is inclined to regard as having been of the Toltec or Aztec race; and he thinks it probable, that the reported invasion of the Lenni-lenapes, and the destruction of the power of the Allighewies, were connected with the migration of the Caribs, who, according to some traditions, reached South America from Florida. The almost colossal stature and physical as well as intellectual superiority of the Caribbees of the Orinoco, appear to have furnished the grounds of this conjecture. It is, however, fatal to this hypothesis, that the bones found in the *tumuli* of the transalleghanian country, belong, for the most part, to a stunted race, of lower stature than the present tribes of Canada and the Missouri.†

* Humboldt, vol. vi. p. 327.

† The skeletons found in our mounds, says Mr. Atwater, a learned American archæologist, "never belonged to a people like

A learned American antiquary (Dr. Mitchell) believes, that the skeletons found in the caverns of Kentucky and Tennessee, are those of a Malay tribe, who arrived on the western coast after having traversed the Pacific, and were destroyed by the ancestors of the present Indians. The same learned Writer supposes, however, with Mr. De Witt Clinton, that the fortifications and *tumuli* found in the state of Ohio, are the works of the Scandinavian nations who, from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, visited the coast of Greenland, Newfoundland, and a part of North America.* The absence of all inscriptions is, perhaps, a sufficient confutation of this last hypothesis, unsupported as it is by the shadow of historic evidence. The wrappers of feathers, in which some of the bodies were found enveloped in the caverns of Kentucky, are precisely similar to those mentioned by American navigators as obtained in the Sandwich and Feejee islands, and in Nootka Sound; and the best defined specimens of art among the antiquities of Ohio and Kentucky, are clearly of a Polynesian character. Supposing that the tradition of the Delawares respecting the expulsion of the Allighewies, is entitled to any confidence, the retreat of the vanquished towards the south, M. Malte Brun remarks, does not necessarily imply that they retired into Mexico, or even into

our Indians." The latter are a tall, rather slender, straight-limbed people. Those to whom the skeletons belonged, were short and thick; they were rarely five feet high, and few were six; their faces were short and broad, their eyes very large, and with broad chins. These characteristics, M. Malte Brun remarks, appertain neither to the Algonquin, the Iroquois, nor the Missouri race, but approximate closely to those of the natives of Florida and Brazil. —Chateaubriand, vol. i. p. 347. Humboldt, vol. vi. p. 328.

* Humboldt, vol. vi. p. 319. The tradition respecting the expulsion of the Allighewies, places it in the twelfth century.

what is now called Florida. They might have crossed the Mississippi into the western territory. Neither the *tumuli* nor the forts, however, indicate a population very numerous or powerful, or very highly advanced in civilization beyond the present race. The Omawhaws bury their dead in a bison robe, and place in the grave various articles for the use of the deceased; after which, they raise a *tumulus* over the grave, the magnitude of which is proportioned to the rank of the deceased.* To the Rickarees, Mr. James is disposed to ascribe the construction of a supposed military intrenchment, which has already, through ignorance of its origin, become an object of superstitious reverence to the natives. The Menomeni nation seem to bear the marks of being descended from a superior race. "Travellers," says M. Malte Brun, "describe with delight their fine features. Their physiognomy expresses at once gentleness and independence. They have a clearer complexion than the other indigenous tribes, with large, expressive eyes and fine teeth; they are well-formed, of middle stature; have much intelligence, and simplicity of manners. They dwell in spacious huts formed with red mats, like those of the Illinois, repose upon skins, and drink the syrup of the maple. They are friends to the whites, and speak an unknown idiom." † In this description, several of the traits so closely resemble those which Mr. Atwater ascribes to the aboriginal inhabitants of Ohio, whose remains have been discovered in the funereal mounds, as to tempt the conjecture that they denote the same race. If so, they may be the remains of the Alligheweis of

* James, vol. ii. p. 1.

† Malte Brun, vol. v. p. 210. Can this tribe have had a *mestizo* origin? Their language at all events deserves investigation.

Mr. Heckewelder;—or, possibly, the fair-complexioned and red-haired Indians, whom Captain Isaac Stewart affirms to have conversed with him in *Welsh!* * But the subject of American antiquities belongs to another place. We must now proceed to describe the grand features of the physical geography of this vast region.

M. Malte Brun describes the American continent as exhibiting, in the general outline of the globe, "a continuation of that belt of elevated land, which, under the names of the plateau of Caffraria, of Arabia, of Persia, and of Mongolia, forms the spine of the ancient continent, and, scarcely interrupted at Behring's Straits, constitutes also the Rocky or Columbian Mountains, the plateau of Mexico, and the great chain of the Andes. This zone of mountains and plateaus, like a vast ring, crumbled and fallen back upon its encircled planet, presents, generally speaking, a declivity shorter and more rapid on that side of the basin of the great Austro-Oriental Ocean of which the Indian Sea constitutes a part, than on the side of the Atlantic or Polar Seas." † The Rocky Mountains (called also the Mexican Andes) rise abruptly, however, out of the plains which extend along their eastern base, towering into high peaks, visible at the distance of more than a hundred miles eastward. The breadth of the range varies from fifty to a hundred miles.‡ They consist of ridges, knobs, and peaks variously disposed, among which are interspersed many broad and fertile valleys. Between the Arkansa and the

* Humboldt, vol. vi. p. 325.

† Malte Brun, vol. v. p. 2. "This correspondence and continuity of the two great islands of the globe, lead us to reject the idea of the more recent origin of America."

‡ James, vol. iii. p. 238. Malte Brun says, their base is 300 miles in breadth.

Platte, in latitude 38° 45′ N., rises what has been considered as the highest peak, and which has received the name of James's Peak from the conductor of the party by which it was ascended. Its elevation above the common level, as ascertained by trigonometrical measurement, is about 8500 feet; and its supposed elevation above the ocean, 11,500 feet; 3000 feet being assumed as the aggregate elevation of the base of the mountains above the ocean.* Other peaks, however, are believed to attain a higher elevation, estimated at not less than 12,500 feet above the level of the sea. The mountains are clad with a scattered growth of scrubby pines, cedar, oak, and furze, and exhibit a very rugged and broken appearance. The rocks of which they are mainly composed, are of primitive formation; but a deep crust of secondary rocks appears to recline against the eastern side of the mountains, extending many hundred feet upward from their base. These, however, are chiefly sandstones, of granitic origin, consisting of rounded fragments of rocks that appear to have constituted part of the primitive mountains; † and beds of loose sand and gravel are still constantly accumulating, formed in part from the disintegration of the sandstone and amygdaloid, and partly by the action of the torrents which are constantly bringing down fragments from the primitive rocks. The absence of any limestone formation, is a distinguishing characteristic of this region as far as explored.

* James, vol. iii. pp. 238, 265.

† These secondary formations are,—1. red sandstone; 2. argillaceous or grey sandstone; 3. green-stone and gray-stone; 4. amygdaloid, forming the newest flœtz trap formation; 5. sand and gravel. The angle of inclination of the strata of sandstone, often approaches 90°, and is very rarely less than 45°.

The tract of sandstone which skirts the eastern boundary of the range, and which appears to belong to that immense secondary formation occupying the valley of the Mississippi, abounds with scenery of a grand and interesting character. Amid the highly inclined naked rocks which, for the most part, these inferior ridges present, on the side next to the primitive range, from which they appear to have been broken off, numerous conical hills and mounds are interspersed, clothed with verdure to their summits: the deep green of their small and almost procumbent cedars and junipers, in contrast with the less intense colours of various species of deciduous foliage, acquires new beauty from being placed as a margin to the glowing red and yellow surfaces of the precipitous rocks.*

Respecting the interior of the country to the north of the sources of the Missouri, and north-west of Lake Superior, little satisfactory information has been obtained; but the Rocky Mountains are known to continue in an uninterrupted chain, in a general direction of N.N.W. and S.S.E., to a point beyond the parallel of 65° N., near the mouth of Mackenzie's River. Though declining in elevation, they retain a character in other respects entirely similar. It would appear also, that the secondary formation extends uninterrupted along the base of the Rocky Mountains, at least as far as the sources of the Saskatchiwine, in latitude 52°, where coal was observed by Mackenzie; spreading eastward to the shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and knowing, perhaps, no other limits than the Atlantic mountains and the northern ocean.†

* James, vol. iii. pp. 238; 282, 294.

† *Ibid.*, vol. iii. pp. 314—318. In the London edition, of which

No part of the earth, probably, it has been remarked, "presents a greater degree of simplicity and uniformity in the structure and conformation of its surface, than North America. The mountain ranges are here distinct, forming each its own particular system, and preserving severally, through their whole extent, a similarity in external appearance, as well as in the structure and aggregation of the various rocks of which they are composed. The outlines of a physical delineation of North America would present, first, the great chain of the Rocky Mountains, evidently a continuation of the Andes of the southern hemisphere, stretching parallel to the direction of the western coast, from the Isthmus of Panama to the northern ocean. Their summits, penetrating far into the regions of perpetual winter, look down upon the vast plains of the Mississippi and its tributaries; in which we distinguish a comparatively inconsiderable range of rocky hills, commencing near the confluence of the Missouri, and running south-west of the Gulf of Mexico, near the estuary of the Rio del Norte. Beyond these, the surface subsides to a plain stretching eastward to the commencement of the great chain of the Alleghanies.

we are compelled to make use, the direction of the range is stated to be nearly N. N. E. and S. S. W.; an obvious error; and the Writer is made to say, that "it is improbable that secondary formations extend along the base of the Rocky Mountains through their whole course:"—"*not* improbable," must have been the true reading. "A view of the character and direction of the several large rivers which traverse the region about Hudson's Bay, and the number and position of the small lakes which abound in every part of it, afford at least," it is remarked," presumptive evidence, that it is an extensive plain little inclined in any direction." "Dreary masses of sandstone stratified horizontally," form "the rugged coast of the North Georgian Archipelago;" and clay-slate and slaty sandstone are the prevailing rocks in Melville Island.—Malte Brun, vol. v. pp. 89, 90.

This range, far less elevated than that of the Rocky Mountains, traverses the continent in a direction nearly parallel to the Atlantic ocean, from the Gulf of St. Lawrence on the N.E., to the confluence of the Alabama and Tombighee rivers in the S.W. Compared to the Rocky Mountains, this range is without summits, presenting, instead of conical peaks, long and level ridges, rising in no point to the inferior limit of perpetual frost, and scarcely in any instance reaching that degree of elevation which is incompatible with the growth of forests." *

The Alleghanies are, in fact, M. Malte Brun remarks, not so properly a chain of mountains, as a long plateau crested with several low chains of hills, separated from each other by wide and elevated valleys. East of the Hudson, the Alleghanies consist chiefly of granite hills with rounded summits, often covered to a great height with bogs and turf, and distributed in irregular groupes without any marked direction. Some peaks of the Green Mountains in Vermont, and of the White Mountains in New Hampshire, rise to the height of 5000 or 6000 feet above the level of the sea. After we pass the Hudson, the structure of the Alleghanies appears to change. In Pennsylvani , ad Virginia, they assume the form of long parallel ridges, varying in height from 2500 to 4000 feet, and occupying a breadth of 100 miles. In Tennessee, where they terminate, they again lose the form of continuous chains, and break into groupes of isolated mountains, touching at their base, some of which attain an elevation of 5000 or 6000 feet.†

* Report of exploring Party, James, vol. iii. p. 272. The inferior limit of perpetual snow, as estimated by Humboldt for the latitude of 40°, is 9846 feet above the sea.

† Malte Brun, vol. v. p. 152.

In many particulars, there is a manifest resemblance between the Alleghanies and the comparatively inconsiderable groupe known by the name of the Ozark mountains, which, running in a nearly parallel direction, form an angle of about 40° with the great western range. This chain of low mountains, which is penetrated by two branches of the Mississippi, the Arkansas and Red River, was, till within these few years, almost entirely unknown. They extend between six and seven hundred miles in length, by about one hundred in breadth, and their elevation varies from 1000 to 2000 feet above the level of the sea. So far as hitherto explored, the granites and primitive rocks are found at the lowest parts, as in the Alleghanies, while the most elevated are composed of secondary and recent formations, the horizontal sandstone and strata of compact limestone forming the highest summits.* The reverse of this is observable in the Rocky Mountains, where the granite surpasses in elevation, as well as in extent, all the other formations. The eastern base of this great range extends, in the parallel of 38°, as far as longitude 106° W.; between which and the base of the Ozark mountains in longitude 94°, there intervenes a bare and dreary plain, extending over nearly twelve degrees of longitude, destitute of timber, scorched in summer, and in winter traversed by the howling and frozen blasts which descend from the Rocky Mountains.† To the west of this range,

* James, vol. iii. p. 274. "It is well known," says the Writer, "that from the primitive gneiss rock at Philadelphia, there is a gradual ascent, across strata more and more recent, to the rocks of the coal formation about the summit of the Alleghanies. Some of the granitic mountains of New England are far surpassed in elevation by the neighbouring hills and ridges of mica slate, talcose rocks, or even more recent aggregates."

† This region, it is remarked, is unfitted alike by the barrenness

between them and the coast of the Pacific, from which they are distant between 500 and 600 miles, there is another chain of mountains of considerable elevation, of which little is yet known.

Within the great basin of the Mississippi, there are, in fact, no fewer than three distinct ranges of mountainous country; the first, the Ozark Mountains, already mentioned, stretching north-eastward from the province of Texas till they terminate in the high lands on the lower part of the Missouri; the second, the Black Hills, commencing on the southern fork or Padouca branch of the Platte river, about 100 miles E. of the Rocky Mountains, and stretching north-eastward towards the great northerly bend of the Missouri; and the third, the Wisconsan Hills, commencing on the river of that name, near the Portage, and extending northerly to Lake Superior. In the parallel of 41°, no mountain, scarcely a hill, occurs between the Rocky Mountains and the Alleghanies. But, at no great distance N. of that parallel, low ranges begin to appear in the region south-west of Lake Michigan, connected, seemingly, with the Ozark Mountains; but, in point of elevation, altogether inconsiderable. "Although many have supposed," says Major Long, "that the waters of the Mississippi are separated from those running north-westwardly into the Pacific Ocean and north-east-

of its soil, its ungenial climate, and other physical disadvantages, to become the residence of a fixed and numerous population. "The immense grassy plains of the southern and eastern portions, are adapted to the feeding of cattle and horses; and it is not improbable, that the countless herds of bisons and wild horses will soon give place to domesticated animals. The coal, salt, plaster, and iron, which constitute the mineral wealth of this portion of territory, lose much of their value on account of their remoteness from navigable streams."—James, vol. iii. p. 297.

wardly into the Atlantic, by a mountainous range of country, yet, from the best information that can be had, the fact is quite otherwise. The old and almost forgotten statement, of savage origin, that four of the largest rivers on the continent have their sources in the same plain, is entitled to far more credit. The rivers alluded to, are, the Mississippi, the St. Lawrence, the Saskashawin, and the Oregon or Mackenzie's River. Agreeably to the accounts of Colonel Dixon and others who have traversed the country situated between the Missouri and the Ossinaboin (a branch of Red River of Hudson's Bay), no elevated ridge is to be met with; but, on the contrary, tributaries to both these streams take their rise in the same champaign, and wind their way in various directions to their far distant estuaries. Judging from the maps that have been given of the country near the sources of the Mississippi, and of the region northward of the Lakes, as well as from the accounts of the travellers who have penetrated many parts of those countries, the same remarks appear equally applicable to a large portion of the whole. The water-courses are represented as chains of lakes of various magnitudes, while lakes and stagnant pools are scattered in almost every direction, without ridges or perceptible declivities to shew the direction in which they are drained." *

The Des Pleines, one of the heads of the Illinois, rises in the country between the Mississippi and Lake Michigan, and pursuing a south-easterly course, approaches within twelve miles of that lake. "The inter-

* James, vol. iii. p. 261. Mackenzie, speaking of a boat-communication between Lake Superior and Lake Winipec, through what is called the Nipigan country, says: "In short, the country is so broken by lakes and rivers, that people may find their way in canoes in any direction they please."—(p. lx.)

mediate land is a level prairie, stretching in every direction as far as the eye can reach. Its extreme elevation above the surface of the lake, is seventeen feet; and that feeble barrier is all that is interposed between this mighty mass of water and the rich valley of the Mississippi, which it overhangs, like an avalanche on the summit of the Alps."*

It has long been known, that boats can pass by water from the Illinois to Lake Michigan. An explanation of this singular fact, is given by the last cited Writer from personal observation. Between the Des Pleines and Lake Michigan, but to the east of the Portage path, there is an extensive morass, called the Saganashkee marsh. This, in a wet season, assumes the appearance of a lake, the surface of which, however, is so entirely overspread with the broad leaves and yellow flower of the large water-lily, that it would be difficult for a boat, without a skilful pilot, to find her way through it. "This lake generally discharges itself into the Des Pleines; but, when that river is

* North American Review, No. lix. p. 361. "There is not, perhaps, on the globe," remarks this Writer, "a spot where such a mighty physical revolution could be produced with so little human labour, as by opening a communication between Lake Michigan and some of the upper tributaries of the Illinois. It would be a matter of curious speculation, to calculate the consequences of turning to the Gulf of Mexico, one of those immense reservoirs which are the fountains of the St. Lawrence. The Delta of the Mississippi would be inundated and destroyed, and its low bottoms overflowed by a deluge whose extent and duration no man can estimate. A gradual diminution would take place in the waters of Lake Michigan, which would be felt in Huron and Erie; and Chicago would present some of the imposing features of the entrance into the Niagara river." It has been proposed to open a canal between the Chicago and the Illinois. The elevation of the head of the latter above the level of the ocean, is assumed by Major Long to be, in round numbers, 450 feet; about 120 feet below the surface of Lake Erie.—James, vol. iii. p. 265.

high, its waters fill the channel of communication, and flow into the lake. The *voyageur* enters this channel, and follows the track made by some other boat, or works his own way, slowly and laboriously. As he approaches the natural termination of the marsh, the water becomes more and more shallow, and his progress more and more difficult. He at length arrives at the boundary, and finds himself at the summit level of the country. An inclined plane of seven miles in extent, and with a depression of seventeen feet, stretches between him and Lake Michigan. And we very much doubt, whether the water of the Des Pleines ever surmounted this summit level, and mingled with the Chicago, until this route had been frequently passed. The communication at present existing, has apparently been effected, in a long course of years, by drawing the boats through the mud at the extremity of the marsh, and thus forming a small channel, which is soon increased by the velocity of the current, occasioned by the rapid descent of the country towards the lake. This channel is called the Rigolet, and bears every appearance of the origin we have assigned to it. A boat descends it with great rapidity, and about two miles from the marsh, enters the Chicago creek, a deep and sluggish stream, at this point on a level with the lake."

What has been called the valley or basin of the Mississippi, might then, it has been remarked, with almost equal accuracy be called the basin of the St. Lawrence, of the Saskatchiwine, or of Mackenzie's River; since these different channels serve as drains to the same immense plain extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the Northern Sea. From this remarkable

* North American Review, No. lix. pp. 361, 2.

peculiarity in the configuration of the new continent, the vast extent and unbroken continuity of its low and level plains, results the amazing length of the rivers which water this part of the globe, and many of which mingle, in the early part of their course, those waters which are destined for different estuaries.*

Before we proceed to give a more particular description of the mighty streams which water this region, the chain of lakes, or fresh-water seas, which separate the United States from British America, first claim our attention. These are five in number, namely, Lake Superior, Lake Huron, Lake Michigan, Lake Erie, and Lake Ontario.

Lake Superior, the largest and most northern of these lakes, (formerly known under the names of Lake Tracy and Lake Condé,) is situated between latitude 46° 30′ and 49° N., and longitude 84° and 92° 10′ W., and forms the largest body of fresh water on the globe. Its greatest length from E. to W. is 410 miles; its greatest breadth, 120 miles; and its circumference has been variously estimated at 1200 and 1500 miles.† It receives the waters of forty different streams, which it discharges at its south-eastern extremity, through the straits of St. Mary into Lake Huron. It has been conjectured, indeed,

* Thus, the Orinoco and the Rio Negro, a tributary to the Amazons, communicate by the Cassiquiare; and a similar branch unites the Beni and the Madera. The head streams of the Paraguay, it is also believed, communicate, in the rainy season, with those of the Amazons.

† According to Mackenzie, following its shores and bays, 1200 miles. According to Faden's calculation, (Description of Canada, 1813,) 1525 miles.—Mackenzie, p. xl. Warden, vol. i. p. 60. Malte Brun says, "more than 500 leagues in circumference." In Carey and Lea's Atlas, this lake is said to be 350 miles long, (its mean length probably being intended,) and its mean breadth, 100.

that not more than a tenth part passes through this channel, the rest escaping by evaporation.* Along the northern shore, there is great depth of water. The rocks rise from 300 to 1500 feet, and, during a strong wind, render the navigation dangerous: it would be still more so, were it not for the harbours formed by numerous islands near the entrance of inlets and bays, where vessels find shelter. The southern side of the lake is a sandy beach, without any bay or inlet, but interspersed with limestone rocks, rising 100 feet above the water, and rendering the navigation not less dangerous. The largest island, called Isle Royale, situated near the north-western coast, is 100 miles in length by about 40 in breadth. The lake abounds with fish, which constitutes the principal food of the Algonquin Indians on its borders.

Lake Huron (formerly called Lake Algonquin or Orleans) lies between latitude 42° 30′ and 46° 30′ N., and longitude 80° and 84° W. Its length from east to west, is 220 miles; its breadth varies from 60 to 200 miles; and its circumference is about 1100 miles; the total extent of surface being estimated at 20,000 square miles. Near the centre, its depth is said to be unfathomable. Besides the waters of Lake Superior, which it receives, through a series of rapid descents,

* Warden, vol. i. p. 61.—When the wind blows from the east, the waters are driven against the high rocks of the northern and western shore, where they form a thick vapour resembling rain; and this action of the wind creates an irregular ebb and flow. This never exceeds ten or twelve inches; but the strong traces of the water on the rocks of the shore, shew that, at no very remote period, they were elevated six feet above the present level. Some years ago, Mackenzie states, the waters suddenly withdrew near the Great Portage; then rushed back with great velocity above the common mark; and, after rising and falling during several hours, they settled at their usual level.—Mackenzie, pp. xlii. xliii.

at its north-western extremity, those of Lake Michigan discharge themselves into it, on the western side, by a channel six miles in length, called the Straits of Michillimackinac, at the mouth of which is the island of the same name, situated in latitude 45° 54'.* On the eastern side, it receives, through the channel of the Swan River, the waters of Lake Simcoe; and on the northern coast, by the French River, those of Lake Nipissing, which is 25 leagues in length. Several other streams, issuing from small lakes, run also into the eastern side. The only outlet of the united waters of Lakes Superior, Michigan, and Huron, is the rapid river of St. Clair, which, by the accession of other streams, is changed into a lake of the same name, about 90 miles in circumference. A strait, from half a mile to three miles in breadth, called the Detroit, unites this basin with Lake Erie.

Lake Michigan (formerly called Lake Illinois and Lake Dauphin) extends from the western angle of Lake Huron in a southerly direction, and is separated from Lake Superior by a tongue of land about 30 leagues in length. It lies wholly within the territory of the United States, between the parallels of 42° and 46°. Its length, from north to south, is 260 miles by a mean breadth of 50, and its circumference is 945 miles, containing an area of 10,368,000 acres. Its waters are said to be unfathomable. On the N.W.

* "Before the late war, the island of Michillimackinac was the great place of resort among Indian traders and the factors of Montreal, who met there annually about the 1st of May, and remained two months for the exchange of peltries with the manufactures of Europe. After the capitulation of General Hull, Fort Michillimackinac, the most northerly military post in the United States, fell into the hands of the English, who were obliged to abandon it after the capture of their fleet on Lake Erie (in 1813)."—Warden, vol. iii. p. 70.

side, it branches out through a narrow strait into two bays: the most northerly is called Noquet's Bay; the other, Green Bay or Puant's, from the Indian tribe that inhabit its borders. The latter, which is from 25 to 30 leagues in depth, communicates with Lake Winnebago, situated about 30 miles in a southerly direction, and formed by Fox River; between the head of which and the Wisconsan River, (a tributary to the Mississippi,) there is a portage of only three miles.* At the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, is the Chicago creek, already mentioned, by which, in the rainy season, the head-waters of the Illinois communicate with the lake; but the bar at the mouth of the creek, does not admit boats drawing above two feet water. A number of streams flow into the lake on both the western and the eastern sides. It abounds, like the others, with excellent fish.

Lake Erie, the fourth lake in extent, is situated between lat. 41° 30′ and 43° N., and long. 78° 48′ and 83° W. It is of an oval form, 230 miles in length from S.W. to N.E., by a mean breadth of 45, and 610 miles in circumference. Its depth varies from 40 to 300 feet. At Detroit, there are eighteen fathoms water, and it is navigated by vessels of 60 or 70 tons. High, craggy cliffs form the northern coast, running out into rocky promontories, some of which afford anchorage and shelter for vessels. It contains a number of islands. Like Lake Superior,

* Warden, vol. i. pp. 71, 111. "There is, between the Illinois and Lake Michigan, in dry seasons, a portage of 3 miles; between the Illinois and the Wabash, of 15; between the De Moins, a tributary to the Mississippi, and the Missouri, 700 miles above its mouth, a portage of 6 miles; between the Wisconsan and the Fox, of 1½ mile; between the St. Croix and Lake Superior, 15; between St. Peter's and Red River, 1½; between Corbeau and Red River, 3."

it is subject to considerable elevation and depression of its waters during the prevalence of strong winds. The elevation of Lake Erie above tide-water, has been ascertained to be 564 feet, 280 feet above the Hudson River, with which it communicates by a magnificent canal 350 miles in length; and it is a descent of 450 feet to Lake Ontario, into which it discharges itself, at its north-eastern extremity, through the river Niagara. This is a channel 36 miles in length and three quarters of a mile in breadth, with a current running at the rate of four miles an hour: the whole mass of waters falls over a rock to the depth of 150 feet, forming the celebrated falls. On the south-west and southern shores, Lake Erie receives several navigable rivers, some of the branches of which approach those of the Wabash and Big Miami.

Lake Ontario (formerly Lake Frontenac and St. Louis), into which the Niagara descends by this "magnificent porch," is of an oval form, 160 miles in length, and between 60 and 70 at its greatest breadth, with a circumference of about 450 miles. It is situated between the parallels of 43° and 44°. By the Seneca, Onondago, or Oswego river, which falls into the lake on its southern side, it communicates with the Mohawk branch of the Hudson River through the Oneida Lake and Wood Creek. Its islands, nineteen in number, are generally fertile and well timbered. It empties itself by the great river St. Lawrence, which, after receiving the waters of Lake Champlain by the river Sorelle, of Lake Mumphremagog by the St. Francis, and of its tributary, the Ottawa, expands into a large gulf, and pours its waters into the Atlantic, after a course of 770 miles, between the parallels of 49° and 50°.

Lake Champlain* is situated to the east of Lake Ontario, between the States of New York and Vermont. Its length from N. to S. is 160 miles: its breadth varies from one to eighteen miles. It forms a natural barrier between Canada and New York. The whole surface is generally frozen from the middle of January till the middle of April. It receives the waters of several navigable streams from the western side of the Green Mountains, and, through a natural channel, those of Lake George (*Lac du Saint Sacrement*†), the surface of which is 100 feet above the level of Lake Champlain. Lake George is 36 miles in length, by a breadth varying from one to seven. The portage between the two lakes is only a mile and a half. Between Lake George and Lake Huron is Muddy Lake, nearly 30 miles in length, and containing several small islands. Lake Mumphremagog, which discharges itself into the St. Lawrence, through the river St. Francis and Lake St. Peter's, is 40 miles in length by about three in breadth. The frontier line of the British and American territories, the 45th parallel, crosses it near the southern extremity, leaving but a small portion of its waters within the limits of the United States. Seneca Lake, on which the flourishing town of Geneva is situated, is 44 miles in length, by a breadth of from four to six. Its deep waters do not freeze during the severest cold. There is a boat communication between this lake and Schenectady, within 14 miles of the tide of the river Hudson. Cayuga Lake is nearly of the same length, and about a mile in breadth. It abounds, like Lake Seneca, with

* So named from the discoverer, Sir Samuel Champlain, in 1608.

† So named on account of the use of its pure and limpid waters in the churches of Canada.

salmon and other fish, but its waters are shallow, and freeze in winter.*

In what is called the North-west territory, and scarcely separated by any definable ridge from the head waters of the St. Lawrence, there is another system of lakes, which seems to make up in number and continuity for its inferior scale of magnificence. The Lake of the Woods (or Du Bois) is rendered an important point in geography, by its having been named by the American Government as the spot from which the boundary line between the United States and the British territory was to run West until it should strike the Mississippi.† It was formerly noted for the productiveness of its banks and waters, and the French had several settlements in and about it. It abounds with islands. It is formed by the River de la Pluie, issuing from the lake of that name, which is described by Mackenzie as one of the finest rivers in the North-west territory. Its banks are covered with a rich soil, clothed with groves of oak, maple, pine, and cedar. After a course of 80 miles, it falls into the Lake of the Woods, in lat. 49°.‡ This lake, discharging its waters at its northern extremity, forms the river Winipec, a

* Authorities, Warden, vol. i. ch. 3; Carey and Lea's Atlas; Malte Brun, book 78; Mackenzie, *passim*.

† This, says Mackenzie, "can never happen, as the N.W. part of the Lake Du Bois is in latitude 49° 37′ N., and longitude 94° 31′ W.; and the northernmost branch of the source of the Mississippi is in latitude 47° 38′ N., and longitude 95° 6′ W."

‡ Mackenzie, p. lvii. The Lake de la Pluie, or Rainy Lake, lies to the S.E., between the Lake of the Woods and Lake Superior, being separated from the head-waters of the latter, only by a low ridge. It has already been stated, on the authority of Mackenzie, that there is a boat communication between Lake Superior and Lake Winipeg.

large body of water, broken by numerous islands, portages, and rapids.

Lake Winipic, Winnepeek, or Winipeg * (the Lake Bourbon of the French) approaches to the magnificent scale of the Canadian lakes, being 240 miles in length, by from 50 to 100 in breadth. It lies between latitude 50° and 54°. Its banks are shaded by the sugar-maple and poplar, and it is surrounded with fertile plains, which produce the rice of Canada. It is the reservoir of several large rivers; the principal are, the Saskatchiwine, which has its source in the Rocky Mountains, the Assiniboin, or Red River,† and the river Dauphin. It discharges itself by the rivers Nelson and Severn into Hudson's Bay. In common with most of the lakes in this part, its northern banks consist of black and grey rock, while the southern shore is a low and level country, occasionally interrupted by a ridge or bank of limestone in strata, rising to the perpendicular height of from 20 to 40 feet. Where the banks are low, it is evident, in many places, that the waters have withdrawn, and never rise to the heights formerly washed by them.‡

A ridge called the Portage la Loche, 13 miles in breadth, divides the waters that discharge themselves

* "This word is derived from *weenud*, dirty, and *neebeg*, waters; and the full name is, *Weenebeg o saugy 'egun*, lake of dirty waters. Winnebago is a term derived from the same roots, implying that the tribe who bear the name, dwell on dirty waters, in allusion to the Mississippi."—North American Review, No. lx. p. 113. Mackenzie gives *nepec* as the Knisteneaux for water.

† The eastern branch, or Red River, which flows from the S., approaches very near the head-waters of the Mississippi, there being a portage of only a mile and a half between its source and the St. Peter's. The Assiniboin joins it from the N. N. W., rising in the same mountains as the river Dauphin, as well as the Swan and Red Deer River. It is almost a continued plain of sandy soil from the Red River to the Missouri.

‡ Mackenzie, pp. lxii—vi.

into Hudson's Bay, from those which flow into the Northern Ocean. The portage is in latitude 56° 20′ N., longitude 109° 15′ W. It runs S.W. until it loses its relative height between the Saskatchiwine and Elk rivers, close on the bank of the former, in latitude 53° 36′, longitude 113° 45′. It may be traced in an easterly direction towards latitude 58° 12′, longitude 103° 30′, where it appears to take its course due N., towards the Frozen Sea. "The Portage la Loche," says Mackenzie, "is of a level surface, in some parts abounding with stone; but, in general, it is an entire sand, and covered with the cypress, the pine, and the spruce fir. Within three miles of its N.W. termination, there is a small, round lake, not more than a mile in diameter. Within a mile of the termination of the Portage, is a very steep precipice, the ascent and descent of which appear to be equally impracticable in any way, as it consists of a succession of eight hills, some of which are almost perpendicular: nevertheless, the Canadians contrive to surmount all these difficulties, even with their canoes and lading." The precipice, which rises upwards of 1000 feet above the plain, commands a most extensive and romantic prospect, embracing the valley of the Swan River.*

The last of the seven great lakes, is called Slave Lake. It lies between latitude 60° 38′ and 63°, and longitude 110° and 119° W.; being 270 miles in length, and about 1000 in circumference. It receives, by Slave River,† the waters of Lake Athapescow,

Mackenzie, pp. lxxxiv—vi.

† The Slave Indians having been driven from their original country by their enemies, the Knisteneaux, along the borders of this part of the Peace River, it received that title. The word by no means involves the idea of servitude, but was applied to these fugitives as a term of reproach.—Mackenzie, p. 3.

formed by the river of that name, and into which the Peace River, or Unjigah, flows, when full; * and it discharges itself at its N.W. extremity, through Mackenzie's River, into the Frozen Ocean, in latitude 70° N. Churchill River (called also *Missinippi*, great water,) which empties itself into Hudson's Bay, is likewise connected, by means of lakes, with the river Athapescow or Elk River, which forms the lake of that name;—"an invaluable communication," Malte Brun remarks, "had it taken place in a more temperate climate." But here, even under the 57th parallel, the severity of the winter is extreme; and nothing can be more terrifically desolate and repulsive, than the barren and rocky shores of Hudson's Bay.

Leaving these dreary regions, we return to the American territories, to trace the course of the waters which descend into the basin of the Mexican Sea. Three lakes of inferior dimensions, in about latitude 48°,† give rise to the Mississippi. As far as the parallel of 37°, it flows in a south-easterly direction; then sweeps towards the south-west; and afterwards pursues its course, with various windings, in a direction nearly S., to its outlet in the Gulf of Mexico, in latitude 29° 6′. Its whole length, from its source to the Gulf, is computed by Humboldt to be 560 leagues (of 20 to a degree); but, including its windings, it is supposed to be not much less than 2500

* When it is low, the Unjigah receives the waters of Lake Athapescow. Mackenzie writes it, Athabasca. The Swan River falls into the Elk River.

† Leech Lake, the greatest, is in latitude 47° 38′ N., longitude 95° W. Upper Red Cedar Lake, which is named in Carey and Lea's Atlas as the true source, is in latitude 47° 42′, longitude 95° 8′. White Bear Lake is the third.—Warden, vol. i. p. 113. In Malte Brun, it is stated to have its source in "Turtle Lake."

miles.* At the picturesque falls of St. Anthony,† in latitude 44° 50′, it descends from the plateau in which it has its origin, to the vast plain through which it rolls its waters to the sea. Between these falls and the mouth of the Illinois, which joins it on the east side, its width is from 800 to 900 yards. It then meanders through a broad valley, from 6 to 12 or 14 miles in width, the sides of which rise in bluffs from 40 to 100 feet high. After a course of above 1500 miles, its limpid waters are blended with the turbid stream of the Missouri, which, as being the principal branch, would seem to have the best claim to give its name to their united waters. At this confluence, which takes place in latitude 38° 55′, longitude 89° 57′ W., the Mississippi is 2500 yards, or nearly half a league in breadth.

Mr. Schoolcraft, however, estimates the distance of Red Cedar Lake (which he calls Cassina Lake) from the mouth of the Mississippi, at 2978 miles, pursuing the course of the river; and, adding 60 miles for the distance to Lake La Beche, "its extreme north-western inlet," he makes the total length of the river to be not less than 3038 miles, or, in a direct line, more than half the distance from the Arctic circle to the Equator. While "its source lies in a region of almost continual winter, it enters the ocean under the latitude of perpetual verdure." He gives the following description of its course.

* This is the estimate adopted by Malte Brun and Warden. The former states the length also at 575 leagues of 25 to a degree. In Carey and Lea's Atlas, No. 6, the Mississippi is stated to be nearly 2000 miles long; but, in No. 53, its length, including its windings, is estimated at 3000 miles.

† "After a S.E. course of about 500 miles, it reaches the falls of St. Anthony, where it descends perpendicularly 16 feet, and where are 58 feet of rapids."—Carey and Lea's Atlas.

"Originating in a region of lakes, upon the table-land, which throw their waters north into Hudson's Bay, south into the Gulf of Mexico, and east into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, it pursues its course to the falls of Peckagama, a distance of 230 miles, through a low prairie covered with wild rice, rushes, sword-grass, and other aquatic plants. During this distance, it is extremely devious as to course and width, sometimes expanding into small lakes, at others, narrowing into a channel of about 80 feet in width. It is about 60 feet wide on its exit from Red Cedar or Cassina Lake, with an average depth of 2 feet.

"At the falls of Peckagama, the first rock stratum appears, and the first wooded island is seen. Here, the river has a fall of 20 feet; and from this to the falls of St. Anthony, a distance of 635 miles, exhibits its second characteristic division. At the head of the falls of Peckagama, the prairies entirely cease; and below, a forest of elm, maple, birch, oak, and ash overshadows the stream.

"At the falls of St. Anthony, the river has a perpendicular pitch of 40 feet; and from this to its junction with the Missouri, a distance of 843 miles, it is bounded by limestone bluffs, which attain various elevations from 100 to 400 feet, and present a succession of the most sublime and picturesque views. This forms the third characteristic change of the Mississippi. The river prairies cease, and rocky bluffs commence, precisely at the falls of St. Anthony.

"The fourth change in the physical aspect of this river, is at the junction of the Missouri; and this is a total and complete one, the character of the Mississippi being entirely lost in that of the Missouri. The latter is, in fact, much the larger stream of the

two, and carries its characteristic appearances into the ocean. The waters of the Mississippi, at its confluence with the Missouri, are moderately clear, and of a greenish hue: the Missouri is turbid and opaque, of a greyish white colour; and during its floods, which happen twice a year, communicates almost instantaneously to the combined stream its predominating qualities. The distance from the mouth of the Missouri to the Gulf of Mexico, is 1220 miles. This part of the river is more particularly characterized by snags and sawyers, falling-in banks and islands, sand-bars and mud-banks, a channel which is shifted by every flood, and a current of extreme velocity. The width of the river opposite St. Louis, is one mile; it is somewhat less at New Orleans, and still less at its embouchure." *

The Missouri (or Missi-souri †) is formed by three head-streams of nearly equal size, issuing from different parts of the Rocky Mountains, and running S.W. and S. to the latitude of 45° 24′, longitude 106° 55′, where their waters unite. The northern branch has been named Jefferson; the western or middle, Madison; and the southern, Gallatin; in honour of those American statesmen. This confluence is 2858

* Schoolcraft, in Hodgson's Letters from North America, vol. ii. p. 414.

† So Mackenzie writes the word; but we have been unable to ascertain its etymology. It is, however, apparent, that the name is compounded of *Missi*, great, and some other word, which may signify water. Malte Brun remarks, that the Missouri, as being the principal branch, has the best claim to the magnificent title of *Father of Waters*, conferred on the smaller branch by the Indians. Warden makes it to mean "*Mother of the Waters*." But Mississippi, as we have seen, has no such meaning, being literally "great river;" and it is not improbable, that the import of Missi-souri may be identical.

miles above its junction with the Mississippi. The course of the Missouri is north-easterly through the mountains, until it reaches the parallel of 47° 3′, (2575 miles from its mouth,*) where its waters are precipitated over rocks which, in some places, are 80 feet in perpendicular height. Having descended 384 feet in the course of 12 miles,† the river receives the waters of the great southern branch, the Yellow Stone River (or Keheetsa), in latitude 48°, where it has reached the parallel in which the Mississippi has its source. At its furthest northern point, it receives the White-earth River flowing southward; and then winding eastward, it approaches within a mile of Mouse River, one of the heads of the Assiniboin, which flows into Lake Winipeg. In latitude 46° 42′, it forces its way through basaltic columns, which rise 800 feet above the water. Its course, from the Mandan villages, (1604 miles from its mouth,) becomes southerly as far as the mouth of White River, a distance of 474 miles; after which it again bends to the east, and continues to wind south-eastward and eastward to its junction with the Mississippi. In latitude 41°, 700 miles from the Mississippi, the Platte River falls into the Missouri, after an easterly course, from its source in the Rocky Mountains, of about 800 miles.‡

* According to Warden, who appears to follow Lewis and Clarke. In Carey and Lea, the Great Falls are stated to be "above 2000 miles from the Mississippi."

† In Carey and Lea, the river is said to descend only 362 feet in the distance of 18 miles. This is but a specimen of the discrepancies which occur between our best authorities; and Warden's statements are, on many points, at variance with the best maps.

‡ James, vol. iii. p. 226. "It derives its name from its being broad and shoal." Warden confounds the name with the Spanish *la plata* (silver), and assigns to this river a course of 2000 miles.

The Missouri is itself navigable for large boats as high as the falls, a distance of 2575 miles; but the obstructions to its navigation are numerous and formidable. Its character throughout its course, is wild and turbulent; its channel is rendered extremely intricate by sand-bars and islands; and the velocity of its current in some parts increases the danger. In many places, the banks, which are of a loose texture, have been known to give way in such large masses as to change the direction of its course. From the 1st of February to the middle of March, the navigation is impeded by floating masses of ice; and these have been sometimes encountered at a much later season. The waters begin to swell about the middle of February or early in March; and they continue to increase till the 10th of June.* They maintain their height till the middle or close of July, when the summer freshet yielded by the most northerly of its tributaries, takes place. During this period, there is a sufficient depth of water to admit boats of almost any burthen; but, during the remainder of the year, it can hardly be called navigable, except for boats drawing not more than 25 or 30 inches. The average rate of the current, in a middling stage of the waters, may be estimated at four miles and one-third an hour. In the time of a high freshet, its accelerated velocity is equal to five miles or five and a half an hour. At the junction with the Mississippi, its breadth, which is very unequal, is above a mile. It enters that river at

* The rise and fall are, however, irregular, depending on the dissolution of the snow in the mountains. On the 5th of February 1804, the waters rose two feet and a half in twenty-four hours. On the 7th, they fell eight inches in the same space of time; on the 9th, rose two feet; on the 12th, sunk two inches; and then continued to rise.—Warden, vol. i. p. 91.

nearly right angles, 18 miles below the mouth of the Illinois; and produces an immediate change in the character of its waters. The total length of its course to this junction has been estimated at 3096 miles.*

The united streams of the Missouri and Mississippi are joined, in latitude 37°, by the Ohio, bearing with it the tribute of fifteen large navigable rivers, which it collects in a course of 1188 miles. About 400 miles lower down, in latitude 34°, the Mississippi receives, on the right bank, the Arkansas, another large tributary, which has its source in the Rocky Mountains, not far from those of the Platte and the Rio Bravo, and has a very irregular course, estimated at above 2000 miles. On the same bank, just below the parallel of 31°, and 243 miles above New Orleans, the Red River discharges itself into the Mississippi, flowing from the mountains of Mexico to the north of Santa Fé. This is the last of the considerable streams that join the main channel. Below the mouth of this river, the Mississippi divides into various arms, or lateral outlets, called *bayous*. The three principal of these, called the Atchafayala, the La Fourche, and the Ibberville, embrace an extensive delta, composed of soft, swampy earth, rising very little above tide-water.† The actual embouchure of the river parts

* Warden, vol. i. pp. 87—91. James, vol. iii. p. 259. Malte Brun, vol. v. p. 156. Carey and Lea's Atlas. According to the latter work, "the whole length from the highest navigable point of Jefferson's River to the confluence with the Mississippi, is, by comparative course, about 2500 miles, and, to the Gulf of Mexico, nearly 3500." But the navigation of the river to the falls, is estimated at 2575 miles; and to the junction of its head-streams, 2858 miles. The course of the Jefferson is included in the total estimate.

† In Louisiana, the surface of the stream is more elevated than the adjoining lands. Its immense volume of waters is confined and

into three branches, each of which has a bar at its entrance: the deepest, which is the eastern, called the Balise, has only 17 feet water. Within the bar, the depth of the river, for 200 or 300 miles, is from 50 to 100 feet, and its average breadth below the mouth of the Missouri, is two-thirds of a mile. The tide extends to New Orleans, 105 miles from the sea, where the rise is commonly from 12 to 15 inches. Vessels of 300 tons ascend as high as Natchez, more than 400 miles from the sea; but their progress against the current is often so very slow, that the passage to New Orleans occupies from five to thirty days, while the same distance may be descended in twelve or fourteen hours. The steam-vessels, however, stem the current at the rate of four miles an hour; and the voyage upwards from New Orleans to the Falls of Ohio, which often occupied sailing vessels three months, may now be accomplished by steam-boats in fifteen or eighteen days.* The Mississippi rises, during the inundations at New Orleans, (where its breadth is rather less than 1500 feet,) about 12 feet; at Baton Rouge, 25 feet; at Fort Adams, and as far up as the Ohio, 45 feet. It is usually at its lowest stage about the middle of August. The total length of

supported by dikes of soft earth, rising a few feet above the usual height of the inundation. These banks of the river, which decline gradually into the swampy plains behind, are from a quarter to half a mile in breadth, and form the richest and best soil in the country. The same has been observed of the banks of the Nile and the Ganges.—See Mod. Trav., India, vol. i. p. 26; Egypt, vol. i. p. 42.

* "The current, when the water is low, will float a boat from 45 to 50 miles in 24 hours; in a middle state, from 60 to 70 miles; and in the time of inundation, from 90 to 100 miles in the same period. It is impracticable for boats to stem the current above Natchez by means of sails only."—Carey and Lea. The steam-boats, however, make about 60 miles a-day.

the Mississippi with the Missouri, (that is to say, from the Gulf of Mexico to the source of Jefferson's River in the Rocky Mountains,) including its windings, has been estimated by Lewis and Clarke at about 4443 miles. By Humboldt, it is computed (from the maps, adding one-third for the sinuosities) at 815 leagues of 20 to a degree; which is only 165 less than the Amazons. Malte Brun calculates it at 980 leagues of 25 to a degree. If the length of the Missouri itself be accurately estimated at 3096 miles, and the distance of its mouth from the sea at 1364 miles, this will give a total length of 3460 miles. No absolute dependence is to be placed, perhaps, upon the accuracy of any of these computations; but their general result sufficiently establishes the claim of this mighty stream to rank as the second largest river of the globe.*

In the vast district which has been denominated the

* Warden, vol. i. pp. 87—91. James, vol. iii. p. 259. Malte Brun, vol. v. pp. 4, 156. Carey and Lea, Nos. 6, 53. Humboldt's Personal Narrative, vol. v. p. 733. The following is given by the learned Author last named, as a comparative table of the principal rivers of the New World, calculated from the most recent maps, and adding a third for the windings.

	20 to a degree.
The Amazons	980 leagues.
The Mississippi and Missouri	815 leagues.
The Mississippi alone	560 leagues.
The La Plata and Paraguay	530 leagues.
The Orinoco	420 leagues.

To the Indus, he assigns a course of 510 leagues; and to the Ganges, 426 leagues. In the junction of the Mississippi with the Missouri,—the one a clear stream, the other muddy and turbulent,—the one preserving the same general direction from its source to its mouth, the other joining it laterally after a longer course, and communicating its own character to the main stream,—we have nearly a repetition of what occurs in the confluence of the White and Blue rivers which form the Nile, in that of the Esmeralda and the Orinoco, and in that of the Ucayale and the Amazons.

Valley of the Mississippi, embracing more than 20 degrees of latitude and about 30 of longitude, there is, of course, notwithstanding the comparatively inconsiderable difference of elevation, a great diversity of climate. The inclined plane constituting the western side of the valley, or, in other words, the great slope down which the Red, Canadian, Konzas, and Platte rivers have their courses, is believed to have a greater inclination than any other side. The immediate valley of the Illinois is consequently to be viewed as the lowest part of the great valley, above the mouth of that river or the parallel of 39°.* Mr. Flint divides the Valley of the Mississippi, in respect to temperature, into four climates. The first, commencing at the sources of the river, and terminating at the Prairie du Chien, corresponds to the climate of the region between Montreal and Boston. In this climate, the Irish potato attains its perfection, and wheat and the cultivated grasses succeed well; the apple and the pear require a southern aspect; the peach, still greater care; and during five months in the year, the cattle occasionally require shelter. The second climate is that of Illinois and Missouri, the region between the parallels of 41° and 37°, in which wheat, the apple, the pear, the peach-tree, the persimon, and the papaw flourish to perfection; it is less favourable to the cultivated *gramina;* cattle, though often needing shelter, are seldom housed in winter. The third climate extends from the parallel of 37° to 31°. In this region, the apple degenerates below 35°; cotton is raised for home consumption between that parallel and 33°, and, below the latter degree, is the staple article of cultivation; the fig-tree ripens its fruit in this climate.

* James, vol. iii. p. 264.

From latitude 31° to the Gulf of Mexico, is the fourth climate, that of the sugar-cane and the sweet orange, in which the olive also would probably thrive; the streams are never frozen; the forests are in blossom early in March; and there is a thunder-storm almost every night.*

It has already been seen, that the Mississippi, the St. Lawrence, (considering the waters of Lake Superior as its true source,) and the south-eastern branch of the Nelson or Saskatchiwine, three of the greatest rivers of North America, flowing in opposite directions, have their sources under nearly the same parallel, and within an inconsiderable distance from each other in the same vast plain. The sources of the Missouri and those of the Colombia not less singularly approximate. A narrow ridge forms the dividing line between the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans; and the northern fork of one branch of the Colombia has its source on the western declivity of the same low mountain from the eastern foot of which issues the remotest water of the Missouri.† This is in about latitude 43° 30′, longitude 112°. The southern fork of this branch, (called Lewis's River, from its discoverer,) has its sources in the same ridge, in latitude 40°, longitude 106°, not far from those of the Padouca fork of the Platte River, flowing to the Missouri; those of the Rio Bravo or Del Norte, which has a southerly course through New Mexico, and ultimately flows into the Mexican Gulf; and those of the Colorado, which falls into the Gulf of California. The branch of the Colombia, called Clarke's River, has its sources

* Flint's Geography of the Western States.—North American Review, No. lxii. p. 84.

† See Lewis and Clarke, vol. ii. pp. 81, 185.

in about lat. 45° 20′, long. 112°. Further to the north, the Tacoutche Tasse or great northern branch of the Colombia, which may be regarded, perhaps, as the main branch, has its source very nearly opposite to the highest or southernmost source of the Unjigah or Peace River, which is in latitude 54° 24′ N., longitude 121° W.* And those of the true Caskatchiwine are situated in a ridge proceeding from the Rocky Mountains, intermediate between the two great branches of the Colombia. Thus, says Mackenzie, "in these same snow-clad mountains rise the Mississippi, if we admit the Missouri to be its source, which flows into the Gulf of Mexico; the River Nelson, which is lost in Hudson's Bay; Mackenzie's River, that discharges itself into the North Sea; and the Colombia, emptying itself into the Pacific Ocean. It is, indeed, the extension of these mountains so far south on the sea coast, that prevents the Colombia from finding a more direct course to the sea, as it runs obliquely with the coast upwards of eight degrees of latitude before it mingles with the ocean."† The mouth of the Colombia is in latitude 46° 10′.

The following table will exhibit a general view of the course of the principal rivers referred to in the preceding description.

I. Basin of the Gulf of Mexico.

	Source.	*Length.*	*Mouth.*
The Mississippi.	Leech Lake in 47° 38′ N. 95° W. Red Cedar Lake in 47° 42′ N. 95° 8′ W.	3038 miles.	Gulf of Mexico, in latitude 29° 5′ N.

* Mackenzie, p. 216.

† Mackenzie, pp. 492, 217. The low ridge is not above 317 paces in length, which divides the waters of the Peace River and the Colombia.

	Source.	*Length.*	*Mouth.*
The Missouri ..	Rocky Mountains in 44° N. 110° W.*	3096 miles.	Joins the Mississippi in 38° 55′ N. 89° 57′ W.
The Missouri, and Lower Mississippi	.....	4316 miles.	Gulf of Mexico.
The Platte	Rocky Mountains in 40° N.	800 miles.	The Missouri, in 41° N.
The Ohio	Alleghany Mountains in 42° N.	1183 miles.	The Mississippi, (left b.) in 37° N.
The Arkansas ..	Rocky Mountains in 38° N.	1300 miles.	*Ibid* (right b.) in 34° N.
The Red River.	*Ib.* in 35° N.	1000 miles.	*Ib.* (*ib.*) 31° N.
The Rio Bravo, or Del Norte.	Rocky Mountains in 40° 20′ N. 107° 45′ W.	1650 miles.	Gulf of Mexico, in 25° 55′ N. 97° 25′ W.
The Mobile, or Alabama.	Georgia, in 35° N. 84° 50′ W.	500 miles.	Gulf of Mexico, in Mobile Bay.

II. BASIN OF THE ATLANTIC.

The St. Lawrence.	Lake Ontario.† ..	700 miles.	Atlantic Ocean, in 49° 30′ N. 64° 15′ W.
The Nelson, or Saskatchiwine.	Rocky Mount. (1) 52° 50′ N. 115° 20′ W. (2) 51° N. 114° 10′ W.	2500 miles.	Hudson's Bay.
The Hudson	New York, in 44° 5′ N., 74° 5′ W.	324 miles.	Atlantic Ocean, in 40° 30′ N. 74° W.

* "The extreme navigable point of the Missouri," as given by Captain Clarke, is 43° 30′ 43″ N.—Lewis and Clarke, vol. ii. p. 118. If we take the junction of the Jefferson, Madison, and Gallatin, as the source, it will be in 45° 24′ N., 106° 55′ W.; but its length will then be reduced to 2858 miles, or, with the Lower Mississippi, 4078 miles.

† If we reckon the head-waters of Lake Superior as the source of the St. Lawrence, then its source will be in 46° 30′ N., 92° 10′ W.; and the total length of its course through the chain of Lakes to the Ocean, about 1953 miles.

III. Basin of the Arctic Ocean.

	Source.	Length.	Mouth.
The Mackenzie, or Unjigah.	Rocky Mount. in 54° 24′ N. 121° W.	2800 miles.	Arctic Sea, in 69° N. 135° 15′ W.

IV. Basin of the Pacific Ocean.

	Source.	Length.	Mouth.
The Colombia	Rocky Mount. (1) in 54° 24′ N. 121° W. (2) — 45° 20′ N. 112° W. (3) — 40° N. 106° W.	1100 miles.	North Pacific, in 46° 10′ N. 122° 45′ W.
The Colorado	Rocky Mount. in 40° 15′ N. 108° 30′ W.	1000 miles.	Gulf of California, in 32° 32′ N. 114° 25′ W.

The other chief rivers of the United States, will fall under our notice in the topographical description of the country. They may here be dismissed with a brief enumeration. The Mexican Gulf receives, besides those above mentioned, the Apalachicola, formed by the union of the Chatapouchy and Flint Rivers: the former, during the latter part of its course, separates Georgia from Alabama. The principal rivers which have their sources on the eastern side of the Alleghanies, are, (proceeding from the south,) the Savannah, which divides Georgia from South Carolina, and falls into the Atlantic in latitude 32° N.; the James, the Potomac, and the Susquehanna, which all fall into Chesapeake Bay; the Delaware, which separates the State of New York from Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and falls into Delaware Bay; the Hudson, above mentioned, which falls into New York Bay; and the Connecticut, which falls into Long Island Sound. The small river St. Croix claims our notice also, as separating the territory of the United States from New Brunswick.

It has been estimated, that thirteen-sixteenths of the country east of the Mississippi, (excluding Florida,) are covered with a strong, fertile soil, adapted to repay, with a moderate degree of cultivation, the labours of the husbandman. Of the remaining three-sixteenths, about 57,000,000 acres are covered with water; about 40,000,000 acres consist of a mountainous country almost universally covered with forest, but, from the nature of its surface, unsusceptible of culture; and about 29,000,000 are either sandy, or covered with too poor a soil to offer any encouragement to cultivation. Of 520,000,000 acres capable of culture, only 41,000,000 were under actual improvement in 1811; but they must now amount to at least 60,000,000, or about one-twelfth of the whole surface E. of the Mississippi, including Florida. In 1813, there were 148,876,000 acres of land, of which the Indian title had not been extinguished, on the eastern side of the Mississippi, situated chiefly in Ohio, Michigan, the North-west territory, Indiana, Illinois, and Mississippi, and 56,225,000 acres of national domain unappropriated, of which the Indian title had been extinguished.* We transcribe from M. Malte Brun the following summary view of the physical aspect of the country.

"From the shores of the Atlantic to the Mississippi, the United States present an immense natural forest, interspersed, however, with open and naked plains, called *prairies*, which are numerous on the western side of the Alleghanies, but very rare on the eastern side. In the country west of the Mississippi, wood is comparatively scarce; and in the arid and desert plains, occupying a breadth of three or four hundred miles to the east of the Rocky Mountains, only a few

* Warden, vol. iii. ch. 36; Malte Brun, vol. v. p. 166.

trees are seen on the banks of the rivers. In the inhabited part of the United States, the lands cleared and cultivated, probably, do not exceed one-tenth part of the surface. There is a diversity in the American woods, according to the climate, soil, and situation of the different districts; and some naturalists have distinguished the vegetation of the United States into five regions. 1. The region of the North-east, bounded by the Mohawk and Connecticut rivers, where firs, pines, and the other evergreens of Canada prevail. 2. The region of the Alleghanies, where the red and black oak, the beech, the balsam poplar, the black and red birch often overshadow the plants and shrubs of Canada, at least as far as North Carolina. The valleys among these mountains are remarkably fertile in corn. 3. The upland country, extending from the foot of the mountains to the falls of the rivers. Here, the prevailing trees are the red maple, the red and black ash, the walnut, the sycamore, the acacia, and the chestnut. To the south, the magnolia, the laurel, and the orange are interspersed through the forest. Tobacco, with the indigo and cotton plants, succeed as far north as the Susquehanna; beyond which pastures prevail. 4. The region of maritime pines, which extends along the Atlantic coast from the sea to the first elevations: the long-leafed pine, the yellow pine, and the red cedar occupy the dry grounds, and the acacia-leafed cypress, the low and moist soils, as far as the Roanoke, or even the Chesapeake. Further to the north we find the white pine, the black and Canadian fir, and the *thuya occidentalis*. The rice-grounds commence where the tide-water becomes fresh, and terminate where it ceases to be felt. 5. The western region, which, no doubt, admits of subdivision, but, in which, generally speaking, the forest trees are, the

white oak, the black and scaly walnut, the walnut hicory, the cherry, the tulip-tree, the white and gray ash, the sugar-maple, the white elm, the linden, and the western plane, which all grow to a great size upon the Atlantic coast.

"But the varying elevation of the ground, necessarily blends the characters of these different regions. Looking, therefore, at the forests of the United States as a whole, the most universally diffused trees are, the willow-leafed oak, which grows in the marshes; the chestnut oak, which, in the Southern States, rises to a prodigious size, and which is as much esteemed for its farinaceous nuts as for its wood; the white, red, and black oak. The two species of walnut also, the white and the black, (the latter valued for its oil,) the chestnut, and the elm of Europe, abound almost as much as the oak in the United States. The tulip-tree and the sassafras, more sensible to cold than these others, are stunted shrubs at the confines of Canada,—assume the character of trees in the Middle States; but, upon the hot banks of the Alatamaha, they develop their full growth, and display all their beauty and grandeur. The sugar-maple, on the other hand, is not seen in the Southern States, except upon the northern slopes of the mountains, while, in the colder climates of New England, it reaches its full natural dimensions. The amber-tree, which yields an odorous gum, the iron-wood (*carpinus ostrya*), the American elm, the black poplar, and the *taccamahaca*, are found growing in every place where the soil suits them, without shewing any great preference for one climate more than another. The light and sandy soils are covered with this useful tribe of pines, with the common fir, the beautiful hemlock fir, the black, and the white pine. We may also class with this family of trees, the

arbor vitæ, the juniper of Virginia, and the American red cedar. Among the shrubs generally diffused in the United States, we may reckon the chionanthus, the red maple, the sumach, the red mulberry, the thorn-apple, &c.

"The United States, generally speaking, do not present the beautiful verdure of Europe; but, among the larger herbs which cover the soil, the curiosity of botanists has distinguished the *collinsonia*, which affords the Indians a remedy for the bite of the rattle-snake; several species of *phlox*; the golden lily; the biennial *œnothera*, with several species of star-flower, of *monarda*, and of *rudbeckia*. It is in Virginia, and in the southern and south-western States, that the American Flora displays its wonders, and the savannas wear their perpetual verdure. It is there that the magnificence of the primitive forests, and the exuberant vegetation of the marshes, captivate the senses by the charms of form, of colour, and of perfume. If we pass along the shores of Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, groves in uninterrupted succession seem to float upon the waters. By the side of the pine is seen the *paletuvier*, (the only shrub which thrives in salt-water,) the magnificent *lobelia cardinalis*, and the odoriferous *pancratium* of Carolina, with its snow-white flowers. The lands to which the tide reaches, are distinguished from the lands which remain dry, by the moving and compressed stalks of the *arundo gigantea*; by the light foliage of the *nyssa aquatica*; by the *taccamahaca*; and by the white cedar, which, perhaps, of all the trees of America, presents the most singular aspect. Its trunk, where it issues from the ground, is composed of four or five enormous bearers, which, uniting at the height of seven or eight feet, form a sort of open vault, from the summit of which

rises a single straight stem of eighteen or twenty feet in height, without a branch, but terminating in a flat canopy, shaped like a parasol, garnished with leaves curiously figured, and of the most delicate green. The crane and the eagle fix their nests on this aërial platform; and the paroquets, while leaping about, are attracted to it by the oily seeds inclosed in the cones suspended from the branches. In the natural labyrinths which occur in these marshy forests, the traveller sometimes discovers small lakes and open lawns, which would present most seductive retreats, if the unhealthy exhalations of autumn permitted him to inhabit them. Here, he walks under a vaulted roof of *smilax* and wild vines, among creeping *lianas*, which invest his feet with their flowers; but the soil trembles under him, clouds of annoying insects hover around, monstrous bats overshadow him with their hideous wings, the rattle-snake musters his scaly terrors, while the wolf, the carcajou, and the tiger-cat fill the air with their savage and discordant cries.

"The name of savannas is given to those vast prairies of the western region, which display a boundless ocean of verdure, and deceive the sight by seeming to rise towards the sky, and of which the only inhabitants are immense herds of bisons or buffaloes. The name is also given to those plains which skirt the rivers, and are generally inundated in the rainy season. The trees which grow there, are of the aquatic species. The *magnolia glauca*, the American olive, the *Gordonia argentea*, with its odorous flowers, are seen here, isolated or in groupes, open above, while the general surface of the savanna exhibits a long and succulent herbage, mixed with plants and shrubs. The wax-myrtle appears conspicuous among many species of *azalia*, of *Kalmia*, *andromeda*, and

rhododendron; here widely scattered, there collected into tufts; sometimes interlaced with the purple Russian flower; sometimes with the capricious *clitorea*, which decorates the alcoves with rich and variegated festoons. The margins of the pools and the low and moist spots are adorned with the brilliant azure flowers of the *ixia*, the golden petals of the *canna lutea*, and the tufted roses of the *hydrangea*; while an infinite variety of species of the pleasing *phlox*, the retiring and sensitive *dionea*, and the flame-coloured *amaryllis atamasco*, in those places where the tide reaches the impenetrable ranks of the royal palms, form a fanciful girdle to the woods, and mark the doubtful limits where the savanna rises into the forest.

"The calcareous districts, which form the great portion of the region west of the Alleghanies, present certain tracts entirely divested of trees, which are called Barrens, though capable of being rendered productive. The cause of this peculiarity has not been accurately examined. Those parts of this region which are elevated 300 or 400 feet, and lie along deeply depressed beds of rivers, are clothed with the richest forests in the world. The Ohio flows under the shade of the plane and the tulip-tree, like a canal dug in a nobleman's park; while the *lianas*, extending from tree to tree, form graceful arches of flowers and foliage over branches of the river. Passing to the south, the wild orange-tree mixes with the odoriferous and the common laurel. The straight, silvery column of the papaw fig, which rises to the height of twenty feet, and is crowned with a canopy of large, indented leaves, forms one of the most striking ornaments of this enchanting scene. Above all these, towers the majestic magnolia, which shoots up from that calca-

reous soil to the height of more than 100 feet. Its trunk, perfectly straight, is surmounted with a thick and expanded head, the pale green foliage of which affects a conical figure. From the centre of the flowery crown which terminates its branches, a flower of the purest white rises, having the form of a rose, and to which succeeds a crimson cone. This, in opening, exhibits rounded seed of the finest coral red, suspended by delicate threads six inches long. Thus, by its flowers, its fruits, and its gigantic size, the magnolia surpasses all its rivals of the forest." *

The climate of the United States has been divided by Volney into four regions; that of New England, extending southward to the chain of hills which gives rise to the Delaware and Susquehanna; the middle climate, extending to the Potowmac; the hot climate of the flat maritime country of the southern states; and the climate of the region west of the Alleghanies. Other varieties, however, present themselves in the great Mississippi valley; and each of these will come more properly under consideration in describing the several regions. Since the period of the first European establishments in the United States, the climate is supposed to have undergone some remarkable changes.† Its most distinguishing peculiarity is its great inconstancy, together with the sudden and extreme variations, of which, it is said, even the Indians complain. The ruddy complexion prevails in New England and the interior of Pennsylvania; but, from New York to Florida, the pallid or sallow countenances of the inhabitants remind a stranger of the complexion of the Creoles in the West India Islands. The summer season in this region is very unhealthy.

* Malte Brun, vol. v. pp. 160—165. † Warden, vol. i. p. 161.

The mean temperature of the year, according to Humboldt, is 9° (Fahrenheit) lower at Philadelphia, than in the corresponding latitudes on the coasts of Europe. The vine thrives as far north as Pennsylvania; but wines are made as yet to a very limited extent.* Pennsylvania is noted for its superior breeds of horses and horned cattle. Flocks of the merino breed (pure or mixed) are spread over the northern, middle, and western States.

No mines of gold or silver of any importance have hitherto been discovered in the territory of the United States; but the useful metals are, in general, abundantly distributed. Some of the iron ores are found in almost every State, and mines of this metal are worked in New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina. Lead is obtained from Missouri, where forty or fifty mines have been opened. Copper is said to exist in the North-west territory in great abundance; but it has hitherto been imported from Mexico and other foreign countries. Coal is found in New England, New York, and Pennsylvania; and one of the largest coal formations in the world, extends, with some interruption, from the western foot of the Alleghanies, across the Mississippi.†

The American Confederacy originally consisted of thirteen States, namely, Virginia, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.‡ Ver-

* The vine has been successively cultivated in Indiana.

† Malte Brun, vol. v. pp. 159, 167.

‡ When the new Government was first organized, only eleven States had ratified the Constitution; but North Carolina and Rhode

mont was, shortly after the ratification of the Constitution, admitted to the Union; and the district of Kentucky, which had formed part of Virginia, was recognized, in the succeeding year, as a distinct State. In 1791, when the first census of the inhabitants of the United States was completed, the population of these fifteen States amounted to nearly four millions, of which the slaves formed not much less than a sixth. By the formation of new States, the number is now increased to twenty-four, each ruled by its own government; besides which, there are included in the dominions of the Republic, three territories in which civil governments are established without constitutions, and three other territories yet unoccupied by a civilized population. These States may be classed in four grand groupes. The first embraces the six States east of the Hudson, or New England, which is the most thickly peopled and the most commercial section of the Union. The second comprises the Middle States, including New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland, in which the agricultural character is united with and qualified by the commercial. Thirdly, the Southern States, including Virginia and all the maritime country to the Mississippi: in these States, slaves are numerous, and the husbandmen are generally planters. Fourthly, the Western States, in the basin of the Ohio, where there are few slaves, and the character of the population is almost purely agricultural, enjoying the best climate as well as the richest soil in the United States. The following Table exhibits the name, extent, and population of the several States, estimated to the 1st January, 1828.

Island, the two dissenting States, adopted it; the former in November 1789, the latter in May 1790. Vermont acceded to it in 1791

TABLE I.

I. NEW ENGLAND.

States.	Area in sq. miles.	Population.	By the sq. league.	Slaves.
1. Maine	32,000	345,420	10⅔	None.
2. New Hampshire	9,280	268,065	28¾	
3. Vermont	10,212	270,820	27	
4. Massachusetts	7,800	557,003	71½	
5. Rhode Island	1,360	86,540	63	
6. Connecticut	4,674	284,477	61	
	65,326	1,812,325	28	

II. MIDDLE STATES.

1. New York	46,000	1,611,307	35	None.
2. New Jersey	6,900	296,499	43	3,778
3. Pennsylvania	43,950	1,193,589	27	None.
4. Delaware	2,068	74,948	36	2,500
5. Maryland	10,800	419,379	38¾	100,000
	109,718	3,595,722	33	106,278

III. SOUTHERN STATES.

1. Virginia	64,000	1,133,410	17⅔	450,000
2. Kentucky	39,000	691,397	17¾	166,000
3. Tennessee	40,000	540,176	13½	110 000
4. North Carolina	43,800	701,626	16	235,000
5. South Carolina	30,080	558,233	18½	288,000
6. Georgia	58,200	413,144	6⅓	189,600
7. Alabama	50,800	254,041	5	93,308
8. Mississippi	45,350	108,181	2½	52,502
9. Louisiana	48,220	212.074	4½	110,502
	419,450	4,612,282	11	1,694,914

IV. WESTERN STATES.

1. Ohio	39,000	826,905	21	None.
2. Indiana	36,250	196,810	5½	304
3. Illinois	59,000	85,288	1½	1,460
4. Missouri	60,300	106,200	1¾	20,800
	194,550	1,215,203	6½	22,564

V. TERRITORIES.

States.	Area in sq. miles.	Population.	By the sq. league.	Slaves.
1. District of Columbia.*	100	39,137	391	6,806
2. Michigan Territory.	54,000	11,806	1 in 5	None.
3. Arkansas Territory.	121,000	31,987	1 in 3¾	2 587
4. Florida.†.....	45,000	30,000	1 in 1½	5,000
	220,100	112,930		14,393
I. New England.....	65,326	1,812,325	28	None.
II. Middle States.....	109,718	3,595,722	33	106.278
III. Southern States...	419,450	4,612,282	11	1,694,914
IV. Western States ...	194,550	1,215.203	6½	22,564
V. Territories.....	220,100	112,930		14,393
	1,009,144	11,348,462	11	1,838,149
VI. Territories unoccupied		‡120,346 Indians.		
North-west Territory....	144,000	‡350,790 Indians,		
Missouri.....	930,000	or about 1 in 4		
Columbia.....	288,000	square miles.		
	2,371,144	11,819,593		1,838,149

TABLE II.

COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE POPULATION AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

	In 1790.	*In* 1800.	*In* 1820.
New England States.	1,009,522	1,233,011	1,659,854
Middle States	1,337,454	1,813,712	3,179,944
Southern States	1,573,350	2,207,940	3,891,811
Western States	3,000	50,455	850,409
Territories		14,644	56,208
	3,923,326§	5,319,762	9,638,226‖

This district, situated between Maryland and Virginia, and including the Federal capital, belongs to Government.

† The extent of Florida is estimated by Malte Brun at 57,750 square miles; in Carey and Lea's Atlas, at 56,600. The above reduced estimate is according to the Table given by Captain Basil Hall.

‡ See page 7, of this volume.

§ In this estimate, the population of the new States, Alabama,

The census of 1810 gave 7,239,903 as the sum total of the population; but we have not deemed it necessary to give the details. On comparing these different estimates, it appears, that, between 1790 and 1820, the population of the United States steadily increased at the rate of about 3 per cent. per annum. The increase from 1790 to 1800, was 35 per cent.; from 1800 to 1810, 34.6 per cent.; from 1810 to 1820, about 33 per cent.; *viz.*, 34 on the white population, 27½ on the free coloured, and 28 on the slaves. Since 1820, however, the increase has been only at the rate of 17¾ per cent.; *viz.*, 17$\frac{4}{10}$ on the free population, and 19½ on the slaves. The increase in some of the older States, between 1790 and 1810, was apparently inconsiderable; in Rhode Island and Connecticut, only about 10 per cent.; in Massachusetts and Maryland, nearly 20 per cent.; while, in the State of New York, the increase was most extraordinary; 72 per cent. for the first ten years of this

Mississippi, Louisiana, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, and of the Territories, are of course not included. The different classes were as follows.

Whites	3,166,160
Free coloured	59,511
Slaves	695,655
	3,923,326

The different classes were, in 1820, thus distributed:—

Whites	7,861,935
Free coloured	233,557
Slaves	1,538,118
"All other persons except Indians not naturalized."	4,616
	9,638,226

The number of "foreigners not naturalized" in 1820, was 53,655. The annual mean of the number of emigrants arriving in the United States in the years 1800—1820, was about 10,000.

period, and 62 per cent. for the last ten. This is explained by the fact, that a great proportion of the population thus rapidly accumulated in New York, was derived from New England; and swarms from this same hive have contributed to raise the population of the new States. In Georgia, the increase between 1790 and 1800, was 97 per cent.; in Vermont, 80 per cent.; in Tennessee and Kentucky, nearly 200 per cent. In the Western States, the rate of increase is not a subject for calculation, as they were, at the former period, a mere wilderness, and have been peopled by emigration. It will be seen, that the slaves, who, in 1790, formed nearly a sixth of the population, still bear about the same proportion, but are almost entirely confined to Maryland and the States south of the Potowmac and the Ohio. In Louisiana and South Carolina, the slave population is rather more than one-half; but, taking the slave States throughout, there are two whites to a black.* The free-coloured inhabitants, estimated in 1790, at somewhat less than 60,000, and in 1820, at 233,557, are now supposed to amount to about 260,000 souls. Yet, notwithstanding the numerous manumissions, the slave population has increased faster than the free. The Indians, who are wholly passed over in the official tables, are now less numerous, to the east of the Mississippi, than the free negroes. And what is not less remarkable, in North America alone, we meet

* Slaves have entirely disappeared, since the census of 1820, from the only parts of New England in which a few remained, as well as from New York and Pennsylvania. Their numbers were, Rhode Island, 48; Connecticut, 97; Pennsylvania, 211; New York, 10,088. Nine States, out of the twenty-four, have now no slaves. During the years 1804 to 1807, nearly 40,000 Africans were imported as slaves; but in the latter year, the trade was abolished. In 1810, nearly 200,000 had been emancipated or been born in a state of freedom. By an act of the legislature of New York, every remaining slave became free on the 4th of July, 1827.

with none of those mixed castes which, in Spanish and Portuguese America, form so large a proportion of the population. Of the Whites, the New Englanders, Virginians, and Carolinians are almost purely of British origin. Next to the British, in point of numbers, are the Germans and Irish, who are very numerous in the Middle States, particularly in Pennsylvania. Next to these are the Dutch, who are the most numerous in the State of New York; but, "from three-fifths to two-thirds" of the inhabitants of that State have emigrated from New England.* Nearly half the population of Louisiana is French.

The history of the settlement of America, and of the Revolution from which the Union dates its independence, would far exceed our prescribed limits. We must confine ourselves to a very brief outline of the leading events, commencing with the discovery of the Continent in the fifteenth century.

HISTORICAL MEMORANDA.

THE romantic story of the adventures of Columbus may be passed over as having little connexion with the northern section of the New World. The honour of first discovering the Continent must, without diminishing the merit of the Genoese Navigator, be given to John Cabot, a Venetian by birth, but who resided many years at Bristol, and to his son Sebastian. Soon after the result of Columbus's first voyage was known, Cabot was sent by the King of England (Henry VII.) on an expedition of discovery in the same direction. He sailed in the spring of

* Dwight, vol. iii. p. 252. "This proportion, the learned Writer represents to be continually increasing; so that "New York is ultimately to be regarded as a colony from New England."

1497, and steering directly west, arrived in June at a large island, which he called *Prima Vista*, but which has since become well known under the familiar name of Newfoundland. Here they landed, and brought away several of the productions of the country, and three of its inhabitants. It being their main object to discover a north-west passage to the Indies, they coasted the whole of the N.E. promontory of America between the parallels of 38° and 57°; then, returning, they cruised along the coast of East Florida; and thence sailed to England, without having made any settlement. Upon the discoveries made in this voyage, however, the English founded their claim to the eastern portion of North America.

It was in the year 1498, in his third voyage, that Columbus discovered the island of Trinidad and the coast of Paria and Cumana. In the following year, Alonso de Ojeda, who had accompanied Columbus in his second voyage, pursuing the same track, explored the coast as far as Cape de Vela. An account of this voyage was drawn up by Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine, who had accompanied Ojeda; and to the author of this first published description of the New World, was awarded the distinction due to its discoverer. "The name of Amerigo," says Robertson, "has supplanted that of Columbus; and mankind may regret an act of injustice which, having received the sanction of time, it is now too late to redress."

Such is the received story; but it is not a little remarkable, that it should be wholly uncertain, at what time the name of America came to be first given to the New World.* Nor is it less singular, that, if the continent really derived its name from "the impostor,"

* Robertson's America, vol. i. *note* 23.

it should not have been called Vespuccia. Amerigo is moreover so very extraordinary a baptismal name, that the fact of its having been conferred upon the Florentine adventurer in infancy, requires attestation. Is it not more probable, that it was an assumed name, and that "the vanity of a traveller," by which he is supposed to have been actuated, led him to appropriate the name by which the South American peninsula had been previously designated? It has been remarked, that America is a word very closely related, in appearance, to an appellation found in some of the native dialects; and it is at least possible, that it may have been applied to the country by those who had first any intercourse with the natives.

However this may have been, North America was long known by no other names than Florida and New Spain, under which were comprised the whole of the Spanish possessions in that region. Early in the year 1513, Juan Ponce de Leon, having subjugated Porto Rico to the crown of Spain, sailed from that island in a northerly direction, and reached the continent in latitude 30° 8′. Charmed with the verdant coast, he called it Florida; but, being resisted in his attempts to effect a landing, he returned to Porto Rico, after exploring the channel now called the Gulf of Florida. The name of Florida became gradually restricted to a smaller space by the French settlements in Canada, and by the successive establishments of the British on the Atlantic coast; but Louisiana was long known under the name of West Florida; and the Spaniards comprised, under the general name, the whole territory extending along the northern shores of the Mexican Sea, from the Mississippi to the Atlantic.

Passing over the various voyages undertaken by

adventurous navigators to the American shores between 1504 and 1540,* in the latter year the French made a first unsuccessful attempt to plant a colony in Canada. The first attempt to establish a settlement within the limits of the United States, had for its object, to secure an asylum from religious persecution. About the middle of the sixteenth century, Admiral Coligni, the head of the Protestants of France, was induced to project a settlement beyond the Atlantic, to which his brethren might retire from the persecutions of the Catholics. Fitting out two ships, he sent them out under the command of John Ribaut, who landed at a place supposed to be within the limits of South Carolina. Here he built a fort, which he garrisoned with a part of his men, and returned to France. Soon after his departure, the men who were left, mutinied, killed their commander, and having built and equipped a vessel, put to sea. After being out for several weeks, they were reduced to the extremity of famine, when they were taken up by an English vessel.† About two years afterwards, Coligni sent out a party to Florida, whose fate was still more disastrous. "The Spanish monarch, who laid claim to the country, sent out, in 1564, a considerable force to dislodge them. The greatest barbarities were in-

Florida was visited in 1520, by Vasquez; in 1523, by De Verrazini, a Florentine in the service of the King of France; in 1524, by De Geray, a Spaniard; in 1538, by Pamphilo de Narvaez, who eventually perished by shipwreck; and in 1539, by Ferdinand de Soto. In 1534, James Cartier, under the auspices of the French Government, sailed from St. Maloes for Newfoundland; whence he steered northward, and, on the festival of St. Lawrence, discovered the gulf and river on which he conferred the name of that saint. The next year, he sailed up the river as far as the rapids above Montreal, where he built a small fort, in which he wintered.

† Having consumed all their provisions, it is said, they had actually proceeded to kill and eat one of their number.

flicted upon the unfortunate emigrants, many of whom were hung on the trees, with an inscription purporting that they were destroyed, 'not as Frenchmen, but as heretics.' An ample and appropriate revenge was taken, not long afterwards, by the French. Dominic de Gourgues, a Gascon of adventurous and determined spirit, collected a party of his countrymen, and being joined by the Indians, attacked the fort in which the Spaniards were collected. Having carried it by storm, he hung up the garrison on the same trees that sustained the mouldering bodies of his countrymen, inscribing over them, that they were executed, 'not as Spaniards, but as cut-throats and murderers.'" *

"In 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, having received from Queen Elizabeth a grant of such 'remote, heathen, and barbarous lands' as he might discover and occupy, fitted out a squadron of five ships, and sailed for America. On arriving before St. John, in Newfoundland, he found thirty-six vessels fishing in the harbour. He landed and took possession of the country in the name of his sovereign. On his return to England, he suffered shipwreck and perished. In the next year, Sir Walter Raleigh, having obtained a renewal of the patent granted to Sir Humphrey, who was his half-brother, despatched to America two ships commanded by Captains Armidon and Barlow. They first landed on an island in the inlet to Pamplico Sound, and thence proceeded to the Isle of Roanoke, at the mouth of Albemarle Sound in North Carolina. At both places, they were treated with great respect

* Carey and Lea, 8vo. p. 329. We know not on what authority this relation rests. Another party of the unfortunate Hugonots were induced to go out to Rio Janeiro, the dupes and victims of an unprincipled French adventurer.—See MOD. TRAV., Brazil, vol. i. p. 23.

by the natives. Having freighted their ships with furs, sassafras, and cedars, they returned to England, where they published marvellous accounts of the beauty of the country, the fertility of the soil, the mildness of the climate, and the innocence of the natives. The Queen was so charmed with the description, that, as a memorial that the country had been discovered during the reign of a virgin queen, she called it VIRGINIA.

"The next year, Raleigh sent from England a fleet of seven vessels, commanded by Sir Richard Grenville (or Greenville), and carrying out upwards of one hundred persons, destined to begin a settlement. They were left under Ralph Lane, on Roanoke Island. The success of the Spaniards in finding gold in South America, led these adventurers to employ their time in a fruitless search for it here. In 1586, they were visited by Sir Francis Drake, who, at their request, conveyed them back to England. Lane having carried home a quantity of tobacco, the Indian custom of smoking it was adopted by Raleigh, a man of gayety and fashion, and was thus introduced at court.

"Soon after Drake had departed, Grenville again arrived with provisions for the settlement. Finding it abandoned, he left fifteen men to keep possession of the country. In 1587, three other ships were sent to the same place; but the men who had been left, could not be found, having probably been murdered by the savages. After remaining a few weeks on the coast, the ships returned to England, leaving 117 men on the islands. War then existing between England and Spain, two years elapsed before the coast was again visited. In that interval, the whole number perished; but in what manner, has never been ascer-

tained. Thus ended the exertions of Raleigh to plant a colony in America.

"These successive misfortunes withdrew for several years the attention of the English from these distant regions. In 1602, Bartholomew Gosnold made a voyage to America. Instead of taking the circuitous but usual route by the West India Islands, he steered directly west from England, and arrived, in May, on the coast of Massachusetts. Here he discovered a head-land, and taking a large quantity of cod fish near it, called it Cape Cod. Proceeding southwardly, he passed Gay Head, entered Buzzard's Bay, and upon an island within it, erected a small fort, the ruins of which were visible so late as the year 1797. After trading a while with the Indians, he returned home.

"The report made by Gosnold, revived the spirit of adventure. In 1603 and 1605, two voyages were made in the same direction; and Penobscot Bay, Massachusetts' Bay, and the rivers between them were discovered. The accounts given by the last navigators, confirmed the report of Gosnold, and led to a more extensive scheme of colonization than had yet been attempted. Of this scheme, Mr. Richard Hakluyt was the most active promoter. By his persuasion, an association of gentlemen in different parts of the kingdom, was formed for the purpose of sending colonies to America. Upon their application to King James, he, by letters-patent, dated in 1606, divided the country of Virginia (then considered as extending from the southern boundary of North Carolina to the northern boundary of Maine) into two districts, and constituted two companies for planting colonies within them. The Southern district, he granted to Sir Thomas Gates and his associates, chiefly resident in London, and therefore styled the London Company.

The Northern district, he granted to Thomas Hanham and his associates, who were called the Plymouth Company. The two districts were called South and North Virginia.* The members of these Companies were principally merchants. Their objects were, the extension of commerce and the discovery of mines of the precious metals, which were supposed to abound in North, as well as in South America. For the supreme government of the colonies, a grand council was instituted, the members of which were to reside in England, and to be appointed by the King. The subordinate jurisdiction was committed to a council in each colony, the members of which were to be appointed by the grand council in England, and to be governed by its instructions. To the emigrants and their descendants were secured the enjoyment of all the rights of denizens or citizens, in the same manner and to the same extent as if they had remained or been born in England.

"Before the date, however, of these letters-patent, the King of France granted to the Sieur De Monts, all the territory from the 40th to the 46th degree of north latitude, or from New Jersey to Nova Scotia, then called Acadia. By virtue of this grant, a settlement was made in 1604, on the south-eastern side of the Bay of Fundy, and called Port Royal. In 1608, Samuel Champlain, the agent of De Monts, laid the foundation of Quebec, the capital of Canada. From these possessions of the French, the colonies of New England and New York were, for more than a century, frequently and cruelly annoyed.

"The London Company, soon after its incorporation in 1606, despatched to America three ships, having on

* North America was at this time, as far as explored, divided into three immense territories, Canada or New France, Virginia, and Florida.

board 105 persons, destined to begin a settlement in South Virginia.....The place of their destination was the disastrous position at Roanoke. A storm fortunately drove them to the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, which they entered on the 26th of April, 1607. Discovering a large and beautiful river, they gave it the name of James River, (in honour of King James,) and ascending it, had, on its banks, several interviews with the natives, by whom, on making signs of peace, they were received as friends. On the 13th of May, they debarked at a place which they called James Town." *

This was the first town founded by the English in North America, and their first permanent settlement. The colony, however, through gross mismanagement, was soon brought to the verge of ruin by famine, hardships, and disease. To the great exertions and talents of Captain John Smith, who makes the most distinguished figure in the early history of this country, the colony was indebted for its preservation. By his resolute and persevering spirit, he prevailed on the adventurers not to abandon the settlement, while his activity and courage procured them the means of subsistence.† In 1609, a fresh party of settlers arrived.

* Hale's History, pp. 9—16.

† An incident which occurred during this period, has lent to his history the attraction of romance. While on an exploring party in search of provisions, near the source of the Chickahominy, he was surprised and taken prisoner by a party of Indians, whose king, Powhatan, condemned him, after a detention of six weeks, to be put to death. He was led forth to execution; his head was placed upon a stone, and an Indian stood near with a club, the instrument of death. At this instant, Pocahontas, the favourite daughter of Powhatan, rushed forward between the captive and the executioner, and resting her head upon that of the intended victim, intreated his life. Powhatan relented; he directed Smith to be conducted to his wigwam, and soon afterwards sent him back, escorted by twelve guides, to James Town. Pocahontas subse-

But such was the distress of the colony in 1610, that, in six months, the numbers were reduced from 500 to 60 persons; and the survivors had actually embarked on their return to England, when Lord Delaware, who had been appointed governor of Virginia under a new charter, arrived with a supply of provisions and 150 new settlers. Under the able administration of this nobleman and his successor, the affairs of the infant settlement were brought into a more promising condition. In 1619, the first legislative assembly was convened by Governor Yeardley, composed of delegates from all the boroughs, then amounting to seven. About this period, upwards of 1200 additional emigrants arrived, among whom were 150 young women, who were sold to the planters as wives, at 150 lbs. of tobacco each.* Another measure, of a different character, was adopted shortly afterwards. The Company were ordered by the King to transport to Virginia a hundred idle and dissolute persons, then in custody for their offences. They were distributed through the colony, and employed as labourers. A Dutch vessel also brought into James River twenty Africans, who were immediately purchased as slaves. "This was the commencement, in the Anglo-American colonies, of a traffic abhorrent to humanity, disgrace-

quently became the wife of Mr. Rolfe, a respectable young planter, who brought her to England, where she was presented at Court. She died when about to return to America, leaving one son, from whom are descended some of the most respectable families in Virginia.—Hale, pp. 17—22. Captain Smith, whom Mr. Jefferson styles, "next to Raleigh the founder of the colony," wrote its history, from the first adventures to the year 1624; and his work, written in a barbarous and uncouth style, is almost the only source of information relative to that period.

* Tobacco was then selling at 3*s.* the pound. The price was at first 100 lb. of tobacco, or about 15*l.*; but was then raised.

ful to civilization, and fixing the foulest stain upon the character of the age and nation."

The colony was now in the full tide of prosperity. Its numbers had greatly increased, and its settlements were widely extended. But in 1622, it was doomed to experience a reverse of fortune as terrible as it was sudden and unexpected. The settlers were treacherously surprised by a party of Indians, with whom they were at peace, and 347 men, women, and children fell victims to their savage ferocity. The massacre would have been more extensive, had not a domestic Indian, residing in one of the villages, revealed the plot to his master, whom he had been solicited to murder. Information was instantly given to some of the nearest settlements, just in time to save them from the common destruction. A vindictive and exterminating war succeeded, in which the Whites were victorious; and in a short time, most of the neighbouring tribes were either exterminated or compelled to retire far into the wilderness. But their own numbers melted away before the miseries of war; their settlements were reduced from eighty to eight; and famine again visited them with its afflicting scourge. In 1624, out of 9000 persons who had been sent from England, only 1800 existed in the colony.

These misfortunes led to the dissolution of the London Company. King James, having revoked their charter, issued a special commission for the government of the colony, all legislative and executive powers being vested in the commissioners. Under their arbitrary proceedings, the colony suffered severely; till at length, in 1636, the Virginians rose against the governor, Sir John Harvey, and sent him prisoner to England, despatching two delegates at the

same time to represent their grievances. They met with a stern reception from Charles I.; but their representations appear to have had some effect, as Sir William Berkeley, who was sent out as governor in 1639, was instructed again to allow the Virginians to elect representatives. Such was their gratitude to the King for this favour, that, during the civil wars that ensued, the Virginian colonists adhered to the royal cause; and even after the death of Charles I., they refused to acknowledge the authority of the Parliament, till, in 1652, Sir George Ayscue was sent with a powerful fleet to reduce them to submission. For nine years, the governors appointed by Cromwell continued to preside over the colony; but the predilection for royalty which the inhabitants had displayed, was remembered, and they were less favoured than the colonists of New England. Arbitrary restrictions upon the commerce of Virginia, checked its prosperity, and produced discontent. At length, the sudden death of Governor Matthews afforded to the adherents of the royal cause a favourable opportunity, which they gladly seized, to proclaim Charles II., and to invite Sir William Berkeley, the ex-governor, to resume his authority. Shortly afterwards, news arrived of the death of the Protector; and "Virginia for a long time boasted, that she was the last of the British dominions that submitted to Cromwell, and the first that returned to her allegiance."

These demonstrations of loyalty were speedily changed into murmurs and complaints by the conduct of Charles II., who, with characteristic ingratitude, not only disregarded the interests of the colony, but imposed additional restrictions upon its commerce, and granted to his favourites large tracts of land belonging to the colonists. An open and turbulent

insurrection was the consequence, headed by Nathaniel Bacon, a member of the council; and for some months, a civil war raged in Virginia with all its peculiar horrors. James Town was burned, and some of the finest and best cultivated districts were laid waste. The arrival of fresh troops from England, and the death of Bacon, terminated the insurrection; many of the rebels were tried by courts-martial, and executed; and at length, tranquillity was restored. Notwithstanding these disorders and the arbitrary restrictions upon commerce, the colony had so far recovered in the year 1688, that the number of inhabitants exceeded 60,000.*

The State of Virginia, though its territorial limits are much more contracted than those of the original colony, which embraced North Carolina and Maryland as well as Kentucky, still includes a territory as large as England. In 1790, its population had risen from 60,000 to 747,610 persons. It now amounts to 1,133,410, of whom 450,000 are slaves. Virginia ranks first in power and population among the southern States, and it has hitherto maintained a predominant influence over the rest of the Union. The illustrious Washington was a native of Virginia, which boasts of having given four presidents, out of five, to the American Federacy. This circumstance has been not unreasonably adduced as a proof of the ascendancy of the Virginian aristocracy, who, while encouraging the prevalence of democracy in the other States, have cautiously excluded it from the precincts of their own State.† Although the attachment to

* Hale, pp. 26—30.

† The right of suffrage in Virginia is restricted to freeholders. The senate consists of twenty-four members, chosen for four years, one-fourth going out every year, by which means it secures the ad-

royalty has become extinct among the Virginian landholders, in no part of the Union has there survived so much of the spirit of feudal and monarchical institutions.

Of the two Companies incorporated by King James, the history of one only has now been traced. To the Plymouth Company was assigned a territory further to the north, at that time called North Virginia. The first ship sent out by this Company in 1606, was captured by the Spaniards. The next year, forty-five men were sent out as settlers, who were left at the mouth of the river Kennebec; but in 1608, dispirited by the hardships they had endured, they returned to England in ships which had brought them provisions and succour; and the Company, disappointed and dissatisfied, desisted for a while from any further attempts to effect a settlement. In 1614, Captain John Smith (the same who acted so conspicuous a part in the settlement of Virginia) made a voyage to the northward, touching first at the mouth of the Kennebec, whence he proceeded, in an open boat, to survey the coast as far as the southern boundary of Massachusetts Bay. On his return to England, he presented to Prince Charles a map of the country, and gave him so glowing a description of its beauty and other recommendations, that the prince, in the warmth of his admiration, declared that it should bear the name of NEW ENGLAND.

Smith afterwards made an attempt to transport a colony thither, which was unsuccessful; and New England might long have remained the abode only of wild beasts and savages, had not motives more powerful

vantages of a permanent council. Its laws forbid real property to be attached for debt, and landed estates are generally left to the eldest son.

than the love of gain or the spirit of adventure, impelled men, differing in character from all others who had been founders of colonies, to select it as the place of their residence.

In the year 1618, a body of zealous and exemplary English Puritans,* who had emigrated to Leyden, in Holland, in order to enjoy that liberty of conscience which was denied them by the high commission court under James I., were led to turn their eyes towards America as an asylum from the evils to which they were still exposed. After due inquiries concerning the country, and many consultations with their friends in England concerning the dangers and difficulties that might attend the enterprise, they resolved to make the attempt, and accordingly applied to the London or South Virginian Company for a grant of land. To ensure success, they represented, "that they were well weaned from the delicate milk of their mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land; that they were knit together by a strict and sacred bond, by virtue of which they held themselves bound to take care of the good of each other and of the whole; that it was not with them as with other

* At their head were Mr. John Robinson and Mr. William Brewster; the former subsequently the minister, the latter the ruling elder of the congregation. "Many English writers," remarks Dr. Dwight, "have confounded Mr. Robinson and his people with the Brownists. Baylie more justly observes, that he was 'a principal overthrower of the Brownists'—'a man of excellent parts, of the most learned, polished, and modest spirit which ever separated from the Church of England.'"—Dwight, vol. i. p. 104. Neale states, that, upon his removal to Leyden, he erected a congregation upon the model of the Brownists, but that, by conversing with Dr. Ames and other learned men, he was led to adopt less rigid principles; and that his catholic views on the subject of communion, "gained him the character of a semi-separatist." He is styled by Neale, "the father of the Independents."—Neale, vol. ii. p. 43.

men, whom small things could discourage, or small discontents cause to wish themselves home again."

"A grant was obtained, and in September 1620, a part of them set sail for Hudson's River; but the master of the ship, bribed, it is said, by the Dutch, who claimed the sole right of trading in that quarter, carried them further north; and the first land they discovered, was Cape Cod. This, they were aware, was beyond the limits of the London Company; but it was now November, and too late in the season to put again to sea. They therefore determined to land at the first place they could find suitable for a settlement.

"Before leaving the ship, the heads of families and freemen, forty-one in number, signed a solemn covenant, combining themselves into a body politic, for the purpose of making equal laws for the general good. They ordained that a governor and assistants should be annually chosen; but the sovereign power remained in the whole body of freemen. John Carver was elected governor.

"On the 11th of December (O. S.), they landed on a desolate coast. Sterile sands and gloomy forests were the only objects that met their view. The severity of the cold, greater than they had yet experienced, admonished them to seek protection against it; and their first employment was the erection of huts in the most convenient and sheltered situations. In these miserable abodes they passed the winter; those, at least, who survived it. By the succeeding spring, one half of their number had perished, exhausted by continual suffering, and by the privation of every worldly comfort which they had been accustomed to enjoy.*

* The whole number that sailed from Plymouth, was 101. Six

"Their settlement was found to be within the limits of the Plymouth Company, from which they solicited and obtained a grant of land; but they were never incorporated by the King. They called the place New Plymouth. They often received small additions to their number, which, in 1630, amounted to 300.

"In the mean time, the same causes that drove Mr. Robinson and his congregation from England, had continued to operate. In 1627, an association of English puritans, residing in Dorchester and the vicinity, was formed for the purpose of planting a colony in New England, to which they and their brethren might repair, and, in seclusion and safety, worship God according to the dictates of conscience. They obtained from the Plymouth Company, a grant of the territory which now constitutes a part of the State of Massachusetts; and sent over, under the direction of John Endicott, a small number of people to begin a plantation. These, in September, landed at a place called by the Indians, Naumkeag, and by themselves, Salem.

"The next year, they obtained a charter from the Crown, by which the usual powers of a corporation were conferred upon the grantees, by the name of the 'Governor and Company of Massachusetts' Bay, in New England.' It ordained, that the officers of the Company should be a governor, a deputy-governor, and eighteen assistants, to be named, in the first instance, by the Crown, and afterwards elected by the corporation. Four stated meetings of all the members were to be held annually, under the denomination of the General Court, at which they were authorized to admit freemen or members, and to make such ordi-

died in the month of December, and 46 more in the course of the winter.

nances or laws, not repugnant to the laws of England, as they might deem expedient. The colonists and their descendants were declared to be entitled to all the rights of natural born English subjects.

"At a General Court held in London, in 1629, the officers prescribed by the charter were elected, and several ordinances were adapted for the government of the Company. Three hundred people were sent over, of whom one hundred, dissatisfied with the situation of Salem, removed to Charles-town. Religion was the first object of their care, in the country they had adopted. A religious covenant was agreed upon, and a confession of faith drawn up, to which their assent was given. Pastors were chosen, and were, from necessity, installed into their sacred offices, by the imposition of the hands of the brethren.

"The ensuing winter was a period of uncommon suffering and sickness. The cold was intense; the houses were unfinished; the provisions were insufficient and unwholesome. Before spring, nearly half their number perished, 'lamenting that they could not live to see the rising glories of the faithful.'

"These calamities had some effect in deterring others from joining them; but the consideration, that the general courts were held, the officers elected, and the laws enacted in London, had still greater influence. It did not comport with the views and feelings of those who disdained to submit to authority in matters of faith, to consent to remove to the New World, and there be governed by laws which they could have no part in enacting. Representations to this effect were made to the Company, who resolved that the government and patent should be removed to Massachusetts. This wise resolution gave such encouragement to emigration, that, in 1630, more than

1500 persons came over, and founded Boston and several adjacent towns. Of these persons, all were respectable, and many were from illustrious and noble families. Having been accustomed to a life of ease and enjoyment, their sufferings the first year were great, and proved fatal to many; among others, to the Lady Arabella Johnson, who, to use the words of an early historian of the country, 'came from a paradise of plenty and pleasure in the family of a noble earl, into a wilderness of wants, and, although celebrated for her many virtues, yet, was not able to encounter the adversity she was surrounded with; and in about a month after her arrival, she ended her days at Salem, where she first landed.' Mr. Johnson, her husband, overcome with grief, survived her but a short time.

"Before December, 200 perished. On the 24th of that month, the cold became intense. Such a Christmas-eve, they had never before known. Yet, the inclemency of the weather continued to increase. They were almost destitute of provisions, and many were obliged to subsist on clams, muscles, and other shell-fish, with nuts and acorns instead of bread. Many more died; but, in this extremity, that ardour of conviction which had impelled them to emigrate, remained in full force; and they met with a firm, unshaken spirit, the calamities which assailed them." *

Of this new colony, who planted themselves at Boston, John Winthrop, Esq., had been chosen governor in England, and he was re-elected after his arrival. He continued to hold this office for four years and a half. He has left behind, an exact journal of the occurrences between the years 1630 and 1649,

* Hale, pp. 34—39.

which affords some curious and interesting illustrations of the manners and condition of these pious emigrants. The houses of the first settlers of Boston were, of course, extremely simple and unadorned. Wooden chimneys were common for many years; and "a wainscot of clap-boards" in the house of the deputy-governor, was regarded as a highly censurable piece of extravagance. The house of the "ladye Moodye" at Salem, a person of high consideration, was nine feet high, having a chimney in the centre. The furniture of the early colonists, was of a somewhat different quality. Much of it was brought from England and was of considerable value, forming a strange contrast to the humble architecture of the huts or sheds in which it was often deposited. Thus, in an inventory of the effects of Governor Winthrop's fourth wife, dated 1647, are mentioned, "silk curtains, brass andirons, *cheny* plates and saucers, and Turkey carpets." The country furnished fish and game in abundance; "and though," says the Governor, (in a letter dated November 29, 1630,) "we have not beef and mutton,* yet, God be praised, we want them not; our Indian corn answers for all." Groceries were soon brought over in abundance from England; but tea and coffee were, at that time, luxuries unknown in Europe. Many laws were early made "against tobacco, and immodest fashions, and costly apparel;" and attempts equally misjudged and unavailing were

* "The first neat cattle introduced into New England, were a bull and three heifers, brought from England by Mr. Winslow, afterwards Governor of the colony, to Plymouth. More were imported from time to time. The second Salem Company brought with them a considerable number, together with some horses, sheep, and goats. After a little period, they became so numerous, as to supply all the wants of the inhabitants."—Dwight, vol. i. p. 110.

made, to regulate the spirit of gain, as well as to check a disposition to expense. The prices of labour and of commodities were fixed repeatedly by positive laws; but experience soon proved the futility of all such projects. Another feature of their legislative policy, has exposed "the pilgrim fathers" of New England to the charge of intolerance. At a general court held in 1631, they ordained, that none but those who had made a profession of religion, and had become members of some church, should be admitted members of the Corporation, or enjoy the privilege of voting. This law, however contrary to just views of political liberty, was in strict accordance with the avowed motives of their emigration. Their object, it has been justly remarked, was, "to plant a church, not an empire; and they were not merely a religious, but a theological," or rather an ecclesiastical community.* "The settlers of New England," remarks Dr. Dwight, "fled from persecution. Every government in the Christian world claimed, at that time, the right to control the religious conduct of its subjects. This claim, it is true, finds no warrant in the Scriptures. But its legitimacy never had been questioned, and, therefore, never investigated. All that was then contended for, was, that it should be exercised with justice and moderation. Our ancestors brought with them to America, the very same opinions concerning this subject, which were entertained by their fellow-citizens, and by all other men of all Christian countries. As they came to New England, and underwent all the hardships of colonizing it, for the sake of enjoying their religion unmolested, they naturally were very reluctant that others, who had borne no

* North American Review, No. liv. p. 29.

share of their burdens, should wantonly intrude upon their favourite object, and disturb the peace of themselves and their families. With these views, they began to exercise the claim above mentioned, and, like the people of all other countries, carried the exercise to lengths which nothing can justify. But it ought ever to be remembered, that no other civilized nation can take up the first stone to cast against them." *

It was not long before a case arose, which put to the test the tolerant nature of their theocratic principles of government. In the year 1634, Roger Williams, the minister of Salem, having occasioned disturbances, by advancing tenets which were considered as not only heretical, but seditious, and being found irreclaimable, was ordered to leave the colony. The cause of his banishment is very differently stated. By some writers, he is represented as having been expelled simply for avowing the doctrine, that the civil magistrate is bound to grant equal protection to every denomination of Christians; a doctrine too liberal for the age in which he lived.† If Dr. Dwight, however, is correct, this was by no means the fact. "This gentleman," says the learned Writer, "came to New England in the year 1631, and was chosen as an assistant in the ministry to Mr. Skelton, at Salem. His peculiar opinions had given offence to the magistrates before his

* Dwight, vol. i. p. 134.

† See Hale's History, p. 94. Carey and Lea, p. 113. "On his arrival at Boston," it is stated in the latter work, "he promulgated sentiments respecting freedom of conscience, for which the minds of men were not yet prepared. He maintained, to the astonished and indignant clergy of Massachusetts, that all men were entitled of right to the same exercise of their opinions on religious subjects." No reference is made to his extravagancies on other points.

ordination. After he was ordained, he persuaded the church at Salem to send admonitory letters to that of Boston, and to several others, in which they accused the magistrates who were members of them, of gross offences, and denied the character of purity to all the churches but their own. It will naturally be supposed, that these letters were not very favourably received. Soon afterwards, Mr. Williams impeached and denied the purity of even the Salem church, and separated himself from it, because it would not refuse to hold communion with the other churches in New England. In the mean time, he separated from his own wife, and would perform no act of religious worship when she was present, because she attended divine service at the church in Salem. He also influenced Mr. Endicot to cut the cross out of the King's colours, as being a relic of anti-christian superstition; and taught, that it was not lawful for a pious man to commune in family prayer, or in taking an oath, with persons whom he judged to be unregenerate. He would not take, nor, so far as was in his power, suffer others to take, the oath of fidelity, because the magistrates who administered it were, in his view, unrenewed. He also taught, that it is not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray. Mr. Williams, I fully believe to have been an upright man. What was very remarkable, he held the very just as well as liberal opinion, which one would hardly expect to find united with those mentioned above, that 'to punish a man for any matters of his conscience, is persecution.' Efforts were made to reclaim this gentleman; but they were made in vain. He was therefore banished from Massachusetts.

"In 1638, Mr. William Coddington, one of the original planters of Massachusetts, a respectable mer-

chant in Boston, and one of the first assistants (in council), disgusted with the proceedings of the government against the Antinomians, and not improbably attached to their doctrines, having sold his estate, quitted the jurisdiction, and, with a number of his associates, settled on the island of Aquidnick (or Aquetnec), in Narrhagansett Bay, and named it Rhode Island." *

Such was the commencement of that colony, of which, though Coddington was the first governor, Roger Williams is to be considered as the founder and legislator, as the settlement was made under his advice; and to him is attributed the merit of having first set an example of the equal toleration of all religious sects in the same political community.†

To return to the history of Massachusetts. In 1635, this colony received a fresh accession of emigrants from England, among whom were two individuals who were destined to act conspicuous parts in the subsequent affairs of their native country. One was Hugh Peters, afterwards one of the chaplains of the Protector; the other Mr. (afterwards Sir Henry) Vane. The latter was at this time but five-and-twenty years of age; but, by his grave deportment, his engaging manners, and his ardent professions of attachment to liberty, he so ingratiated himself with the settlers, that, the year after his arrival, he was chosen governor of the colony. His popularity, however, we are told, was transient. "During his administration, the

* Dwight, vol. i. pp. 113—115.

† Hale, p. 95. This toleration seems, however, to have been by no means so complete as has been represented. We are told, that the supreme assembly of this State, when invested with legislative power by royal charter in 1663, granted the right of voting to all Christian sects, *except Roman Catholics*.—*Ib.* p. 96.

celebrated Mrs. Hutchinson, a woman who was distinguished for her eloquence, and had imbibed the enthusiasm of the age, instituted weekly meetings for persons of her own sex, in which she commented on the sermons of the preceding Sunday, and advanced certain mystical and extravagant doctrines; these spread rapidly among the people, and many became converts. Governor Vane, with Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wheelwright, two distinguished clergymen, embraced them with ardour; but Lieutenant-Governor Winthrop, and a majority of the churches, deemed them heretical and seditious. Great excitement was produced among the people; many conferences were held; public fasts were appointed; a general synod was summoned; and, after much intemperate discussion, her opinions were determined to be erroneous, and she and some of her adherents were banished from the colony.

"Not being again chosen governor, Vane returned in disgust to England; engaged in the civil wars which soon afterwards afflicted the country; sustained high offices in the republican party; and, after the restoration of Charles II., was accused of high treason, convicted, and executed. Peters pursued a similar career, and met with the same fate.

"In such high repute at this time were the settlements at Massachusetts, that other Englishmen, still more conspicuous, had determined to leave their native land, that they might enjoy in a desert the civil and religious liberty which was denied them at home. Among these were, Mr. Hampden, Sir Arthur Haselrig, and Oliver Cromwell, whom King Charles, by express order, detained when on the point of embarking. Little did he imagine, that, by this act of arbitrary

power, he kept within his kingdom those votaries of freedom, who were destined to overturn his throne, and bring his head to the block." *

By the settlement of Massachusetts, the attention of emigrants was diverted from the colony of Plymouth, where the soil was less fertile. It nevertheless continued to increase in population, although slowly. The territory occupied by the Plymouth colonists, had been originally inhabited by the native tribe of the Wampanoags; but, a few years before the arrival of the English, an epidemic disease had swept away a great number of the Indians, almost exterminating whole tribes; and in 1633, the small-pox destroyed many of those who had survived the pestilence. The territory contiguous to the first settlements of the English, "seemed to have been providentially made vacant for their reception." Massasoit, the chief sachem of this tribe, was glad, in the reduced state of his nation, to enter into a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with the colonists, which he maintained, without any serious interruption, to his death.†

In 1631, Wahquimacut, a sachem on Connecticut River, terrified by the power of the warlike tribe of Pequods, repaired to Plymouth and Boston, to invite

* Hale, pp. 41, 42. See Neale's History of the Puritans, vol. ii. (8vo.) p. 287. The statement rests on the authority of Dugdale and Dr. George Bates. There were eight sail of ships in the Thames, bound for New England, and filled with Puritan families, among whom were the three illustrious individuals above mentioned; "when the council, being informed of their design, issued out an order, dated May 1, 1638, to make stay of those ships, and to put on shore all the provisions destined for the voyage; and, to prevent the like for the future, his Majesty prohibited all masters and owners of ships to set forth any ship for New England with passengers, without special license from the privy council."

† Dwight, vol. i. p. 108.

the colonists to make a settlement in his country. Governor Winslow accordingly made an excursion to Connecticut River the following autumn, and selected a spot for the erection of a trading-house. The Dutch at Manhattan (New York), apprised of this project, determined to anticipate them, and immediately despatched a party, who erected a small fort, with two cannon, at Hartford. In September 1633, a company from Plymouth, having prepared the frame of a house, put it on board a vessel, and passing by the Dutch fort, conveyed it to the spot previously selected near the mouth of Windsor River, and, having raised and covered it, fortified it with palisades. The Dutch, considering them as intruders, sent, the next year, a band of seventy men to dislodge them; but finding them strongly posted, they relinquished the design. In the autumn of 1635, many of the inhabitants of Dorchester and Watertown, in Massachusetts, having heard of the fertile meadows on Connecticut River, removed thither with their ministers, and began settlements at Mattaneang and Pauquiaug, now called Windsor and Wethersfield. During the ensuing winter, their sufferings from scarcity of provisions were extreme; and many, in dread of starvation, returned to Massachusetts. In a journey of fourteen days through a dreary wilderness, at that inclement season, they encountered indescribable hardships. In the same year, John Winthrop, Esq. son of Governor Winthrop, arrived from England with a commission, given to him by Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook, and their associates, who had bought of Robert, Earl of Warwick, the patent of Connecticut, March 19, 1631; which commission constituted him "governor of the river Connecticut with the places adjoining thereunto,

for the space of one year after his arrival." The territory conveyed by the Connecticut patent, included, according to the apparent import of the description, four-fifths of the State of Rhode Island, and one-fourth of Massachusetts; and so little was then known of the geography of the New World, that the grant was made to extend, in longitude, from the Atlantic Ocean to the South Sea! The articles agreed upon between Mr. Winthrop and the patentees, however, confined his exertions to the grounds on Connecticut River, requiring him to erect a fort near its mouth, for the security of the river and the safety of the planters. The fort was scarcely completed, when a party sent by the Dutch of New York, arrived at the entrance of the river; but the English, having mounted two cannon, forced them to retire.* The next spring, those who had been compelled by famine to revisit Massachusetts, returned to Connecticut. They were followed in June by another company, consisting of about one hundred men, women, and children, headed by their minister, Mr. Thomas Hooker, who, travelling through the wilderness, laid the foundation of Hartford.†

Attempts had been made, soon after the colonization of Plymouth, to begin a settlement in the territory to the north of Massachusetts, now called New Hampshire, under the patent granted by the Plymouth or New England Company to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason, (two active members of the

* The English fort was called Saybrook Fort from Lords Say and Seal, and Brook; and the same name was subsequently given to the town.—Dwight, vol. i. p. 112. Hale, pp. 84, 5.

† "They were nearly a fortnight on their journey; they drove their cattle with them, and subsisted, by the way, upon the milk of their cows.—Hale, p. 85.

council of Plymouth,) comprising the country "between the rivers Merrimac and Sagadahock, back to the Great Lakes and the river of Canada." A few adventurers planted themselves at Newichwannoc (Dover), in 1624. In 1629, a company of settlers, at the head of whom was the Rev. John Wheelwright, purchased of several sachems the country between the Merrimac and the Pascataqua, from the ocean as far back as the township of Amherst, about fifty miles inland: by this company were laid the foundations of the towns of Portsmouth, Dover, Hampton, and Exeter.* The inhabitants of these towns met with many difficulties, owing partly to the severity of the climate, partly to intestine divisions; and they were involved in many perplexing disputes with contending patentees, to whom the same land had been granted successively over and over again.† The Indians, too, in this neighbourhood were formidable, while the settlers were comparatively few and feeble. At length, in 1641, these little republics, distrusting their ability to protect themselves, formed a coalition with Massachusetts; and they long remained a part of that colony. It was not till 1679, that New Hampshire was, by royal decree, constituted a separate province, contrary to the wishes of the inhabitants.‡

The rapid progress of the English settlements at

* In 1631, the first house was built at Portsmouth; but the first house in New Hampshire was built in 1624, at the mouth of the Piscataqua, and was called Mason Hall in honour of the patentee.

† In 1629, the territory already purchased of the Indians by Wheelwright, was granted to Mason alone; and it then first received the name of New Hampshire. The civil wars in England diverted the attention of Mason from his grant; but in 1675, his grandson applied to the King in council, to obtain possession of the lands granted to his ancestor, and the peace of the colony was long disturbed by the claims of the litigants.

‡ Dwight, vol. i. pp. 112, 13; Hale, pp. 78, 9.

length excited the jealousy of the natives. Within the boundaries of Rhode Island and Connecticut lived two warlike tribes, the Pequods and the Narragansets. The latter were friendly, the former hostile to the Whites. Between the two tribes, an inveterate enmity existed; but the more sagacious and politic Pequods proposed to suspend their animosities, in order to direct their united strength against the strangers, before they should become too strong to be resisted. At first, the Narragansets wavered; but, their hatred of the Pequods overpowering the suggestions of policy, they disclosed the proposal to the English, and invited their concurrence in a war against the common enemy. Roused to a sense of their danger, the colonists of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut agreed to unite their forces, and attempt the entire destruction of the Pequods. In May 1637, Captain Mason, with eighty men, principally from Connecticut, and three hundred friendly Indians, entered the country of the enemy, and attacked one of their principal villages. The resistance was brave and obstinate, and the issue of the battle for some time doubtful; but the Whites, having forced their way into the palisadoed enclosure, set fire to the wigwams; they then surrounded the town, and, of 500 or 600 within the enclosure, few escaped. In June, another body of troops, principally from Massachusetts, marched into the Pequod country, and surrounding a swamp into which a party of the enemy had retired, took 80 captive. Those who escaped, were pursued to another swamp near New-haven, where the whole strength of the tribe was collected. This was, in like manner, surrounded, and a sharp contest ensued; but the Whites were victorious. Two hundred Pequods were killed or made prisoners, and the remainder fled

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to the country of the Mohawks. The complete success of the English, in this short war with the natives, gave the neighbouring tribes so exalted an idea of their prowess, that, for nearly forty years, they were neither attacked nor molested.

In this same year (1637), the foundation was laid of a fifth colony, within the limits of the Connecticut patent. In June of that year, two ships arrived at Boston, from England, having on board Mr. Davenport, Mr. Eaton, and many other persons of high respectability, whom religious motives had impelled to emigrate. As some of them possessed great wealth, the General Court of Massachusetts, desirous of detaining them in the colony, offered them any place they might select for a plantation. Wishing, however, to institute a civil and religious community conformable to their peculiar principles, they removed the next year to Quinnipiac, which they called New Haven. Soon after their arrival, at the close of a day of fasting and prayer, they subscribed what they termed a plantation covenant, solemnly binding themselves, "until otherwise ordered, to be governed in all things, of a civil as well as religious concern, by the rules which the Scriptures held forth to them." They purchased of the natives large tracts of land; and laid out their town in squares, designing it for a great and elegant city. In 1639, all the free planters assembled to lay the foundation of their civil and religious polity; when it was resolved, that none but church members should be allowed the privilege of voting, or be eligible to office; all the officers of the colony were to be annually elected; and it was declared, that the word of God should be the only rule for ordering the affairs of the commonwealth. Such was the original constitution of New-haven;

but, as the population increased, and new towns were settled, different regulations were adopted, and the constitution and laws became gradually assimilated to those of Connecticut; with which colony they were eventually united, much against their wishes, by royal charter.

Ten years had now elapsed since the first settlement was made at Salem. Within that period, it is computed, that no fewer than 21,000 persons had arrived from England in Massachusetts.* But, with the ascendancy of the Puritan party at home, the motive for emigration ceased; and it is supposed, that, for many years afterwards, more persons returned to England, than left it for the colonies. Such, however, were the character and virtues of the emigrants, and such their fortitude and enterprise, that they continued to increase with astonishing rapidity, both in wealth and numbers. And a vote of the House of Commons, stating, "that the plantations in New

* Neale says: "In the succeeding twelve years of Archbishop Laud's administration (1629—1640), there went over about 4000 planters, who laid the foundation of several little towns and villages up and down the country, carrying over with them, in materials, money, and cattle, &c., not less than to the value of 192,000*l.*, besides the merchandize intended for traffic with the Indians. Upon the whole, it has been computed, that the four settlements of New England, *viz.*, Plymouth, the Massachusetts' Bay, Connecticut, and New Haven, all which were accomplished before the beginning of the civil wars, drained England of 400,000*l.* or 500,000*l.* in money; (a great sum in those days;) and if the persecution of the Puritans had continued twelve years longer, it is thought, that a fourth part of the riches of the kingdom would have passed out of it through that channel. The chief leaders of the people into these parts, were the Puritan ministers, who, being hunted from one diocese to another, at last chose this wilderness for their retreat. I have before me a list of 77 divines, who became pastors of sundry little churches and congregations in that country before the year 1640, all of whom were in orders in the church of England."—Neale, vol. ii. pp. 135, 136.

England had had good and prosperous success, without any public charge to the State," is quoted by an historian of those times as an honourable testimony of the high merit of the colonists. During the civil wars, the New England colonists could not but embrace with ardour the cause of civil liberty; and the Parliament rewarded their attachment, by exempting them from all taxes. In Cromwell, when advanced to the Protectorate, they found a sincere and zealous patron. After the conquest of Ireland, he invited them to return and settle in that country; and subsequently, having conquered Jamaica, he endeavoured to persuade them to remove to that fine and fertile island. But his arguments were unavailing. Enjoying in their present abode complete religious freedom, they were unwilling to hazard that privilege in the pursuit of inferior advantages. At the end of fifty years from the arrival of the first emigrants at Plymouth, the New England settlements were supposed to contain 120 towns, and as many thousand inhabitants.*

In the circumstances of its origin, in the character and motives of the first settlers, the colony of New England differs from any other that has ever been planted in any part of the globe. Had not a cruel necessity impelled them to leave their native land for the western wilderness, the idea of such a polity as they erected, would still have been regarded as Utopian. That it was in all respects consonant with either political wisdom or correct views of the genius of Christianity, cannot be maintained; but it may fairly be stated, that their errors and defects were those of the age in which they lived, while their virtues, which rose almost to the heroic height, would have shed lustre upon any age. Yet, even in America, while their

* Hale, pp. 44—47, 53.

characters have sometimes been held up as models of almost supernatural excellence, they have more generally been depicted in far different colours.* A contemporary American writer has vindicated "the pilgrim fathers" of New England from the flippant censures of his degenerate countrymen, with equal discrimination and force. "The first colonists of Massachusetts were," he remarks, "unquestionably, on the whole, a highly respectable community. They were among the best specimens of what was then, and is now, the best class of society in Great Britain,—its well educated commoners;—men superior, perhaps, to any of their successors in deep and extensive learning, and second to none for fervent piety, for stern integrity, and disinterested patriotism. But that all the early settlers of New England were of this description, is a supposition which, though it sometimes seems to have been taken for granted, is manifestly absurd. There were several of the same stamp with those who find a place in every new country, needy and desperate adventurers, who hoped to find in a remote settlement, the subsistence which they were unwilling to procure by honest exertions in their native land.† Crimes, even of the most shocking description, sometimes occurred; and there was, even in the more respectable classes of society, a deficiency in refinement and deli-

* "There are many among us, who seemed to be ignorant of almost every event which occurred in Massachusetts during the seventeenth century, except the destruction of the Aborigines, the persecution of the Quakers, and the execution of the witches."—N. Amer. Rev. No. liv. p. 24.

† Even Dr. Dwight, the zealous apologist of the New England colonists, represents the first settlers in Connecticut, as "not a little perplexed by loose ministers and magistrates; such as always withdraw from regular, well principled society, to indulge their mischievous dispositions, and establish their influence in more imperfect communities."—Dwight, vol. i. p. 113.

cacy of manners, which proves, more than any thing else, the progress of society since the seventeenth century. If, however, we can claim any superiority as an enlightened and refined community, over our forefathers, let us never forget, how much of this pre-eminence we owe to their wisdom and liberality. The erection of the venerable universities of Harvard and Yale; the adoption, to a great degree, of those statutes of descent and distribution, beautifully denominated by Judge Story, 'the only true and just Agrarian laws,' which have utterly obliterated the few vestiges of aristocracy which had found a place in our land; the provisions for the support of religion, which combine so happily the interest of the public with the liberty of the individual; and, above all, the introduction of free schools; these great sources of our freedom, or equality, our intellectual and moral power, were all established by the founders of New England, during the first century of its existence. Our fathers were no devotees of ancient prejudices, anxious to exclude every ray of intellectual light which might disclose the effects of their own political and religious systems; no crafty tyrants, labouring to establish the power of the few by perpetuating the ignorance of the many; no wild fanatics, who thought that divine truth could be only contaminated by the admixture of human learning. They were enthusiasts, indeed, but it was a dignified and generous enthusiasm;—an enthusiasm which sought noble ends by noble means. It was their great object, to render their posterity a religious, by rendering them an enlightened people. We may smile at the whimsical peculiarities of the pilgrims, or lament their graver faults; but we shall shew little of the boasted liberality of the present day, if we can read their annals with no other emotions than these; if we fail to render

due homage to their unwavering singleness of purpose, their unconquerable perseverance, their unquenchable zeal for the dissemination of pure truth, and for the prosperity of their adopted country."*

It has already been mentioned, that the territory now denominated New York, was first colonized by the Dutch. "In 1609, Henry Hudson, an Englishman, but sailing in the service of the Dutch East India Company, discovered Long Island, the harbour of New York, and the river to which his name has been given. In 1613, several Dutch merchants, to whom the Republic of Holland had granted the exclusive right of trading in this part of America, erected a fort near Albany, which they named Fort Orange, and a few trading houses on the island of New York, then called by the Indians, Manhattan.

"In the same year Captain Argal, who had been sent by the settlers of Virginia to drive the French from their settlements on the Bay of Fundy, visited, on his return, the Dutch on Hudson's River. Claiming the country for his nation, by right of prior discovery, he demanded their acknowledgement of its authority. Being few in number, they prudently submitted, without attempting to resist. But, receiving a reinforcement the next year, they again asserted the right of Holland to the country, and erected Fort Amsterdam, on the south end of the island.

"The English, for many years, forbore to interfere with their pursuits or claims. In 1621, the Republic, desirous of founding a colony in America, granted to the Dutch West India Company, an extensive territory on both sides of the Hudson. The country was

* N. Amer. Rev. No. liv. pp. 35, 36. See also Dwight, vol. i. pp. 132—143.

called New Netherlands. The boundaries were not accurately defined, but were considered by the Company as including Connecticut River to the North, and Delaware River to the South. In 1623, they erected a fort on the Delaware, which they called Nassau; and ten years afterwards, another, on the Connecticut, which they called Good Hope. Near the former, the Swedes had a settlement. From the interfering claims of the two nations, quarrels arose between the settlers, which, after continuing several years, terminated in the subjugation of the Swedes. Towards the fort on the Connecticut, the settlements of the English rapidly approached, and soon occasioned disputes which had a longer duration and a different result.

"The Dutch did not escape the calamity of war with the savages. Hostilities commenced in 1643, continued several years, and were very destructive to both parties. William Kieft, the Governor of the New Netherlands, invited Captain Underhill, who had been a soldier in Europe, and had made himself conspicuous in New Hampshire, for his eccentricities in religion and conduct, to take command of his troops. Collecting a flying party of 150 men, he was enabled to preserve the Dutch settlements from total destruction. The number of Indians whom he killed in the course of the war, was supposed to exceed 400. In 1646, a severe battle was fought on that part of Horse-neck called Strickland's Plain. The Dutch were victorious; on both sides, great numbers were slain; and for a century afterwards, the graves of the dead were distinctly visible.

"In 1650, Peter Stuyvesant, then the able governor of the New Netherlands, met the commissioners of the New England colonies at Hartford, where, after

much altercation, a line of partition between their respective territories was fixed by mutual agreement. Long Island was divided between them: the Dutch retained the lands which they occupied in Connecticut, surrendering their claim to the residue. But Charles II., denying their right to any portion of the country, determined to expel them from it. In 1664, he granted to his brother, the Duke of York and Albany, all the territory between Nova Scotia and Delaware Bay; and though England and Holland were then at peace, he immediately sent three ships with 300 troops to put him in possession of his grant. The commander of the expedition, Colonel Nichols, summoned Governor Stuyvesant to surrender the town, promising to secure to the inhabitants their lives, liberty, and property. At first, he refused; but the magistrates and people, allured by the proffered terms, constrained him to consent. Fort Orange surrendered soon afterwards, to Sir George Carteret. In compliment to the Duke, the name of Manhattan was changed to New York, and that of Orange to Albany.

"In 1673, England and Holland being then at war, a few Dutch ships were despatched to reconquer the country. On their arrival at Staten Island, a short distance from the city, John Manning, who had command of the fort, sent down a messenger, and treacherously made terms with the enemy. The Dutch sailed up the harbour, and took possession of the fort and city, without firing or receiving a shot. The next year, peace was concluded, and the country was restored to the English. The Duke obtained a new patent, confirming his title to the province." * On his

* Hale, pp. 97—101. It was agreed by the treaty of Westminster in 1674, that Surinam should remain the property of the Dutch for ever, in exchange for the province of New York.

accession to the throne, it of course merged in the rights of the crown.

The settlement of the minor states of New Jersey and Delaware will require but a brief notice. The first settlement within the limits of New Jersey, was made by the Danes, about the year 1624. In 1627, a number of Swedes and Finns, sent out by a Swedish company under the patronage of King Gustavus Adolphus, having purchased of the natives the land on both sides of the Delaware, made their first settlement on its western bank, near Christina creek. They retained possession of the country until 1655, when they were expelled by the Dutch; and New York, New Jersey, and Delaware, were comprised in the territory to which they gave the name of the New Netherlands. On its conquest by the English, the tract between the Hudson and Delaware rivers was conveyed by the Duke of York to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret; and it received the name of New Jersey in compliment to the latter, who had been governor of the island of Jersey, and had held it for Charles I. during his contest with the Parliament. After various transfers and changes, the proprietary right was surrendered to the Crown; and up to the year 1738, New Jersey and New York had the same governor, though with a separate assembly. In that year, the inhabitants petitioned the King to have a separate governor, and their request was acceded to. Delaware, which received from the original settlers the name of New Sweden, was at first considered as a part of the province of New York; but was afterwards governed, for twenty years, as a part of Pennsylvania, having been purchased by the founder of that state. At length, in 1703, it obtained the privilege of a separate assembly, but remained subject to the same jurisdiction.

The history of the settlement of Pennsylvania, (next to New York the largest of the Middle States,) derives peculiar interest from the character and policy of its truly illustrious founder. William Penn was the son of Admiral Sir William Penn, who, in the year 1655, rendered very important services to the English nation, by the conquest of Jamaica from the Spaniards, and by a naval victory over the Dutch. At an early period of his life, the son, to the great mortification of the Admiral, embraced the opinions of the Quakers, to whom persecution had about that period begun to attract the public attention. Of their sufferings for conscience' sake, Penn had his full share. Expelled from the University of Oxford, turned out of doors by his father, and repeatedly imprisoned for promulgating his sentiments, he displayed the most heroic constancy and fortitude; and ultimately, Sir William, convinced of his son's integrity, relented and discovered an affectionate concern for his welfare. On his death-bed, he charged him to do nothing against his conscience; and he obtained from the Duke of York, a promise to protect him as far as might be consistent.

So early as the year 1675, Penn had been chosen to arbitrate between John Fenwick of Connecticut, and Edward Byllinge, in reference to certain territories in New Jersey, which the latter had purchased of Lord Berkeley. Byllinge, being involved in debt, consented that the lands should be sold for the benefit of his creditors; and William Penn agreed to become one of the three trustees. The principal management of this concern devolving on Penn, his attention was thus drawn towards the New World. Disgusted with the vices of European society, and pained at the sufferings to which conscientious dissidents, particularly those of his own sect, were continually exposed in England, he

formed the project of founding a colony in that distant region, where the persecuted might find an asylum, and which might diffuse, by example and instruction, the light of Christianity among the barbarous nations of the New Continent. While superintending the settlement of New Jersey, he learned that there was an extensive tract of fertile, unoccupied land, lying between the territories of the Duke of York and Lord Baltimore. The Crown was indebted to his father's executors in the sum of about 16,000*l.*; and he petitioned that, as an acquittance for this debt, the tract might be granted to him. His request was acceded to, though not without objections being raised, particularly on the ground of his being a Quaker; and under the name of Pennsylvania, given to the province by King Charles in honour of the Admiral, the royal charter conveyed to him, in 1681, all that tract extending westward from the river Delaware 5° of longitude, northward to the parallel of 42°, and southward to a little below that of 40°. From the want of sufficient attention to former charters, this grant interfered with the claims both of Maryland and of Connecticut on the south and east; and hence arose contentions with regard to boundaries, which were not settled till a century afterwards.

Desirous of selling his lands, Penn published an account of the province, with a copy of the royal charter; and by public advertisement he set forth the advantageous terms on which he offered to part with the land to emigrants. In July 1681, he sold to a company of merchants and other persons, (chiefly Quakers,) 20,000 acres at the rate of 20*l.* for every thousand acres; and those who rented lands, agreed to pay one penny yearly per acre. Before the emigrants embarked, certain "conditions and concessions" were

mutually agreed upon between them and the Proprietor, and subscribed by both parties. In the fall of the year, three ships, carrying out settlers, sailed for Pennsylvania. The pious and philanthropic Proprietor sent a letter to the Indians, informing them, that "the great God had been pleased to make him concerned in their part of the world, and that the king of the country where he lived, had given him a great province therein; but that he did not desire to enjoy it without their consent; that he was a man of peace, and that the people whom he sent were of the same disposition; and, if any difference should happen between them, it might be adjusted by an equal number of men chosen on both sides." * The position chosen by these emigrants for a settlement, was above the confluence of the Delaware and the Schuylkill.

In April 1682, Penn published the Frame of Government which he designed for the new colony; also, a Body of Laws which had been examined and approved by the emigrants before they left England, and which reflects the highest honour on the wisdom, disinterestedness, and philanthropy of the legislator.†

* The purchase of the province of Pennsylvania by the Founder of the Colony, has been the subject of high panegyric. It is observable, however, that Penn considered himself as having a right to dispose of lands, and actually disposed of a considerable portion, before he knew whether the Indians were inclined to part with them. In purchasing the lands of the Indians, he imitated the wise and just policy of Lord Baltimore and the "Pilgrim Fathers" of New England. The right of appropriation claimed by the British Government, resting upon mere priority of discovery, assumed that the lands were unoccupied; and in fact, the Indians could scarcely be regarded as occupying the territories which formed their hunting-grounds.

† Among the laws of Penn, for which too high praise can scarcely be awarded to him, are those relative to universal toleration; the penal code, from which punishment by death was entirely excluded; and those which respected the treatment of Indians and

Having obtained from the Duke of York, the cession of a tract of land on the south side of the Delaware, part of which was already occupied by settlers, he set sail for America in August, accompanied by about 2000 emigrants, chiefly of his own persuasion; and in October, landed at New Castle in Delaware. Upon this tract, which formed part of the "Territories," as the land conveyed to him by the Duke was called, he found about 3000 Dutch, Swedes, and Finns. He proceeded to Chester, where, on the 4th of December, he held a general assembly, at which the Territories were annexed to the province of Pennsylvania, and the Frame of Government and code of laws were, with some modifications, formally adopted. His next step was, to ratify in person the terms of purchase and treaty of friendship which his commissioners had concluded with the natives. He proceeded, therefore, accompanied by some friends and young people of both sexes, to a place then called Coaquannoc, the site of the city which he afterwards founded under the name of Philadelphia (Brotherly Love). On arriving there, he found the sachems and their tribes already assembling; they filled the woods as far as the eye could reach, and had a formidable appearance both from their number and their arms. The white men were a mere handful, without weapons of any kind; "so that dismay and terror had come upon them, had they not confided in the righteousness of their cause." The spot upon which the council was held, is a little higher up, and was then named Shackamaxon: it is now occupied by the houses of Kensington, which may be considered as a suburb of Philadelphia. Here stood an elm of

Negroes. In his regulations on these heads, he not only set an example to all subsequent legislators, but anticipated the reasonings of philosophy in more enlightened times.

prodigious size, to which the leaders on each side repaired, approaching each other under its wide-spreading branches. William Penn appeared in his usual dress, without sword or staff, or any other insignia than a sky-blue sash of silk net-work.* On his right hand was Colonel Markham, his relation and secretary; on his left, his friend Pearson; and he was followed by a train of Quakers. Before him were carried various articles of merchandise, which, when they came near the sachems, were spread on the ground. In his hand he held a roll of parchment, containing the confirmation of the Treaty of Purchase and Amity. The chief sachem, on Penn's approach, put upon his own head a sort of chaplet in which appeared a small horn, the emblem of kingly power; and whenever the chief who had a right to wear it, put it on, the place was considered as sacred, and the persons of all present as inviolable. The Indians, on this sign, threw down their bows and arrows, and seated themselves round their chiefs in a semicircle. The chief sachem then announced, by means of an interpreter, that the nations were ready to hear the White chief. Upon this, Penn made a declaration of his pacific intentions, and, unrolling the parchment, explained, article by article, the conditions of the purchase and compact. He then paid them for the land, and made them many presents besides, and concluded the ceremony by presenting the parchment to the chief sachem, desiring him to preserve it carefully for three generations.

The settlement of no one of the colonies was commenced under auspices equally favourable. The experience of half a century had disclosed the evils to

* This sash was, in 1813, in the possession of Thomas Kett, Esq. of Seething Hall, near Norwich.

be avoided, and pointed out the course to be pursued. The Indians, having been already taught to fear the power of the Whites, were the more easily conciliated by their kindness. The soil being fertile, the climate temperate, and game abundant, the first emigrants escaped most of the calamities which afflicted the settlers in the more northern and southern provinces; and the rapid increase of population was beyond all former example.

Before the end of the year, Philadelphia contained eighty houses and cottages. In March 1683, a second assembly was held in the new city, at which Penn complied with the wishes of the freemen and delegates, in granting them a second charter, differing, in several of the provisions, from the first. The judicious regulations now adopted,* attracted numerous emigrants from various quarters; and to their salutary influence must be attributed, in great measure, the diligence, order, and habits of economy by which the Pennsylvanians are characterized. Within four years from the date of the royal grant to Penn, the province contained twenty settlements, and Philadelphia 2000 inhabitants.

In 1684, the Proprietor returned to England, leaving his province in profound tranquillity, under the administration of five commissioners chosen from the

* One of these regulations ordained, "that, to prevent lawsuits, three arbitrators, to be called peace-makers, should be chosen by the country courts, to hear and determine small differences between man and man." Another law abrogated the common law of England respecting descents, and distributed the estates of persons dying intestate among their children, assigning however a double share to the eldest son. But the most important and remarkable regulation was that which ordained, "that no one acknowledging one God, and living peaceably in society, should be molested for his opinion or practice, or be compelled to frequent or to maintain any ministry whatever."

council. He arrived about the time of the accession of James II., and was received by the new monarch with marks of favour and regard, which eventually raised a popular clamour against him as a concealed papist and jesuit. He employed his influence with the King solely for the purpose of doing good, intermeddling little in party or political matters; and while labouring under the most unfounded aspersions, he published no fewer than three works in favour of the most ample toleration. This served only to strengthen the opinion that he was of the same religious principles as the King; and the accession of the Prince of Orange enabled his enemies to gratify their malignant animosity. On the most unfounded charges, he was three times brought to trial, and acquitted. After the third acquittal, he was on the point of sailing for America, when, on a fresh accusation, an order for his apprehension was issued, and he was deprived of the government of his colony, which was given to Colonel Fletcher, the governor of New York.* After he had remained a considerable time in retirement, his friends of rank and influence (among whom were the Duke of Buckingham and Lords Somers and Sidney) represented his case to King William; who told them, that "William Penn was his old acquaintance as well as theirs, and that he might follow his business as freely as ever, for he had

* The suspicion of disloyalty appears to have been the ground for this proceeding, for which Penn's display of grateful attachment to the deposed monarch might furnish some pretext. "As he has been my friend and my father's friend," said Penn, "I feel bound in justice to be a friend to him." Accordingly, for two years after James II. was expelled from the throne, the government of the province continued to be administered in his name; a circumstance which might plausibly be laid hold of by his enemies as of a treasonable complexion.

nothing to say against him." He was soon afterwards restored to his government, and reconciled to the members of his own communion, who had distrusted his principles. Having settled his affairs in England, he once more sailed for America in 1699.

On his arrival in Pennsylvania, Penn found the colonists discontented with the form of government, by which they complained that his powers and their rights were not defined with sufficient precision; and they demanded further alterations. In 1701, he prepared and presented to the delegates a third charter, which conceded to the Assembly the right of originating bills, hitherto vested in the Governor, and of amending or rejecting those which might be laid before them; a *veto* only being reserved to the Governor, together with the right of appointing his own council, and the whole executive power. The delegates from Pennsylvania assented to this instrument; but those from the "Three Lower Counties" or "Territories," (now forming the state of Delaware,) refused to adopt it, and seceded from the Assembly. From this period, the Three Counties had their distinct Assembly, though subject to the governor of Pennsylvania. The constitution adopted in the latter province, continued in force till the Revolution.

Immediately after his third charter was accepted, Penn returned to England; and the executive authority was afterwards administered by deputy governors, appointed by the Proprietor. His return was hastened by a bill which the English Government, jealous of the growing power of the proprietary governors, brought into the House of Lords, having for its object to deprive them of their authority, and to transfer it to the Crown. Penn's private fortune had

been materially injured by his advances to promote the interests of the infant colony; and a lawsuit in which he was involved, in 1707, with the executors of his steward, rendered it expedient for him to reside for some time within the rules of the Fleet. He was so reduced in his circumstances as to be under the necessity of mortgaging his province; and was on the eve of selling it, when three successive apoplectic seizures deprived him of reason and memory, in which state he continued till his death in 1718, at the advanced age of seventy-four.

From the death of Penn to the Revolution, the history of the Colony presents little more than a series of petty altercations between the deputy governors and the Assembly. The chief subject of dispute related to the exemption of the lands of the Proprietors from the rates and taxes to which other lands were liable; a claim which the Assembly stoutly resisted. These dissensions, however, did not in the least interrupt or retard the growing prosperity of the colony, and the claim itself occasioned far more disgust, than injury. For seventy years, the upright conduct of Penn with the Indians, which was imitated by his successors, secured an uninterrupted harmony between them and the Whites.* In the early part of the revolutionary war, (during which Pennsylvania was for a considerable time the seat of hostilities,) the people, by their representatives, adopted a new constitution, by which the Proprietor was excluded from all share in the government. He was offered, and finally accepted,

* In 1749, an important treaty was concluded with the Indians of the Six Nations at Philadelphia, in which, for goods of considerable value, they ceded to the Proprietors all the lands on the Susquehannah as far south as the boundary of Pennsylvania, and northward to the Blue Mountains; and since that time, the Indian title to the rest of the State has been extinguished.

the sum of 570,000 dollars in discharge of all quit-rents due from the land-holders in this State.*

Maryland, the fifth and last of those states which we have arranged under the name of the Middle States, was comprised within the original boundaries of Virginia, but was not settled till a grant of the territory was made to Lord Baltimore in the year 1634. Like Pennsylvania and New England, it was colonized by refugees fleeing from persecution on account of their religion; but those who emigrated to Maryland, were neither Quakers nor Puritans. During the reign of James I., at the time that the Roman Catholics had drawn down upon themselves severe penal enactments, and the Gunpowder Plot had inflamed the popular hatred, Lord Baltimore, an Irish nobleman of that communion, had been induced to go out to Virginia, in the expectation of being there allowed to enjoy his religious opinions without disturbance or reproach. But the people among whom he came to reside, were almost as intolerant as those he had left; and he soon found it necessary to seek another asylum. Having ascertained that the territory on both sides of Chesapeake Bay was inhabited only by the Indians, he conceived the project of planting there a new colony for the benefit of all persons who might be anxious to escape from religious persecution. He returned to England, and obtained from Charles I. a grant of the territory he had explored, but died before the requisite formalities were completed. It was confirmed, however, to his eldest son and heir, Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore, and the charter granted more ample privileges than had ever before been conceded to a subject. The new colony

* Hale, pp. 131—137. Clarkson's Life of Penn, *passim*. Carey and Lea, pp. 169—173.

was named Maryland, in honour of Henrietta Maria, the consort of Charles I.

In February 1634, the first settlers arrived at the mouth of the Potomac. They consisted of about 200 emigrants, mostly Roman Catholics, headed by the Honourable Leonard Calvert, the Proprietor's brother, as governor. At a conference with the Indians who dwelt on the shore, they purchased Yoamaco, a considerable village, the site of which is now occupied by St. Mary's. By this wise and just measure, the natives were satisfied, convenient habitations and some cultivated land were obtained, and the first settlers were secured against the distressing effects of a scarcity of provisions. The country was inviting; and the favourable circumstances under which the settlement was commenced, soon attracted an influx of population. From the south, Episcopalians drove Puritans,—from the north, Puritans drove Episcopalians into its borders, where all were alike freely received and protected. To the honour of Lord Baltimore and his associates, it is stated, that, so long as the Roman Catholics retained the ascendancy in this province, the Assembly passed no law trenching upon the liberty of conscience. But, when the distractions of England found their way into the colonies, Maryland became the scene of revolt and civil war, owing chiefly to the machinations of an unprincipled adventurer named Clayborne,* a member of the Virginia

* Clayborne had settled himself on Kent Island, which was included in the grant made to Lord Baltimore, and refusing to submit to his authority, he appealed to the Crown. When the decision was given against him, he vindictively excited the Indians to hostilities, by persuading them that the new comers were Spaniards and enemies to the Virginians. An Indian war was the consequence in 1642, which lasted several years, and was productive of much distress. It ended in the submission of the natives. By

council, who had contrived to get himself nominated one of the parliamentary commissioners "for reducing and governing the colonies within the Bay of Chesapeake." The power of the governor was overthrown; and an assembly, convened under the influence of the insurgent party, ordained, that persons professing the Roman Catholic religion should not be considered as within the protection of the laws. Thus basely and ungratefully were the members of that communion persecuted by men whom they had taken to their bosom, and in a colony which they had founded for the express purpose of enjoying the free exercise of their religion. Laws unfavourable to the Quakers were also enacted. The affairs of the province remained in an unsettled state, until the Restoration, when Philip Calvert was appointed governor by Charles II., and the former order of things was restored. About this time, the number of White inhabitants was upwards of 12,000.

In 1676, died Cecil, Lord Baltimore, the father of the colony. For more than forty years, he had directed its affairs as Proprietor, and had displayed, in all his conduct, a benevolent heart and an enlightened understanding. In an age of bigotry, he was distinguished by his liberal opinions; and though a member of the most intolerant church, was the steady friend of religious freedom. The records of the Maryland Assembly contain frequent memorials of the respect and affection entertained for his character.

In the year 1689, the repose of the Colony was again disturbed. A rumour was artfully circulated, that the Roman Catholics had leagued with the Indians to destroy all the Protestants in the province.

the address of this same "evil genius of Maryland," the insurrection of the colonists in 1645 was stirred up.

An armed association was immediately formed for the defence of the Protestant religion, and for asserting the rights of King William and Queen Mary. The magistrates attempted to put down this association by force, but, meeting with few supporters, were compelled to abdicate the government. In 1692, Lionel Copley was appointed governor by commission from King William, and the Protestant faith according to the rites of the Church of England, was established by law. For twenty-seven years, the entire control of the province was vested in the Crown. In 1716, the Proprietor was restored to his rights, and he and his descendants continued to enjoy them till the Revolution; when the people assumed the government, adopted a new constitution, and refused to admit the claims of Lord Baltimore to either jurisdiction or property.* Maryland is, next to New Jersey, the most populous of all the Middle States in proportion to its size; but one-fourth of the population consists of slaves, a great part of the province being of the same character as Virginia.

The States of North and South Carolina were, up to the year 1729, under the superintendence and control of the same proprietors, being included in the same charter.† The first settlers were persons

* Hale, pp. 137—142. Carey and Lea, pp. 187—191. Lord Baltimore's property in the lands, was confiscated on the ground of his being an absentee. At the close of the war, Henry Hatford, Esq., the natural son and heir of Lord Baltimore, petitioned the legislature of Maryland for his estate, but without success. He estimated his loss of quit-rents, valued at 20 years purchase, and including arrears, at 259,488*l.*, and the value of his manors and reserved lands at 327,441*l.*

† North Carolina, we have seen, was the first seat of English colonization in North America, the disastrous position of Roanoke being within its limits. It was included in the patent granted in

fleeing from religious intolerance in Virginia, who, between the years 1640 and 1650, without license from any authority, established themselves in the fertile tract to the north of Albemarle Sound. In 1661, another settlement was made near the mouth of Clarendon River, by adventurers from Massachusetts; but they abandoned it two years afterwards, owing chiefly to disagreements with the natives. Their place was supplied, in 1665, by 800 emigrants from Barbadoes, who purchased a considerable tract of land from Sir William Berkeley on advantageous conditions, and carried on a profitable commerce with that island. While these settlements were struggling with the difficulties incident to their situation, a grant was made by King Charles (in 1663), of all the territory between the parallels of 31° and 36°, to Lord Clarendon and seven others, with ample powers of government.* To encourage emigration, public assurances were given, that all settlers should enjoy unrestricted religious liberty, and be governed by a free assembly. The settlers on Albemarle Sound were, on certain conditions, to retain their lands. They were, however, dissatisfied with the regulations imposed, and revolted; but, their grievances being redressed, they, in 1668, submitted to the new order of things. At the request of the proprietors, a constitution for the new colony was drawn up by the celebrated John

1584 to Sir Walter Raleigh under the general name of Virginia. But no permanent settlement was made till the middle of the following century.

* This grant was first made by Charles I., in 1630, to Sir Robert Heath, the country being designated by the name of Carolina; and, as usual, it was made to extend from the Atlantic to the South Sea. Under this grant, no settlement was made; and the patentee having neglected to comply with the conditions, it was transferred to Lord Clarendon. A second charter enlarged the boundaries as far south as latitude 29°.

Locke; but the aristocratic features of this singular instrument were ill-adapted to the sentiments and habits of the people for whom it was prepared, and the attempt to put it in force was followed by an insurrection.* The palatine, or president, and the members of his parliament or council, were overpowered and imprisoned; and for two years, the authority remained in the hands of the insurgents. They at length submitted, before an armed force could be arrayed against them. For many years afterwards, a state of things prevailed in North Carolina very unfavourable to the improvement of the colony. The government was feebly and corruptly administered, and morals were greatly relaxed. The progress of the settlement was so slow, that, in 1702, the whole province is said to have contained only 6000 persons.

The first settlement within the limits of South Carolina was made by Governor Sayle, under the direction of the Lords Proprietors, with a few emigrants from England, at Port Royal, in 1670. Dissatisfied with this station, he removed his colony, next year, to the western bank of Ashley River, and there laid

* This constitution, consisting of 120 articles, provided, that a president, to be called the Palatine, should be elected from among the proprietors, to hold the office for life; that an hereditary nobility should be created, of landgraves and caciques, the former to possess 16,000, the latter 4000 acres; the estates and titles to descend concurrently for ever; that the parliament should be composed of the proprietors or their deputies, the nobility, and representatives chosen by the freeholders once in two years; but this parliament could not originate laws; it was only to decide upon propositions laid before it by a grand council composed of the palatine, nobility, and proprietors. In South Carolina, the qualifications of nobility appear to have been laid down on a larger scale. There were to be three orders; barons, caciques, and landgraves; the first to possess 12,000, the second 24,000, and the third 48,000 acres, which were to be unalienable from their families.

the foundation of Old Charleston, so named in honour of the King. The site was injudiciously chosen, and a second removal took place in 1680, to Oyster Point, at the confluence of the rivers Ashley and Cooper, where the foundation of the present city of Charleston was laid. The new settlement soon attracted many inhabitants from that at Clarendon, and at length entirely exhausted it. Being remote from Albemarle, the Proprietors established a separate government over it; and hence arose the distinctive appellations of North and South Carolina.

Several circumstances contributed to promote the growth of this colony. The conquest of New York induced many of the Dutch to resort to it. From England, Puritans came to avoid the profaneness and licentiousness which disgraced the court of Charles II., and cavaliers to retrieve their fortunes, exhausted by the civil wars. The revocation of the Edict of Nantz contributed greatly to its prosperity, not so much by the numbers as by the respectability of the French refugees who crossed the Atlantic and settled in Carolina. Many of these exiles were rich; all were industrious; and by their exemplary demeanour, they so far gained the good-will of the Proprietors, that they directed the Governor to permit them to elect representatives. The English Episcopalians, however, unwilling that any who did not belong to their church, should be associated with themselves in the enjoyment of the rights of freemen, were exasperated, and opposed the concession with great clamour and zeal. They even went so far as to propose to enforce with respect to them the laws of England against foreigners, insisting that they could not legally possess real estates in the colony. They also maintained, that their marriages, being solemnized by French Presby-

terian ministers, were void, and that the children could not inherit the property of their fathers. The strangers were alarmed at the display of this illiberal and intolerant spirit; but, countenanced by the Governor, they remained in the colony, and withdrew, for the time, their claim to the right of suffrage. The ferment, however, did not subside on the removal of the cause which had excited it; and such were the general turbulence and disorder, that, in 1695, it was deemed necessary to send over one of the proprietors, John Archdale, a Quaker, as Governor of both the Carolinas, with full powers to redress all grievances. He succeeded in restoring order, but found the antipathy against the unfortunate refugees too strong to admit of any immediate legislative remedy. He therefore prudently abstained from pressing the measure; and in a few years, as he anticipated, the French Protestants were admitted by the General Assembly to all the rights and privileges of citizens and freemen. The constitution of Locke had been abrogated by the Proprietors, at the request of the Carolinians, in 1693; and each colony had afterwards its separate council and representative assembly.

In the year 1700, the peace of the colony was again disturbed, by the attempt of Lord Granville, one of the Proprietors, to establish Episcopacy in the Carolinas, in direct violation of the stipulations that had been made in favour of liberty of conscience. Moore, the Governor, who was the venal tool of Lord Granville, succeeded, by means of bribery, in procuring a subservient majority in the Assembly, although a majority of the colonists were Dissenters. A law was passed, establishing the Episcopal polity, and excluding Dissenters from a seat in the Assembly. On its being laid before the Proprietors for their sanction, Arch-

dale, who had returned to England, opposed it with spirit and ability; but Lord Granville declared himself in favour of it, and it received confirmation. The Dissenters, who thus saw themselves iniquitously deprived of the privileges for which they had abandoned their native country and encountered the hardships of a wilderness, appealed to the House of Lords; and in 1705, the obnoxious act was annulled by the British Government. The contest, however, between the Proprietors and the Assembly, did not terminate here. The settlers began to think that the control of a monarch was to be preferred to the tyranny of an oligarchy; and it was not long before fresh cause of complaint exasperated them to throw off the yoke.

In 1715, after several years of profound peace, an Indian war broke out. All the tribes from Florida to Cape Fear, had for some time been engaged in a conspiracy to extirpate the Whites; and on the morning of April 15, the first blow was struck. At Pocataligo and the settlements round Port Royal, ninety persons were massacred; and the inhabitants of the latter place escaped only by embarking precipitately on board a vessel then in the harbour, and sailing to Charleston. The northern Indians at the same time attacked the settlements on their borders: many of the colonists were killed, and others fled to Charleston. Governor Craven, at the head of 1200 men, marched against the savages; and at Salteatchers, an obstinate and bloody battle was fought, in which the Whites were victorious. The Indians were driven out of the province, and fled to Florida, where they met with a friendly reception from the Spaniards, who had probably excited them to hostilities. In this short war, 400 Whites were killed; property of great value was destroyed; and a large debt was contracted. The Proprietors, though ear-

nestly solicited, refused to afford any relief, or to contribute anything to the discharge of the debt. The Assembly, therefore, determined to remunerate the colony, by disposing of the land from which the Indians had been driven. The terms were so advantageous, that 500 Irishmen immediately came over, and planted themselves on the frontiers. The Proprietors, however, refused to sanction the proceedings of the Assembly, and deprived these poor emigrants of their lands. Some, reduced to extreme poverty, perished from want; others removed to the northern colonies; and the strong barrier between the old settlements and the Indians being thus removed, the country became again exposed to their barbarous incursions. The indignation excited by this infatuated conduct on the part of the Proprietors, was still further heightened by the corrupt and oppressive conduct of Chief Justice Trott, and of Rhett, the receiver-general, who, notwithstanding the representations of the Governor and Council, were continued in their offices, and even thanked for their services. The patience of the people was at length exhausted. In 1719, at a general review of the militia at Charleston, occasioned by a threatened invasion of the colony from Florida, the officers and soldiers bound themselves by a solemn compact to support each other in resisting the tyranny of the Proprietors. The Assembly, which was then in session, presented an address to the Governor, inviting him to administer the government in the name of the King; and on his refusal, they elected a new Governor. The whole matter was ultimately brought before the King in Council; and, after a full hearing, it was decided, that both colonies should be taken under the protection of the Crown. In 1729, seven of the Proprietors gave up their claims to the Crown, on receiving an indem-

nity; Lord Carteret only never formally ceded his share. From this time, the two Carolinas had separate governors appointed by the Crown, as well as distinct assemblies; and under their control, the colonies prospered. The soil in the interior of North Carolina being found to be much more fertile than that on the coast, the settlements rapidly advanced into the wilderness. From the more northern colonies, particularly Pennsylvania, numbers were allured into this region by the mildness of the climate and the greater facility of obtaining the necessaries of life. The insurrections in England in favour of the Stuarts, in 1715 and 1745, sent a number of exiles to South Carolina; many arrived from Germany and Switzerland; and the British Government transported 1500 French colonists from Nova Scotia. In one year, 1752, the number of emigrants who arrived from Europe, chiefly foreign Protestants, exceeded 1600. Between the years 1755 and 1759, the hostile incursions of the Cherokees, and a destructive visitation of the small-pox, occasioned a great deal of suffering; but, from that period till the Revolution, the province enjoyed great prosperity, and rapidly advanced in population.*

Of the thirteen provinces which united in the declaration of Independence in 1776, Georgia was the last settled. The country lying within its present boundaries was, previously to the year 1733, a wilder-

* The prosperity of the Carolinas was materially promoted by an accidental circumstance. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, a vessel from Madagascar touched at one of its ports, the captain of which presented to Governor Smith a bag of seed-rice, informing him of the manner of cultivating it. The seed was divided among several planters, and was found fully to answer expectation. By this means was introduced what soon became one of the staple commodities of the province.

ness; and, though comprehended within the charter of Carolina, had been claimed by Spain. A very large portion of this State is, in fact, still occupied by the Indians; and in 1820, the total White population was under 200,000 persons.

The circumstances under which the first settlement of Georgia was undertaken, were altogether different from those of the older colonies. The depressed state of trade and industry in Great Britain, led several benevolent individuals to form themselves into an association for assisting such indigent persons as might be disposed to emigrate. The project met with the public support and the patronage from Government which its disinterested object merited; and a patent was granted by George II., dated in 1732, conveying to a corporation of twenty-one trustees, the territory which, in compliment to his Majesty, received the name of Georgia. In November of that year, 113 emigrants embarked at Gravesend, at the head of whom the Trustees had placed General Oglethorpe, a zealous and active promoter of the philanthropic scheme. On their arrival at Charleston in January 1773, the Carolinians, sensible of the advantage of having a barrier between them and the southern Indians, gave the adventurers a cordial reception, supplying them with provisions and boats to convey them to the place of their destination. Yamacraw Bluff, since called Savannah from the Indian name of the river, was selected as the most eligible place for a settlement; and a treaty being held with the Creek Indians, a large tract of land was obtained by cession. The next year, between 500 and 600 emigrants arrived, to each of whom was assigned a portion of the uncleared territory. But it was soon found, that these people, who were the refuse of cities, having

been rendered poor by idleness or irresolute by poverty, were not fitted to fell the mighty groves of Georgia. A race more hardy and enterprising was required for clearing the wilderness. The Trustees, therefore, issued fresh proposals, inviting settlers who had not, by poverty or persecution, been rendered objects of compassion, and offering to all who should repair to the colony, 50 acres of land. In consequence of this offer, more than 400 persons from Scotland, Switzerland, and Germany arrived in 1735. The Germans settled at Ebenezer; the Scotch at New Inverness, now Darien.* In addition to a previous grant, the British Parliament now voted 25,000*l.* for the benefit of the colony. In 1740, when the Trustees rendered an account of their administration, 2498 emigrants had arrived in Georgia, of whom 1521 were indigent Englishmen or persecuted Protestants from the Continent. The benefactions and parliamentary grants in aid of the benevolent enterprise, had amounted to nearly half a million of dollars; and it was computed, that every emigrant sent out and maintained by the Trustees, had cost, on the average, more than 300 dollars.

The sanguine hopes which the Trustees had cherished, that the colony, planted at so vast an expense, would prosper, and the objects of their beneficence be rendered comfortable, were completely disappointed. The indifferent character of the greater part of the settlers, was not the only impediment to its prosperity. The restrictions imposed upon its commerce, and

* The visit of the celebrated John Wesley to Georgia, in 1736, for the purpose of preaching to the colonists, and evangelizing the Indians, and the repeated visits of Whitfield, with a view more especially to establish an Orphan-house, are deserving of most honourable record in the annals of the colony; but, in the present istorical sketch, they must be passed over, having no result of any political importance.

the regulations respecting the tenure of land, had the effect of driving many of the settlers into Carolina, and of otherwise hindering the growth of the colony. Taking as their model the feudal tenures, the Trustees granted the lands in tail-male, and on the failure of male heirs, they were to revert to the donors; any part of the land that was not cleared, inclosed, and cultivated within eighteen years, was also to revert to the Trustees; and the lands were to be held on the condition of military duty, each possessor to appear in arms when called upon for the public defence. By another regulation, evidently dictated by the most humane policy, the importation of negroes and the use of rum were absolutely prohibited, which deprived the colonists of an excellent market in the West Indies for the sale of their lumber. Owing to these circumstances, the whole annual exports of Georgia did not, in 1750, exceed 10,000*l.* sterling.

The war with Spain, which broke out in 1740, tended also to retard the advancement of the colony. Governor Oglethorpe, being promoted to the rank of general in the British army, at the head of 2000 men, partly from Virginia and the Carolinas, undertook an expedition against Florida. He took two Spanish forts, and laid siege to St. Augustine; but, encountering an obstinate resistance, was compelled to return unsuccessful to Georgia. Two years afterwards, this invasion was retaliated by a large Spanish force. An expedition of thirty-two sail, with 3000 men, arrived in the river Alatamaha, and took possession of Fort St. Simon, which Oglethorpe had previously abandoned. In the mean time, the British General, having assembled 700 men, together with a body of Indians, at Frederica on the island of St. Simon, prepared for a vigorous defence, in the hope of being able to resist

the enemy till reinforcements should arrive from Carolina. While one portion of his little army were employed in strengthening the fortifications, the Highlanders and Indians, ranging night and day through the woods, harassed the enemy's outposts. A night attack upon one of the Spanish positions, led by Oglethorpe in person, was frustrated by a French soldier of his party, who deserted to the Spaniards. The General was not only chagrined at this occurrence, but had reason to apprehend instant danger from the disclosure of his weakness, which the deserter would make to the enemy. In this embarrassment, he had recourse to the happily conceived expedient of addressing a letter to the deserter, containing instructions as to the information he was to give the Spaniards, and referring to the strong reinforcements he was expecting. For a small bribe, a Spanish prisoner engaged to deliver this letter to the deserter, and, as was foreseen, he carried it directly to the Spanish general, who ordered the deserter to be put in irons as a spy. But, although his suspicions were awakened, he felt as yet uncertain whether the whole might not be a stratagem of his antagonist, till three small vessels of war appeared off the coast. Supposing that these brought the reinforcements alluded to in the letter to the deserter, he hesitated no longer, but determined to make a vigorous attack upon the English, before they could be landed. Fortunately, by mere accident, General Oglethorpe obtained information of their design, and planted a small party in ambuscade. The Spaniards, having advanced near them, halted to rest, and laid aside their arms. A sudden and well directed fire from the ambuscade, killing many, threw the enemy into confusion. After a few more discharges, the Spaniards fled to their fortifications, which they

demolished, and hastily embarking, made every effort to escape from the reinforcements that were supposed to be approaching, leaving behind several pieces of artillery, with provisions and military stores. Thus was Georgia, with trifling loss, delivered from the most imminent danger; and General Oglethorpe not only retrieved, but raised his reputation by his address and good fortune. The Spanish commander was, on his inglorious return, arrested, tried, and cashiered.

The restoration of peace, shortly afterwards, freed the colonists from any further apprehension of foreign invasion; but the plantations languished, and continued to require the aid of benevolent contributions. At length, disappointed in their hopes, and wearied out by complaints, the Trustees surrendered their charter to the Crown; and in 1754, a royal government was established over the colony, with regulations and privileges similar to those of the older settlements. In 1763, all the lands lying between the rivers Alatamaha and St. Mary's, were annexed to Georgia by royal proclamation. From this period, the colony began to make a rapid progress in prosperity and population. The rich swamps and low lands on the rivers began to be brought into cultivation, and the effects of judicious government were soon visible in the annually increasing quantity of rice and indigo exported to the mother-country. In 1763, the value of the exports was not more than 27,000*l.* sterling; but in 1773, they amounted to upwards of 121,000*l.* The state of Georgia has been considerably enlarged, since the Revolution, by cessions of territory from the Creek Indians.

We have now taken a rapid review of the original settlement and early annals of the thirteen provinces

which united in the declaration of Independence at the commencement of the Revolution. Kentucky, which was first settled by Colonel Daniel Boon, in 1773, had not then been recognized as a distinct state. Vermont, which was first colonized by emigrants from Connecticut and other parts of New England, in the year 1724, was not admitted into the Union till the year 1791; * and Ohio, which was not explored and occupied before the year 1787, was first created a separate state in 1803. The following table will serve the purpose of a distinct recapitulation:—

	First permanent settlement.	*By whom.*
I. VIRGINIA	1609	London or South Virginia Company. Lord Delaware, Governor.
II. NEW ENGLAND.		
1. Massachusetts	1620-7	Mr. Robinson and his congregation. Capt. John Endicot and Company.
2. New Hampshire	1624	Captain Mason's Colony.
3. Connecticut	1633	Settlers from Massachusetts.
4. Rhode Island	1638	Roger Williams and W. Coddington.
III. MARYLAND	1634	Lord Baltimore.
IV. NEW YORK	1614	By the Dutch.
NEW JERSEY	1664	Conquered by the English.
V. CAROLINA	1663-70	Emigrants from Barbadoes, and Governor Sayle's Colony.
VI. PENNSYLVANIA } DELAWARE	1682	William Penn. (Delaware was previously settled by the Swedes in 1627.)
VII. GEORGIA	1732	General Oglethorpe.

When the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, put an end to those hostilities between Great Britain and France, which had disturbed the peace of America also, the number of inhabitants in the Thirteen Colonies was about eleven hundred thousand. The English settlements had not advanced far into the wilderness, but extended along the ocean from Newfoundland to Florida. Those of the French, in Canada, reached

* This territory was long claimed both by New York and by New Hampshire: its political existence, as a separate government, dates from 1777.

from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to Montreal; and they had built forts and trading-houses on Lake Ontario. In the south, they had founded New Orleans on the Mississippi (A.D. 1717); and, in virtue of having discovered that river, they laid claim to its fertile valley and the whole country watered by its tributaries. They at length determined to connect their northern and southern settlements, by a chain of posts extending along the frontiers of the English from Lake Ontario to the Ohio, and down that river and the Mississippi to New Orleans. While they were intent on this project, a company of English traders, having obtained from the King a grant of land, established trading-houses on the banks of the Ohio. The French seized some of these traders, and conveyed them prisoners to Canada; and when the Governor of Virginia, to which colony the land granted was considered as belonging, sent a letter of remonstrance to the French commander on the Ohio, requiring him to withdraw his troops, he returned for reply, that he had taken possession of the country in pursuance of directions from his General, then in Canada, to whom he would transmit the Governor's letter. This answer being far from satisfactory, preparations were made in Virginia to maintain by force the rights of the British Crown. In this service, the illustrious Washington, then a young man of only one-and-twenty, first distinguished himself. On the death of the colonel first appointed, the command of the regiment raised for this purpose was entrusted to him; and at the head of about 400 men, he advanced, early in the spring, into the disputed territory. On his route, he met with and defeated a French party, and was advancing towards Fort Du Quesne, at the junction of the Alleghany and the Monongahela, when he learned that

the commander of the fort, De Villier, at the head of 900 men, was marching out to attack him. Colonel Washington was compelled by this intelligence to halt; and he hastily erected some imperfect works, by means of which he hoped to be able to maintain his defence until the arrival of reinforcements. He was closely invested by De Villier, and, after an obstinate resistance, was offered honourable terms of capitulation, which he accepted, and returned with his regiment to Virginia.

This conduct on the part of the French convinced the British Cabinet, that their claims to the territory watered by the Ohio must either be relinquished, or be maintained by the sword. They did not hesitate which alternative to choose. Early in the spring of 1755, they despatched General Braddock to America, with a respectable force, to expel the French from the territory; and Admiral Boscawen was ordered to intercept the French fleet which was expected to arrive with a reinforcement to the army in Canada, before it should enter the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In April, General Braddock met the governors of the several provinces, to confer upon the plan of the ensuing campaign, when three expeditions were resolved upon; one against Fort Du Quesne, to be commanded by General Braddock in person; one against Forts Niagara and Frontinac, to be commanded by Governor Shirley; and one against Crown Point, to be executed by colonial troops raised in New England and New York, under General Johnson.

While preparations were making for these expeditions, another, which had been previously concerted, was carried on against the French forces in Nova Scotia. This province was first settled by the French, but had been ceded to the English by the treaty of

Utrecht. Its boundaries, however, not having been defined, the French continued to occupy a portion of the territory claimed by the British, and erected forts for their defence. To gain possession of these, was the object of the expedition. About 2000 militia, commanded by Colonel Winslow, embarked at Boston, and being joined, on their passage, by 300 regulars, arrived at the place of their destination in April. The forts were invested; the resistance made was feeble and ineffectual; and in a short time, the English had gained possession of the province, according to their own definition of its boundaries, with the trifling loss of three men killed.

"The preparations of General Braddock in Virginia had proceeded slowly. It had been found extremely difficult to procure horses, waggons, and provisions. Impatient of delay, he determined to set out with twelve hundred men, selected from the different corps, and proceeded as rapidly as possible towards Fort Du Quesne. The residue of the army and the heavy baggage were left under the command of Colonel Dunbar, who was directed to follow as soon as the preparations were completed.

"Braddock had been educated in the English army; and in the science of war, as then taught in Europe, he deserved and enjoyed the reputation of more than ordinary skill. Of this reputation he was vain, and disdained to consider that his skill was totally inapplicable to the mode of warfare practised in the forests of America. Before he left England, he was repeatedly admonished to beware of a surprise; and on his march through the wilderness, the provincial officers frequently entreated him to scour the surrounding thickets. But he held these officers and the enemy in too much contempt to listen to this salutary counsel. On

approaching Fort Du Quesne, Colonel Washington, who accompanied him as his aide-de-camp, made a last attempt to induce him to change his order of march. He explained the Indian mode of warfare, represented his dangers, and offered to take command of the provincials, and place himself in advance of the army. This offer was declined. The General proceeded, confident of the propriety of his conduct; the provincials followed, trembling for the consequences.

"On the 9th of July, the army crossed the Monongahela, within a few miles of Du Quesne. Their route led through a defile which they had nearly passed, when a tremendous yell and instantaneous discharge of fire-arms suddenly burst upon them from an invisible foe. The van was thrown into confusion. The General led the main body to its support. For a moment, order was restored; and a short cessation of the enemy's fire, occasioned by the death of their commander, seemed to indicate that all danger was over. But the attack was soon renewed with increased fury. Concealed behind trees, logs, and rocks, the Indians poured upon the troops a deadly and incessant fire. Officers and men fell thickly around, and the survivors knew not where to direct their aim to revenge their slaughtered comrades. The whole body was again thrown into confusion. The General, obstinate and courageous, refused to retreat, but bent his whole efforts to restore and maintain order. He persisted in these efforts, until five horses had been shot under him, and every one of his officers on horseback, except Colonel Washington, was either killed or wounded. The General at length fell, and the rout became universal. The troops fled precipitately, until they met the division under Dunbar, then sixty miles in the rear. To this body, the same panic was communi-

cated. Turning about, they fled with the rest; and although no enemy had been seen during the engagement, nor afterwards, yet the army continued retreating until it reached Fort Cumberland, 120 miles from the place of action. There they remained but a short time. With the remnant of the army, amounting to fifteen hundred men, Colonel Dunbar, upon whom, on the death of Braddock, the command devolved, marched to Philadelphia, leaving the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia destitute of defence. The provincial troops, whom Braddock had so much despised, displayed during the battle the utmost calmness and courage. Though placed in the rear, they alone, led on by Washington, advanced against the Indians, and covered the retreat. Had they been permitted to fight in their own way, they could easily have defeated the enemy. In this battle, sixty-four out of eighty-five officers were either killed or wounded, and at least one half of the privates.

"The two northern expeditions, though not so disastrous, were both unsuccessful. General Shirley, who had been appointed to command that against Niagara, met with so many delays, that he did not reach Oswego till late in August. While embarking there, to proceed against Niagara, the autumnal rains began; his troops became discouraged, his Indian allies deserted him, and he was compelled to relinquish his design.

"The forces destined to attack Crown Point, and the requisite military stores, could not be collected at Albany until the last of August. Thence the army, under the command of General Johnson, proceeded to the south end of Lake George, on their way to the place of destination. There he learned that the armament fitted out in the ports of France, eluding the English squadron, had arrived at Quebec, and

that Baron Dieskau, commander of the French forces, was advancing with an army towards the territories of the English. He halted, erected slight breastworks, and detached Colonel Williams with a thousand men, to impede the progress of the enemy. Dieskau, who was near, was immediately informed of the approach of this detachment. Without losing a moment, he directed his troops to conceal themselves. The English advanced into the midst of their enemy, and, from every quarter, received, at the same moment, a sudden and unexpected fire. Their leader fell, and the men fled in disorder to the camp. They were followed closely by the enemy, who approached within 150 yards of the breastwork: and had they made an immediate assault, would probably, such was the panic of the English, have been successful. But here they halted to make dispositions for a regular attack. The Indians and Canadians were despatched to the flanks, and the regular troops began the attack with firing, by platoons, at the centre. Their fire was ineffectual, and the provincials gradually resumed their courage. A few discharges of the artillery drove the Canadians and Indians to the swamps. The regulars, although deserted by the auxiliaries, maintained the conflict for more than an hour, with much steadiness and resolution. Dieskau, convinced that all his efforts must be unavailing, then gave orders to retreat. This produced some confusion, which being perceived by the provincials, they simultaneously, and without orders, leaped over the intrenchments, fell upon the French soldiers, and killed, captured, or dispersed them. The Baron was wounded and made prisoner. The next day, Colonel Blanchard, who commanded at Fort Edward, despatched Captain M'Ginnis of New Hampshire, with 200 men, to the assistance of General Johnson. On his way, he dis-

covered between 300 and 400 of the enemy seated round a pond, not far from the place where Colonel Williams had been defeated. Notwithstanding his inferiority in numbers, he determined to attack them. So impetuous was the onset, that, after a sharp conflict, the enemy fled: the brave captain, however, was mortally wounded. In the several engagements, the provincials lost about 200 men: the enemy, upwards of 700.

"General Johnson, though strongly importuned by the Government of Massachusetts, refused to proceed upon his expedition, which was abandoned, and most of his troops returned to their respective colonies. Thus ended the campaign of 1755. It opened with the brightest prospects; immense preparations had been made; yet, not one of the objects of the three great expeditions had been attained. During the fall and winter, the southern colonies were ravaged, and the usual barbarities perpetrated upon the frontier inhabitants by the savages, who, on the defeat of Braddock, and the retreat of his army, saw nothing to restrain their fury. In Virginia and Pennsylvania, disputes existed between the Governor and the legislatures, which prevented all attention to the means of defence. Scarcely a post was maintained, or a soldier employed in their service." *

The Colonies, far from being discouraged by the misfortunes of the campaign, determined to renew and increase their exertions; and General Shirley, the Governor of Massachusetts, to whom the superintendence of all the military operations was confided, made his preparations with his usual activity and zeal. While thus engaged, the official information was received from England, of his being superseded in the command; and on the 25th of June, General

* Hale, pp. 169—174.

Abercrombie arrived and placed himself at the head of the army, which now consisted of about 12,000 men, the most numerous and efficient force that had ever been assembled in America.

Singular as it may appear, while this sanguinary war was raging in the French and English colonies,* the intercourse between the two nations in Europe, not only remained uninterrupted, but seemed more than usually amicable.† This unnatural state of things could not long continue. Great Britain declared war in May, and France in June. The French were, however, the first to commence active operations. The change of commanders and other formalities delayed the operations of the English army: and the French had laid siege to Oswego, before General Webb commenced his march for the relief of that important post. It surrendered on the 14th of August; upon which General Webb retreated to Albany. Lord Loudon, who had been appointed commander-in-chief over all the British forces in the colonies, decided that it was now too late in the season to attempt any thing further; and he devoted the remainder of the season to making preparations for an early and vigorous campaign the ensuing year. Thus ingloriously closed the second campaign, without any advantage having been gained by the British arms. This want of success was attributed by the Colonists to the removal of the provincial officers, who were well acquainted with the theatre of operations, but whom the British

* In India, the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle did not even suspend the contest carried on by the Governors of Pondicherry and Madras, under the guise of auxiliaries to the native powers.

† The French had been desirous of wearing the mask of amity for some time longer, that they might enjoy the better opportunity of strengthening their garrisons in North America. The English ministry, however, were well apprised of their secret designs, and took their measures accordingly.

Ministry, jealous of colonial talent, were unwilling to employ. Yet, the several Assemblies, notwithstanding that they saw themselves thus slighted, and their money annually squandered, made all the renewed preparations required of them.

The third campaign (1757) exhibited a repetition of the same disgraceful inactivity and scandalous mismanagement. An expedition was planned against Louisburg, and a large armament sailed for that place; but, on hearing that the garrison had received a reinforcement, the plan was tamely abandoned. The French were more active and more successful. The Marquis of Montcalm made an attempt to surprise Fort William Henry, at the southern end of Lake George, in which he was defeated by the vigilance and bravery of the garrison; but he subsequently laid siege to the Fort, at the head of a more powerful force; and after a gallant defence under Colonel Monro, the British garrison, finding all their solicitations for relief treated with utter disregard, capitulated on the promise of protection. The terms were shamefully violated. The defenceless troops were surrounded and attacked with fiend-like fury by the Indian allies of the French; and no effort was made to stop the massacre, till 1500 had been killed or hurried captives into the wilderness. One scarcely knows which deserved the most indignant execration, the perfidy and cruelty of the French General, or the unfeeling supineness or cowardice of the English commander, who abandoned the garrison to their fate.

These continual disasters excited at length in the British nation, general indignation and alarm; and the King found it necessary to dismiss an administration which had justly forfeited the confidence of the

country.* Mr. Pitt (afterwards Lord Chatham) was now made secretary of state; and after a temporary secession, (the effect of antipathies and predilections in high places,) he was finally established in that office, June 29, 1757. Under his energetic administration, public confidence revived, and the nation seemed inspired with new life and vigour. Three expeditions were resolved upon for the next campaign, one of 12,000 men against Louisburg; one of 16,000 men against Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and one of 8000 against Fort Du Quesne. Lord Loudon having been recalled, the command of the expedition against Louisburg was given to General Amherst, under whom General Wolfe served as a brigadier. The place was invested on the 12th of June, and surrendered on the 26th of July.† The expedition against Ticonderoga was commanded by General Abercrombie, who attempted to take the place by assault, but met with a severe repulse.‡ He then detached 3000 men, chiefly provincials, against Fort Frontinac on Lake Ontario, which contained a large quantity of merchandise, provisions, and military stores; and the easy conquest of this place, afforded some compensation for the loss sustained in the unsuccessful attack upon Ticonderoga, while it materially facilitated the

* The failure of Admiral Byng, who was employed to relieve Minorca, the capture of that island, the loss of Calcutta, and the surrender of Oswego, all took place in the same year, 1756; and threw a deep gloom over the public mind.

† The garrison, consisting of 5637 men, were made prisoners of war. Five ships of the line were destroyed in the harbour, and one taken. The British fleet was commanded by Admiral Boscawen.

‡ In a skirmish before the fort with a small party of the enemy, the gallant Lord Howe, whose military talents and amiable virtues made him the darling of the soldiery, was killed at the first fire. The assault cost the British above 1800 men in killed and wounded.

operations of the third expedition, under General Forbes. The French at Du Quesne, who were deficient in provisions and stores, were thereby deterred from risking the event of a siege. After dismantling the fort, they retired down the Ohio to their settlements on the Mississippi; and General Forbes, taking possession of the place, changed its name to Pittsburgh, in honour of the Secretary of State. Thus, of the three expeditions, two had completely succeeded, and the leader of the other had made an important conquest. To the confidence inspired by the commanding talents of Mr. Pitt, and to the striking display of those talents in the choice of men to execute his plans, this change of fortune must in great measure be attributed.

The plan marked out by this great minister for the ensuing campaign, was indicative of the boldness and energy of his genius. Three different armies were to be led at the same time against the three strongest posts of the French in America; Niagara, Ticonderoga, and Quebec. In the beginning of July, General Prideaux embarked on Lake Ontario with the army destined to act against Niagara, and on the 6th, landed about three miles from the fort. He immediately commenced a siege, in the progress of which he was killed by the bursting of a shell. The command devolved upon Sir William Johnson, to whom, after an engagement with an army of French and Indians, in which the latter were defeated, the fort surrendered. General Amherst, to whom was assigned the expedition against Ticonderoga, was unable to present himself before that place till late in July. It was immediately abandoned by the enemy. The British General, after repairing the works, then proceeded against Crown Point, which was also deserted on his approach, the enemy retiring to the Isle-aux-

Noix. To gain possession of this post, great efforts were made, and much time was consumed; but a succession of storms on Lake Champlain prevented his accomplishing it, and the General was compelled to lead back his army to Crown Point, where he encamped for the winter.

The expedition against Quebec was the most daring as well as the most important. That place, strong by nature and fortified by art, had received the appellation of the Gibraltar of America. It had hitherto been found impregnable, and was now commanded by the Marquis of Montcalm, an officer of distinguished military reputation. An attempt to reduce it must have seemed chimerical to any one but Mr. Pitt; and it would probably have proved so, had the bold and dangerous enterprise been entrusted by him to any other individual than General Wolfe. His intrepid and discreet conduct at Louisburg had marked him out as the fit leader of the arduous expedition; and he had assigned to him as his assistants, Brigadier-generals Monckton, Townshend, and Murray,—all, like himself, young and ardent, and emulous of military glory. Early in the season, he sailed from Halifax with 8000 troops, and about the last of June, landed the whole army on the Island of Orleans, a few miles below Quebec. From this position, a near and distinct view could be taken of the obstacles to be surmounted; and even the bold and sanguine mind of Wolfe perceived more to fear, than to hope for, in the enterprise.*

"Quebec stands on the north side of the St. Lawrence, and consists of an upper and lower town. The

* In a letter to Mr. Secretary Pitt, written before commencing operations, he declared that he saw but little prospect of reducing the place.

lower town lies between the river and a bold and lofty eminence, which runs parallel to it, far westward. At the top of this eminence is a plain, upon which the upper town is situated. Below, or east of the city, is the river St. Charles, the channel of which is rough, and its banks are steep and broken. A short distance further down is the river Montmorency. Between these two rivers, and reaching from one to the other, was encamped the French army, strongly entrenched, and at least equal in number to that of the English. General Wolfe took possession of Point Levi on the bank of the river opposite Quebec, and from that position cannonaded the town. Some injury was done to the houses, but his cannon were too far distant to make any impression upon the works of the enemy. He resolved to quit this post, to land below Montmorency, and, passing that river, to attack the French General in his entrenchments. He succeeded in landing his troops, and with a portion of his army crossed the Montmorency. A partial engagement took place, in which the French obtained the advantage. Relinquishing this plan, he then determined, in concert with the Admiral, to destroy the French shipping and magazines. Two attempts were unsuccessful; a third was more fortunate; yet, but little was effected. At this juncture, intelligence arrived, that Niagara was taken, that Ticonderoga and Crown Point had been abandoned, but that General Amherst, instead of pressing forward to their assistance, was preparing to attack the Isle-aux-Noix.

"Wolfe rejoiced at the triumph of his brethren in arms, but could not avoid contrasting their success with his own ill-fortune. His mind, alike lofty and susceptible, was deeply impressed by the disasters at Montmorency; and the extreme chagrin of his spirits, preying upon his delicate frame, sensibly affected his

health. He was observed frequently to sigh; and as if life was only valuable while it added to his glory, he declared to his intimate friends, that he would not survive the disgrace which he imagined would attend the failure of his enterprise. Despairing of success below the town, he next directed his efforts towards effecting a landing above it. He removed a part of his army to Point Levi, and the remainder higher up the river. He now found that on this quarter the fortifications were not strong; and discovered that the heights behind them might possibly be gained, by ascending the precipice in a narrow path, which was defended only by a captain's guard. The difficulties attending this enterprise were numerous. The current was rapid, the shore shelving, the only landing-place so narrow that it might easily be missed in the dark, and the steep above, such as troops, even when unopposed, could not ascend without difficulty. Yet the plan, though bold and hazardous, was well adapted to the desperate situation of affairs, and was determined on. To conceal their intention, the Admiral retired several leagues up the river. During the evening, a strong detachment was put on board the boats, and moved silently down with the tide to the place of landing, where they arrived an hour before day-break. Wolfe leaped on shore, was followed by the troops, and all instantly began, with the assistance of shrubs and projecting rocks, to climb up the precipice. The guard was dispersed, and by the break of day, the whole army gained the heights of Abraham, where the different corps were formed under their respective leaders.

"Montcalm, at first, could not believe that the English had ascended the heights. When convinced of the fact, he comprehended the full advantage they had gained. He saw that a battle was inevitable, and prepared for it with promptness and courage.

Leaving his camp at Montmorency, he advanced towards the English army, which was formed in order of battle to receive him. The French advanced briskly. The English reserved their fire until the enemy were near, and then gave it with decisive effect. Early in the engagement, Wolfe was wounded in the wrist; but, preserving his composure, he continued to encourage his troops. Soon after, he received a shot in the groin. This painful wound he also concealed, placed himself at the head of the grenadiers, and was leading them to charge, when he received a third and mortal wound. Undismayed by the fall of their General, the English continued their exertions under Monckton, who, in a short time, was himself wounded, and the command devolved upon Townshend. About the same time, Montcalm received a mortal wound, and the second in command also fell. The left wing and centre of the French gave way. Part were driven into Quebec, and part over the river St. Charles.

"On receiving his mortal wound, Wolfe was conveyed into the rear, where, careless about himself, he discovered, in the agonies of death, the most anxious solicitude concerning the fate of the day. From extreme faintness, he had reclined his head on the arm of an officer, but was soon aroused by the cry of, 'They fly, they fly!' 'Who fly?' exclaimed the dying hero. 'The French,' answered his attendant. 'Then,' said he, 'I die contented;' and immediately expired.*

"Five days after the battle, the city surrendered, and received an English garrison. The French concentrated their remaining forces at Montreal, and

* ..... "They have fallen,
Each in his field of glory; one in arms,
And one in council; Wolfe upon the lap
Of smiling victory that moment won,
And Chatham heart-sick of his country's shame."—Cowper.

early in the spring, made attempts to regain possession of Quebec. Unsuccessful in these, they returned to Montreal, towards which the whole British force in America, under the command of General Amherst, was approaching. This force was too strong to be resisted. In September 1760, that city surrendered; and soon afterwards, all the French posts in Canada fell into the power of the English. In the other parts of the world, their arms were equally successful; and at the commencement of 1763, a peace highly advantageous to their interests was concluded at Paris.* By the treaty, France ceded to Great Britain all her northern settlements in America, which relieved the colonies from the continual dread of savage incursions."†

In this brilliant contest, England had made unprecedented exertions; and at its close, though she had added extensive territories to her empire, it was at the cost of a proportionate increase of the public burthens. To find the means of defraying the annual charges of the augmented debt, was the first object of the Government; and their views were naturally directed to the Colonies, as the source whence assistance might be derived. In the beginning of the year 1764,

* After the fall of Ginjee, in April 1761, the French had not a single military post left in India; and the French East India Company was dissolved not long afterwards. In the space of seven years, Great Britain had made herself mistress of all North America; had conquered twenty-five islands; had won, by sea and land, twelve great battles; had reduced nine fortified cities or towns, and nearly forty forts; had destroyed or taken above a hundred ships of war, and acquired, as was supposed, about 12,000,000*l.* of plunder. By the treaty of peace in 1763, she received Florida in exchange for the Havanna (captured from Spain), and retained Canada, Cape Breton, Tobago, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Senegal in Africa. To these events, Cowper's well-known line refers:—

"Once Chatham saved thee; but who saves thee next?"

† Hale, pp. 186—190.

the first step was taken by the British Legislature towards subjecting the Colonies to a system of taxation, by passing a law imposing duties upon certain articles of merchandise, to be paid in the colonial ports. Notice was also given by Mr. Grenville, the prime minister, of his intention to bring in a bill the next session, for imposing stamp duties. The intelligence of these proceedings excited in America universal alarm; and in the respectful but decided remonstrances which were transmitted to England from several of the Colonies, (particularly Massachusetts, New York, and Virginia,) the right of the British Legislature to tax the chartered Colonies was explicitly denied.* In March 1765, the fatal Stamp Act was brought forward by the British minister, and passed; but the attempt to enforce it was met with so general and determined a resistance, that the stamp-officers in all the Colonies were compelled to resign. Non-importation agreements were generally adopted; and, to

* "It is my opinion," said the first William Pitt, in his speech on the repeal of the Stamp Act, "that England has no right to tax the colonies. At the same time, I assert the authority of this kingdom over the colonies to be sovereign and supreme in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone. When, therefore, in this house, we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. But, in an American tax, what do we do? We, your Majesty's Commons of Great Britain, give and grant to your Majesty—what? Our own property? No. We give and grant to your Majesty the property of your Commons in America. It is an absurdity in terms." Burke, in his memorable speech on Conciliation with the Colonies, waived the discussion of the right of taxation—whether necessarily involved in the general principle of legislation, or a power excepted from the general trust of government; contenting himself with pleading for the equity and policy of a taxation by grant, not by imposition, and appealing to experience in proof of the futility of parliamentary taxation as a method of supply.—See Burke's Speeches, vol. i. pp. 303—315.

avoid the necessity of using stamps, proceedings in the courts of justice were suspended, and disputes were settled by arbitration. The Stamp Act was subsequently repealed, as were several other revenue laws enacted in 1767; but, by this vacillating policy, which alternately menaced without intimidating, and yielded without conciliating,—every concession being accompanied with a tenacious assertion of the unconstitutional right which it was found imprudent to enforce,—no other effect was produced, than to render the contest more clearly a contest of principle, and to prepare the minds of the colonists for the trying and terrible struggle that was approaching.

No event of any importance took place till the year 1774, when the British Legislature passed two acts, which had for their avowed object, to punish the New Englanders for their contumacy in refusing to permit the landing of some tea, that had been sent out loaded with a duty. One of these acts was for closing the port of Boston, and removing the custom-house to Salem: the other took the executive power out of the hands of the general court, and vested it in the Crown. These violent and vindictive measures originated with the administration of Lord North, who had succeeded to the helm of public affairs on the resignation of the Duke of Grafton. As Archbishop Laud may be said to have unwittingly laid the foundations of the New England colonies by his tyrannical measures against the Puritans, so, to Lord North, the United States may ascribe the origination of their independence. From the passing of the Boston Port Bill, the American Revolution dates its commencement. Although ostensibly directed against a single port, its injustice roused a unanimous spirit of indignation throughout the country. In Virginia and most of the other colonies, the 1st day

of June, when the law began to operate, was observed as a public and solemn fast; and in all the churches, the Divine interposition was implored to avert the evils of civil war, and to give to the people one heart and one mind firmly to oppose every invasion of their liberty. Standing committees had been appointed in the preceding year, by the colonial legislatures, to correspond with each other; but it was now resolved to convene a general Congress of Delegates from the several colonies. On the 5th of September, 1774, the delegates met at Philadelphia, when Peyton Randolph of Virginia was unanimously elected President. By this Congress, addresses to the people of Great Britain, to the inhabitants of Canada, and to their constituents, were prepared and published; and a spirited petition to the King was agreed upon, soliciting a redress of grievances. In these state papers, a desire of Independence was explicitly disavowed, and they contain the strongest professions of attachment to the mother country, and of loyalty to the Crown. Even after active hostilities had commenced, the Colonies still professed allegiance to the British monarch, and protested that a redress of grievances was the sole object of their measures. "In the beginning of the contest," remarks an American historian, "these professions in most instances were sincere; but a state of hostility produced a rapid change of sentiment. In place of attachment to monarchy and Great Britain, succeeded devotion to republican principles and wishes for independence. Essays in the newspapers and pamphlets industriously circulated, appealing to the reason and to the passions of the people, enforced the necessity and policy of a separation." * A pamphlet

*, Hale, p. 261.

entitled "Common Sense," written by the notorious Thomas Paine, an Englishman, in which the excellences of republican institutions were set forth, and the principles of hereditary government were attacked with caustic ridicule,—was, in particular, universally read; and its effect in making converts to republicanism, is described as astonishing, and perhaps unprecedented in the annals of literature.

At length, on the 7th of June, 1776, it was resolved by Congréss to declare the Independence of the United Colonies. A committee, consisting of Messrs. Jefferson, Adams, Franklin, Sherman, and Livingston, were accordingly instructed to prepare a Declaration, which, on the 4th of July, was almost unanimously adopted. On being communicated to the army, it was received with enthusiastic plaudits; and in almost every city, it was welcomed by a great majority with public festivities. Complete unanimity, however, did not exist. Some of those persons who had more recently emigrated from England, the most of those who held offices under the Crown, and many others under the influence of timidity, deprecated the separation, and declared themselves the adherents of the mother country. These were denominated tories; the friends of liberty, whigs. On the issuing of the Declaration, many of the former joined the royal armies, and exhibited, during the war, the most cruel hostility against the whigs, their countrymen.

The first engagement between the royal forces and the colonists, was a skirmish near Lexington in Massachusetts, in April 1775. A more serious and bloody conflict took place on the 17th of June, at Bunker's Hill, near Boston, in which the royal troops were twice repulsed by the steady bravery of the provincials. The latter were finally compelled to yield to

superior numbers; but the victory was very dearly purchased by the loss of 1054 men in killed and wounded, on the part of the British, while the Americans lost only 453, including Major-general Warren. In the meantime, the Congress had determined to raise forces in the name of the United Colonies; and in June of this year, by a unanimous vote, the office of Commander-in-Chief was conferred upon George Washington, the delegate from Virginia. To this wise election, the United States were greatly indebted for the successful issue of the struggle which achieved their independence. The difficulties and discouragements with which this extraordinary man had to contend, were of no ordinary kind; and at one period, the cause seemed all but lost. On the 23d of August, 1776, British troops to the number of 24,000, under the command of General Sir William Howe, landed at Staten Island near New York. The American forces under Washington did not at that time exceed 14,000 effective men, chiefly raw troops and indifferently provided. A partial engagement took place near Brooklyn on the 27th, in which the loss of the Americans, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, exceeded a thousand men; and so dispirited were the militia by this defeat, that they deserted by companies. Under these circumstances, General Washington adopted a cautious system of warfare; and by skilful changes of position, he contrived to lead on the enemy to a distance from his resources, without being brought to a general engagement. Leaving one division of his army under General Lee in New York, he retired through New Jersey, and across the Delaware into Pennsylvania, so closely pursued, that the advance of the British army was frequently in sight. Small as was his force when the retreat began, it diminished daily. "On the last of

November, many of his troops were entitled to their discharge, and not one of them could be persuaded to continue another day in service. Such, he had reason to fear, would be the conduct of the remainder, whose time would expire at the end of the year. He called on the militia of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, but none obeyed his call. The population around him were hostile or desponding, and withheld all aid from an army whose career seemed near its termination. In this darkest hour in American history, General Howe issued a proclamation offering pardon to all who would declare their submission to royal authority. The contrast between a ragged, suffering, retreating army, and a full-clad, powerful, exulting foe, induced many, despairing of success, to abandon the cause they had espoused, and accept of pardon. Among them were two individuals (Mr. Gallaway and Mr. Allen) who had been members of the Congress. On the day that Washington was driven over the Delaware, the British took possession of Rhode Island. On the 13th of December, General Lee, having wandered from his army, was surprised and taken prisoner. In the experience and talents of this officer, the people reposed great confidence, and they lamented his loss like that of an army. The enemy now regarded the rebels as almost subdued. They rioted upon the plunder of the country, and enjoyed in prospect the fruits of an assured and decisive victory." *

Such was the gloomy and apparently desperate aspect of affairs towards the close of 1776. Washington, whose elastic energy was only increased by the pressure of adverse circumstances, saw that this tide of ill fortune must be stemmed, or it would soon

* Hale, p. 271.

overwhelm his country. He therefore resolved to act upon the offensive, but with the caution demanded by the exigency. Detachments of Hessian troops had been stationed at Trenton, Bordenton, and Princeton. Upon one or more of these points, he resolved to make an attack. Accordingly, on the night of the 25th of December, he crossed the Delaware with 2400 men, surprised the post at Trenton, and, after a short resistance, took 900 prisoners. He then immediately recrossed, having lost but nine of his men. A few days afterwards, having sent his prisoners to Philadelphia, he eluded the main body of the British army, captured or destroyed a large party at Princeton, and finally compelled the enemy to retreat to New Brunswick. These brilliant successes raised from the lowest depression the spirits of the American people; and Washington became the theme of general eulogy, under "the honourable and appropriate appellation of the American Fabius."

It was now determined by Congress, to send commissioners to the Court of France, to solicit a loan of money, a supply of munitions of war, and an acknowledgement of the Independence of the United States. Notwithstanding that Great Britain and France were now at peace, the French ministry did not scruple secretly to espouse the cause of the Colonists, and the commissioners met with the most flattering reception. Arms covertly taken from the public arsenals, were permitted to be conveyed to the United States; and the sale of the prizes taken by American privateers, was connived at, not only in the French West India Islands, but even in the ports of France.* Little did the Government of that country think, when, actuated

* The value of the prizes taken by the Americans in the year 1776, was computed at five millions of dollars.

by inveterate enmity against Great Britain, they treacherously and blindly lent their aid to establish a free republic in the western hemisphere, that they were preparing the way for a revolution at home, that was destined to prostrate that proud monarchy. So popular, however, was the cause of the United States at this time, that many French officers sought an opportunity of engaging in their service. Among these, the young Marquis de la Fayette was most conspicuous for his rank, and most distinguished for his ardour and enthusiasm. He arrived in America in the spring of 1777, and having solicited permission to serve without pay, was appointed major-general in the army, and became the bosom friend of Washington.

It was not till near the end of May, that either army left its winter-quarters. Washington then moved from Morris-town, and took up a strong position at Middlebrook, from which General Howe ineffectually endeavoured by various movements to draw him. The object of the British General was to march upon Philadelphia, then considered as the capital of the country; and being thus prevented from advancing by land, he changed his plan, and determined to attack the city from the South. Leaving Sir Harry Clinton in command at New York, General Howe embarked with 16,000 troops for Chesapeake Bay, where he arrived on the 20th of August. Washington, anticipating his purpose, crossed the Delaware, and pushed forward his army, now increased to almost 10,000 men, to meet the enemy. He took up a position on the eastern bank of Brandywine-creek, where, yielding to the wishes of the people, he resolved to risk an engagement for the defence of the capital. On the 11th of September, the British army appeared, and crossing the creek at several fords, attacked the American

right, which, after a short resistance, gave way, and Washington retreated to Chester with the loss of 1200 men.* On the 26th, General Howe entered Philadelphia in triumph, Congress having previously removed to Lancaster. His army was principally stationed at German-town, about six miles from Philadelphia. Upon this post, Washington made a spirited but unsuccessful attack on the 4th of October, which cost the Americans 1200 men; and after several movements on both sides, which had no important result, he withdrew to winter-quarters in the woods of Valley Forge. The troops passed the winter in huts, suffering extreme distress from want of clothing and provisions; yet, they endured their privations without a murmur.

During these operations, events had occurred in the northern part of the United States, highly favourable to the cause of Independence. For the purpose of opening a communication between New York and Canada, and of cutting off the intercourse between New England and the Southern States, a British force of 10,000 men under General Burgoyne had advanced by way of Lake Champlain towards Albany, and their first operations were highly successful. Ticonderoga, garrisoned by above 3000 men, was evacuated at his approach; and Burgoyne reached the Hudson within 36 miles of Albany. The aspect of affairs, however, soon changed. The American army under General Gates was stationed in his front, and the provincial militia, besetting the invaders on every side, impeded their progress, cut off their supplies, and fatigued them by incessant skirmishes. A party of Hessians, about 500 strong, who had been despatched by Burgoyne to seize

* La Fayette was wounded in this engagement.

some stores of provisions at Bennington, was attacked by General Stark at the head of a party of New Hampshire militia, and the greater part, after an obstinate contest, were either slain or captured. A reinforcement sent by Burgoyne met with a similar fate. Crowds of militia now flocked to the republican camp. Burgoyne, pressed on all sides and straitened for provisions, after two actions, in which a doubtful victory entailed all the consequences of defeat, opened a negotiation with the American General, and, on the 17th of October, surrendered his whole army prisoners of war.

This brilliant success on the part of the American patriots, produced a strong effect in Europe. The French ministry no longer hesitated to acknowledge the Independence of the United States; and on the 6th of February, 1778, they concluded with the American commissioners treaties of commerce and alliance. The example of France was not long afterwards followed by Spain; and their united fleets were at this time more than a match for the navy of Great Britain. The English Cabinet, which had hitherto, with incredible obstinacy and infatuation, disregarded the hostile or treacherous proceedings of the French, while it affected a sovereign contempt for the American rebels, now found itself compelled, on the one hand, to declare war against France, and on the other, to stoop, too late, to measures of conciliation towards the Colonies. It was now determined to grant to the Americans all that they had demanded at the commencement of the contest. An act was passed, declaring that Parliament would not in future impose any tax upon the Colonies; and three commissioners (the Earl of Carlisle, Mr. Eden, and Governor Johnson) were sent over to negotiate with the constituted authorities

of America. The result might have been anticipated. On their arrival at Philadelphia in the spring of 1778, they communicated to Congress the terms they were instructed to offer, which were at once unanimously rejected; and the negotiation was abruptly broken off, on its being discovered, that the Commissioners were attempting to carry their point by means of bribery and corruption.* Philadelphia was shortly afterwards evacuated by the British; and the royal troops were, according to orders transmitted by the Commissioners, concentrated at New York.

The war now languished, and during the remainder of 1778, no event of importance occurred, except an attempt on Rhode Island by the Americans under General Sullivan, which proved abortive, owing to the failure of a promised co-operation on the part of the French Admiral. The year 1779 was chiefly occupied by the British in marauding excursions. Plunder and revenge seemed to be their object; and a degree of barbarity was displayed in several instances by the English troops and their Indian allies, which has rarely been equalled in contests between civilized nations. Havoc, misery, and desolation marked their footsteps.† These excesses awakened a fierce spirit of resentment in the American population, and increased the numbers of the republican army. The principal operations of the campaign were in the southern

* To Joseph Reed, a general in the American army, and a member of Congress, the offer was made of 10,000*l.* sterling and any office within his Majesty's gift in the colonies, if he would endeavour to effect a re-union of the colonies with the mother country. "I am not worth purchasing," was his noble reply; "but such as I am, the King of Great Britain is not rich enough to do it."

† The destruction of Wyoming, a happy and flourishing settlement in Pennsylvania, has been commemorated by the genius of Campbell.

States, whither the enemy were attracted by the prospect of easier victory. Savannah, the capital of Georgia, was captured by the British; after which, Sunbury, the only other military post in the province, surrendered at discretion; but an attempt on Charleston was gallantly and successfully repulsed. In the following year, however, the siege was renewed by the British, and the city was compelled to capitulate. The greater part of South Carolina was now overrun by the invaders, and measures of inhuman severity were had recourse to with a view to over-awe the inhabitants. General Gates, on advancing to their relief, was totally defeated at Camden by Lord Cornwallis, who had succeeded to the command of the British army. The gloom that these reverses in the south occasioned, was still further increased by intelligence that treason had appeared in the American camp. In September of this year, the American General Arnold, whom bravery in battle and fortitude in suffering, had placed high in the affections of the people, but who had recently incurred the reprimand of a court-martial for peculation, sought to avenge his wounded pride by delivering up to the British the important post of West Point. Accident led to the discovery of the plot, on which Arnold escaped to the enemy;* but Major André, adjutant-general to the British army, who had been employed to concert with Arnold the execution of his treason, was taken in disguise, and hung as a spy.

By the northern army, little more was attempted during the year, than to watch the motions of the

Arnold received as the reward of his treachery, the sum of 10,000*l.*, and the rank of brigadier-general in the British army; but he was detested by his new associates, and his name has become proverbially infamous.

enemy in New York, and protect the inhabitants from their incursions. The troops, unpaid, ill-fed, and unemployed, discovered at various times a disposition to mutiny; but, although emissaries from the British commander were sent among them, inviting them to repair to the city, where comfort and abundance awaited them, they remained proof against all their offers. At the close of the year, they retired to their old winter-quarters, where they were exposed to great distress, owing to the disgraceful supineness or inadequate powers of the public authorities. "The harvest had been abundant: plenty reigned in the land, but want in the camp of its defenders. Selfishness had succeeded to patriotism, lassitude to enthusiasm, in the breasts of the people; and Congress exerted its powers with too little vigour to draw forth the resources of the country." At length, on the night of the 1st of January, 1300 soldiers of the Pennsylvanian line, on a concerted signal, paraded under arms, and declared their intention of marching to Philadelphia, to demand of Congress a redress of their grievances. The officers strove in vain to compel them to relinquish their purpose. Having elected temporary leaders, they moved off in good order to Princeton, where they were met by three emissaries from General Sir Henry Clinton, who made them liberal offers. Instead of complying with them, they seized the emissaries, and placed them in strict custody. There also they were met by a committee of Congress and a deputation from the State of Pennsylvania; and a part of their demands being granted, they were persuaded to return to their duty. The agents of the British General were then given up and executed as spies.

This mutiny, and another in the Jersey line, which was instantly suppressed, roused the attention of the

States to the miserable condition of the troops. The amount of three months' pay was raised and forwarded to them in specie. This had the effect of reconciling them to their privations; but the want of reinforcements and supplies compelled the northern army to consume in inactivity the early part of the following season.

In the southern provinces, a desolating warfare was in the mean time laying waste the country. The inhabitants of the Carolinas, in particular, endured calamity and distress from which humanity revolts with horror. "The country was ravaged and plundered by both armies. The people, in sentiment, were about equally divided. Village was hostile to village, and neighbour to neighbour; and their hostility had been embittered by accusation and retort, by attack and reprisal, until pillage, burning, and murder became familiar to all. Whenever a republican or a royalist fell into the power of an adversary, he was instantly sacrificed in revenge of a friend, or to gratify political hatred. It is asserted, that, in this manner, thousands were put to death. Each party aimed at the extirpation of the other, and the whole country presented an unvaried scene of blood and slaughter." In January 1781, an American detachment under General Morgan, who had been despatched into the western section of South Carolina, to arrest the ravages of the British and the Tories in that quarter, obtained a brilliant victory over a superior force, at Cowpens, taking 500 prisoners. In March, the American General, Greene, was defeated at Guildford by Lord Cornwallis; but the victory was dearly bought. Cornwallis shortly afterwards moved his army into Virginia; and Greene returned to South Carolina, where, after suffering a partial check near Cam-

den, he gained a decisive victory at Entaw Springs. This sanguinary battle* was followed by the retreat of the British towards Charleston. Cornwallis in the mean time, having received reinforcements, marched to York-town in Virginia, where he threw up entrenchments. Washington, who had been threatening New York, having learned that a French fleet with 3000 troops, had sailed for the Chesapeake, resolved to march to the south, and attack Cornwallis. At Chester, he received intelligence that the French Admiral had entered the Chesapeake, and formed the blockade; and he was shortly afterwards joined by the French troops. His whole force now consisted of 16,000 men, with a large and powerful train of battering artillery. On the night of the 6th of October, the investment of the British posts took place; and on the 17th, two of the British redoubts having been carried by assault, and nearly all their guns silenced, Cornwallis surrendered with his whole army as prisoners of war. Their number exceeded 7000, of whom nearly 3000 were not fit for duty. This event was decisive of the contest.†

The loss of a second army extinguished every rational hope on the part of the British Government, of subjugating the Colonies; and the voice of the people loudly demanded that an end should be put to a ruinous and disgraceful war. Lord North resigned the office of prime minister, and another cabinet being formed, early in the spring of 1782, pacific

* The forces on each side amounted to about 2000 men. On the American side, the number of killed and wounded amounted to 550; on that of the British, to nearly 700.

† The news of this success produced throughout the United States the most rapturous exultation, under the effects of which some, we are told, were deprived of their reason, and one aged patriot in Philadelphia expired.—Hale, p. 330.

overtures were made to the American Government. In November, preliminary articles of peace were agreed upon at Paris by the commissioners on both sides; and on the 3d of September, 1783, was signed a definitive treaty between the parent country and her former colonies, by which the Independence of the United States was fully ratified. In November of that year, the patriot army was disbanded, and again mingled with their fellow-citizens. In the same month, New York was evacuated by the British troops. General Washington, taking an affectionate leave of his officers, repaired to Annapolis, where Congress was sitting, and there, at a public audience, resigned his commission as commander-in-chief, and returned to his residence at Mount Vernon.*

Independence and peace did not immediately produce all the advantages that had been anticipated by

* In a letter (in the Editor's possession) addressed to the Rev. Dr. Gordon (author of the History of the American War), dated Mount Vernon, December 23, 1789, General Washington thus expresses his unaffected predilection for the retirement of private life. "How far I may ever be connected with its (America's) political affairs, is altogether a matter of uncertainty to me. My heartfelt wishes, and, I would fain hope, the circumstances are opposed to it. I flatter myself my countrymen are so fully persuaded of my desire to remain in private life, that I am not without hopes and expectations of being left quietly to enjoy the repose in which I am at present. Or, in all events, should it be their wish (as you suppose it will be) for me to come again on the stage of public affairs—I certainly will decline it, if the refusal can be made consistently with what I conceive to be the dictates of propriety and duty. For the Great Searcher of human hearts knows there is no wish in mine, beyond that of living and dying an honest man, on my own farm." In the same letter, the illustrious Patriot declares, that the prospect of there being a good general government established in America, afforded him more substantial satisfaction than he had ever before derived from any political event: "because there is a rational ground for believing that not only the happiness of my own countrymen, but that of mankind in general will be promoted by it."

an ardent and sanguine people. The expenses of the war had created a debt which bore heavily upon them; an excessive issue of paper currency had taken place; the country was drained of its specie to pay for foreign goods; and the value of the public stock sank to two shillings in the pound. The system of confederation, which even during the war, when upheld and enforced by the enthusiasm of the national contest, and a sense of the common danger, had been found inefficient, now became a merely nominal bond of union. The requisitions of Congress, no authority being given to enforce obedience, were generally disregarded; commerce languished; the general distress increased; and every thing indicated an approaching anarchy. To remedy these evils, Congress applied to the States for a grant of the power to regulate commerce and to collect a revenue from it. New York alone refused; but, as unanimity was requisite, the single negative of this State defeated the project. A conviction of the necessity of some change in the confederation, that should confer more efficient powers upon the General Government, at length became universal among the friends of social order; and in September 1786, a convention of commissioners from five of the Middle States, held at Annapolis, for the purpose of devising a uniform system of commercial regulations,—came to the conclusion, that nothing short of a reform of the existing government should be attempted. Upon their report, Congress resolved to recommend a convention of delegates from all the States, for the purpose of revising the articles of confederation. With this recommendation, all the States, except Rhode Island, complied; and in May 1787, the convention met at Philadelphia, Washington being unanimously elected president. They deliberated with

closed doors, and at the end of four months, agreed upon the constitution which was afterwards ratified by the respective States,* and is still in force. To the highest station in the republic, thus re-organised, the electors, by a unanimous vote, raised George Washington; and by a vote nearly unanimous, the office of Vice-President was conferred upon John Adams. The inauguration of the President took place on the 30th of April, 1789. Under the new system of government, trade revived; the public confidence was restored; and a great improvement soon began to be visible in the circumstances of the people. In 1793, Washington was unanimously re-elected to the presidency, and Mr. Adams was again chosen vice-president.

During the war between Great Britain and France, that rose out of the French Revolution, the wise policy of Washington maintained the strict neutrality of the American Government. The feelings of a large portion of the community were warmly enlisted on the side of France, and would have urged the nation into hostile proceedings against Great Britain. Genet, the minister from the French Republic, was received by the people of the Southern States with the most extravagant demonstrations of satisfaction and regard, with which he was so intoxicated as to attempt, by insolent declarations, to drive the President from the ground he had taken. He even threatened to appeal from the Government to the people; a measure which other agents of the French Republic had adopted with success in Europe. But here, the people rallied round

The new constitution found zealous opposers among the ultra-democratic or anti-federalist party; and in some of the States, its ratification was obtained with difficulty and by a small majority. It was not adopted by the little State of Rhode Island until after the lapse of two years.

their rulers; the French emissary was abandoned by most of his partisans; and his own Government, at the request of the American President, annulled his powers. This conduct on the part of Genet, together with the atrocities committed by the French people, alienated from them the more respectable part of the American community, especially those belonging to the Federal party, who became attached to the cause of Great Britain. The Anti-federalists, on the contrary, who were most numerous in the slave-holding States, retained an unabated attachment to the French. Over these two parties, Washington watched with patriotic solicitude, striving to temper their mutual animosities; and the unbounded confidence reposed by the people in their beloved chief magistrate, enabled him by his personal influence to restrain the spirit of faction. On no occasion was this influence more strikingly displayed, than when, in 1794, in defiance of popular clamour, he gave his assent to the Treaty of Commerce with Great Britain, concluded by the American minister, Mr. Jay. In various parts of the Union, public meetings had been held, at which resolutions were passed, expressing warm disapprobation of the treaty, and an earnest wish that the President would withhold his ratification. The republicans and partisans of France exclaimed in intemperate language against most of its stipulations. But no sooner had Washington affixed to it his public sanction, than the popular sentiment began to change; and on the final question in the house of representatives, after a long and fierce debate, a majority of three voted in favour of the appropriation necessary to carry it into effect.

As the termination of the second four years for which the President had been elected, drew near, Washington announced to his fellow-citizens his de-

termination to retire from public life. In a farewell address, he warned them, with all the ardour of parental affection, against the dangers to which the liberties and internal peace of the Republic were exposed. To fill the station from which the "Father of his Country" had resolved to retire, the two great political parties brought forward their respective chiefs. The Federalists, who desired that the system of measures adopted by Washington should continue to be pursued, made the most active efforts to procure the election of John Adams. The Republicans made equal exertions to elect Thomas Jefferson.* The result was the elevation of the former to the office of President, while Mr. Jefferson was chosen Vice-President.

During the administration of Mr. Adams, the French Directory, disappointed of engaging the United States in a war with England, pursued a course of insult and aggression towards them, which compelled the American Government to have recourse to measures of retaliation and defence. Provision was made for raising immediately a small regular army, the command of which was conferred upon the illustrious Ex-President. With great reluctance he consented to accept the office, declaring at the same time, that he cordially approved of the measures of the Government. Hostilities between the United States and France continued, however, but a few months, and were confined to the ocean, where two severe and well fought actions took place, in both

* Mr. Jefferson had been minister to France at the commencement of the revolution in that country; and in the early stages of its progress, he was its enthusiastic and undisguised defender. On the adoption of the new constitution, he was appointed Secretary of State, which office he resigned on the first day of the year 1794. His resignation, and that of General Knox at the close of the year, was followed by the secession of most of the leaders of the republican party from the interests of the administration.

of which the Americans were victorious. The Directory having made overtures of peace, the American President appointed commissioners to negotiate a treaty, who, on their arrival at Paris, found the executive authority in the hands of Bonaparte as First Consul. In September, 1800, a treaty was concluded, satisfactory to both countries.

While this negotiation was in progress, the whole country was overshadowed with gloom by the sudden death of the Father of his Country. On the 14th of December, 1799, after an illness of only one day, General Washington expired at the age of sixty-eight. His death was felt throughout the Union as at once a public calamity and a private loss. On receiving the intelligence, Congress, then in session at Philadelphia, immediately adjourned. On the next day, they met only to appoint a committee to devise the most suitable manner of paying honour to the memory of "the man first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." It was recommended to the people of the United States, to wear crape for thirty days, a measure which was universally adopted. A more permanent mark of the national veneration for the memory of this illustrious Patriot, was shewn by conferring the name of Washington upon the new city on the Potomac, a few miles above Mount Vernon; which was founded, in pursuance of a law enacted in 1790, as the permanent seat of the National Government. Public buildings having been erected, the officers of Government removed to that place in 1800; and in November of that year, Congress, for the first time, there commenced its session.

The finely tempered and well-balanced character of the First American President, has been drawn with much discrimination, and certainly in colours not too

glowing, by an able American journalist. Speaking of the revolutionary leaders, the Writer remarks, that the influence exercised over American affairs by Mr. Jefferson and Dr. Franklin, was of a purely philosophical nature: "neither of them possessed any portion of the talent of the orator or of the soldier." Whereas "Mr. Adams united to the pure philosophy of Jefferson and Franklin, a powerful gift in eloquence, which made him a far more efficient member of a deliberative assembly, than either." "Washington's talent was peculiar. We believe he never spoke in a deliberative assembly; and he discharged with great success the functions both of the philosophic statesman and the soldier, without possessing, in an eminent degree, the peculiar qualities of either. As a learned civilian, there were many of his contemporaries who surpassed him: as a commander, it certainly would not be hard to point out, in the revolutionary army, a few men more visibly endowed with purely military qualities. He seemed to possess just enough of either character to enable him to do the duties of both. In civil administration, the decision, circumspection, and firmness of the commander were his main strength: in the command of the army, the moderation, assiduity, and perseverance of the civil service were the great features of his Fabian policy. He does not owe his military fame to his battles; nor his reputation as a magistrate to his political science. He is more indebted, perhaps, for his great and solitary ascendancy, to the moral qualities of his character, and to his high disinterestedness, than to his possession of the talents which render other men famous."* A character more finely adapted for the beneficent ruler

* North American Review, No. lxii. p. 49.

of a free people, could hardly be imagined; and few monarchs have won so pure and enviable a fame.

In 1801,* a new presidential election took place, which led to a transfer of the administration of the government to the republican party. They had been gradually increasing in numbers, and were now strong enough to obtain the elevation of Mr. Jefferson to the presidency, in opposition to Mr. Adams. Being re-elected in 1804, he held the office till the autumn of 1808, when, in conformity to the example of Washington, he announced his intention to retire from public life. James Madison was then elected president, and his administration was extended by a re-election to the same period.

It was towards the close of Mr. Jefferson's presidency, that the United States became involved in serious disputes with the belligerent nations of Europe, by the Berlin and Milan decrees of the French Emperor, and the British orders in council issued in May 1806. A system of restrictions upon commerce was in consequence attempted by the American Government, which had no other effect, however, than to injure their own commerce. In March 1809, Congress repealed the embargo that had been laid upon American vessels, and substituted a law prohibiting all intercourse with either Great Britain or France. In August 1810, the French Government having announced the revocation of the Berlin and Milan decrees, the Non-Intercourse law was repealed with regard to France; but, as Great Britain refused to

* In this year, a second census was completed, from which it appeared, that the population had, in ten years, increased from nearly four millions to five millions three hundred and twenty thousand. (See page 69 of this volume.) In the same term, the exports had increased from nineteen to ninety-four millions of dollars

repeal the orders in council, or to waive the right of search and impressment, the American President recommended to Congress in November 1811, "that the Republic should be placed in an attitude to maintain by force, its wounded honour and essential interests." Preparations were accordingly made, which it was confidently hoped would have the effect of intimidating Great Britain; but, as no disposition to concession was shewn on the part of this country, on the 18th of June, war was declared by the Republic.

The second American war with this country, unlike the first, commenced on the part of the Republican Government; and the spirit which hurried the nation into the unequal contest, was not the spirit of liberty, but of fierce rivalry and haughty defiance.* An overweening confidence in their own strength, led the Republicans to believe, that victory over the same foe would now be so much the more easily gained, as the nation was more rich and populous; and Canada was already numbered, in their imagination, with the United States. This rash miscalculation of their resources entailed its own punishment. In July 1812, General Hull, the American Governor of the Michigan

* In justification of the war, it is alleged, that "a strong belief was entertained, founded upon credible testimony," that the Indians residing near the sources of the Mississippi, had, in 1811, been incited to hostilities by British agents; and again, that one John Henry told the President, that he had been employed by the Governor of Canada, in 1809, to sound the people of Boston on the subject of their forming a political connexion with Great Britain; which disclosure he was led to make, by the neglect of his employer to reward him for his services!—See Hale's History, pp. 387, 8. When, in a respectable History, we find such contemptible reasons gravely assigned as the motives for war, resting on mere surmise, and not clearly implicating either the British nation or its Government, there can remain no doubt as to the eagerness with which the war was rushed into.

territory, crossed the river by which it is divided from Canada, and in a pompous proclamation, tendered to the Canadians the blessings of civil and religious liberty, announcing that his force was sufficient to break down all opposition. At the very first approach of a British force, composed only of militia and Indians, he hastened back to Detroit, and shut himself up in the fort: there he was speedily invested by General Brock, to whom, on the 16th of August, he surrendered his whole army.* On the Niagara frontier, the operations of the Americans were equally inglorious. An army of regulars and militia had been with some difficulty collected, and about 1000 troops, commanded by General Von Rensselaer, crossed the river in October, and attacked the British at Queenstown. They gained possession of the fort, expecting to be supported by the rear division of the army; but the militia, who had displayed great eagerness to be led against the British, now utterly refused to cross the national boundary, and remained the tame spectators of the issue. Those who had gained the fort, were soon compelled to yield to superior numbers; and of the thousand men who had crossed into Canada, few effected their escape. Shortly afterwards, General Von Rensselaer retired from the service. He was succeeded by General Smyth, who, in a turgid address to the "men of New York, announced that, in a few days, he should plant the American standard in Canada." The morning was fixed for crossing the river; but the afternoon came before the first division was ready to leave the American shore. The enemy then ap-

* General Hull was afterwards tried by a court-martial, and condemned to be shot; but the President remitted the sentence in consideration of the age and services of the General.

peared in force on the opposite bank; and a council of officers decided, that it was inexpedient at that time to make the attempt. Another day was fixed; but, when it came, the ardour of the troops had evaporated, and the plan of invading Canada was abandoned for the season. Thus ended the campaign of 1812, to the utter disappointment and mortification of the war party, who consoled themselves by laying all the blame on the Federalists.*

The vainglorious feeling of the nation was, however, called into full exercise by the triumphs of the American flag. On the 20th of August, the United States' frigate Constitution, of 44 guns, captured the British frigate Guerrière, of 38 guns. On the 18th of October, the Wasp, of 18 guns, captured the British sloop of war Frolic, after a sanguinary conflict of three quarters of an hour. On the 25th, the frigate United States, Captain Decatur, captured the British frigate Macedonian, after an action of an hour and a half. A fourth naval battle was fought on the 29th of December, between the Constitution, of 44 guns, and the British frigate Java, of 38 guns. The combat continued more than three hours, till the Java

* The Federalists were accused of endeavouring to prevent enlistment into the army, and of maintaining the most pernicious doctrines in relation to the militia. Mr. Hale accounts for the backwardness of the people to join the army, by remarking, that "so happy was the condition of even the poorest class of American citizens, that few could be induced to enlist as soldiers. And in some of the States," he adds, "the plausible doctrine was maintained, that the officers of the General Government have no power over the militia, until called into service, and consigned to their authority, by the State executive; and that even then, they cannot be compelled to march beyond the boundary of the Republic. Several governors actually withheld their militia, when called for by the President, and thus diminished the amount of one species of force upon which the Government had relied."—Hale, pp. 392, 3.

was reduced to a wreck, and of her crew 161 were killed and wounded; she then struck; and, it being found impossible to bring the prize into port, she was destroyed by the captors. Many British merchantmen were likewise captured by the American navy and by the privateers that issued from almost every port: the number of prizes made during the first seven months of the war, is stated to have exceeded 500. These naval victories were particularly gratifying to the Americans; but it must not be forgotten, that they were, in almost every instance, gained by a broadside weight of metal, against which our more lightly-armed frigates had no adequate means of resistance; and that in the American navy at this period, there was no small proportion of British seamen.* In the following year, the capture of the American frigate Chesapeake, by the British frigate Shannon, Captain Broke, gave a check to the national exultation. Not long after, the American brig Argus was taken by the British brig Pelican. In the next encounter, between the American brig Enterprise and the British brig Boxer, the latter was captured, but not till the commanders of each vessel had been killed in the action: they were buried by each other's side in Portland.

The military operations of the campaign of 1813, were productive of alternate success and reverses. The north-western frontier was again the theatre of disaster. An American detachment under General Winchester, was defeated at French-town, and the whole were either killed or taken prisoners. On the Ontario frontier, the American arms enjoyed a brief

* Higher pay was the temptation that prevailed with numbers; and they were retained by the motive which led them to fight with the more desperation, the certainty of being hung as deserters, if taken.

advantage. York, the capital of Canada, was taken possession of by a body of troops under the command of General Dearborn, the garrison, after a severe contest, having evacuated the place; but they remained there only to destroy the public stores, and then re-embarked, and returned to Sackett's Harbour.* They next proceeded to attack Fort George, which surrendered after a sharp contest; but a detachment of 500 men were afterwards surrounded and made prisoners by the British.

Meantime, upon the sea-coast, a distressing predatory warfare was carried on by large detachments from the British navy. One squadron, stationed in Delaware Bay, captured and burned every merchant vessel which came within its reach. Another more powerful squadron arrived in Chesapeake Bay, commanded by Admiral Cockburn, by whom several towns were sacked and burned. These ruthless and vindictive proceedings reflect little honour upon the British flag. In September, Lake Erie became the scene of an obstinate naval conflict between an American squadron under Commodore Perry, and a British squadron under Commodore Barclay. At one period,

* In Carey and Lea's History, the account of this affair is as follows: "York, the seat of government of Upper Canada, being abandoned by the enemy, was taken possession of by troops under the command of General Dearborn on the 27th of April. When the Americans were within a short distance of the British works, after they had driven before them the best of the enemy's troops by the bayonet, an explosion took place from a magazine previously prepared for the purpose, by which about one hundred were killed, among whom was General Pike, the commander of the detachment. His troops, undismayed by the fall of their leader, or the new species of enemy they had to contend with, gave loud cheers, and pushed forward to avenge his death." Such is the popular story; but as to the alleged intentional preparation of the enemy's magazine, Mr. Hale maintains an incredulous silence.

the American flag-ship had struck her colours; but the Commodore, sailing in an open boat through the midst of the fire, transferred his flag to another ship,* and ultimately, the whole of the British squadron were compelled to surrender. This brilliant victory, which opened the way for the recovery of all that had been lost by the defeat of General Hull, raised the exultation of the nation to the highest pitch, and the "gallant Perry" was everywhere hailed as the greatest of naval heroes. A formidable expedition was subsequently fitted out for an attempt on Montreal; but the obstacles were found greater than had been anticipated, and the project was abandoned.

The abortive issue of this second campaign, notwithstanding the partial successes, occasioned loud murmurs throughout the nation. In fact, the American Government began itself to be tired of the unproductive and ruinous contest. In the early part of the year, the Emperor of Russia had offered his mediation between the United States and Great Britain, which offer was promptly accepted on the part of the former, and commissioners were nominated to negotiate a peace at St. Petersburg under the proffered intervention. During the ensuing winter, a communication was received from the British Government,

* At first, the wind being light, the Lawrence, the commodore's flag-ship, was the only American vessel that could engage in close action. For two hours she contended alone with two vessels, till all but seven of her crew were either killed or wounded, and she, by the damage she had received, was rendered wholly unmanageable. The wind springing up, Captain Elliot was at length enabled to bring the Niagara into action. To this ship, Commodore Perry transferred his flag by the bold manœuvre above related. Again the combat raged with undiminished fury. In a short time, one of the British vessels surrendered; and soon afterwards, another; and the rest of the American squadron now joining in the action, the victory on their side was rendered decisive.—Hale, p. 411.

declining to treat under the mediation of Russia, and proposing a direct negotiation at either London or Gottenburg. The proposal was accepted, and Gottenburg was chosen by the American Government, for which place Ghent was afterwards substituted.

For three months, the armies of both nations remained in inactivity; but the war was not at an end. In the beginning of July, General Brown crossed the Niagara with about 3000 men, and took possession, without opposition, of Fort Erie. He then proceeded to attack the British position at Chippewa, and an obstinate conflict ensued, in which the Americans claimed the advantage. On the 25th, a second battle was fought near the cataract of Niagara, the roar of which was silenced by the thunder of cannon, but was distinctly heard during the pauses of the fight. In this also, according to the American accounts, the honour of keeping the field was theirs, though their loss was so severe, that they were compelled to fall back on Fort Erie. There, they were invested by General Drummond, and an unsuccessful attempt was made to carry the fort by assault. After maintaining the siege for forty-eight days, the British General withdrew his forces, and returned to Chippewa. While these indecisive operations were going forward, Sir George Prevost, the Governor-general of Canada, entered the American territory, and marched upon Plattsburgh near Lake Champlain, while a British squadron approached the harbour, with a view to destroy the flotilla that were lying there. Nothing could be more miserably mismanaged. A furious encounter took place on the lake, which lasted for two hours and a half, and ended in the surrender of the British naval force! The object of the march being thus defeated, the land forces withdrew to their in-

trenchments, and, during the night, effected their retreat, having lost more than 500 men by desertion, in addition to a heavy loss in killed and wounded. Thus closed the third campaign on the northern frontier.

In the beginning of August, a British armament arrived in the Chesapeake, consisting of twenty sail of the line, with about 4000 troops under the command of General Ross. A landing was effected, without opposition, on the banks of the Patuxent; and the troops advanced three days' march up the country, to Marlborough, without meeting an enemy.* The immediate object of the debarkation was, to gain possession of Commodore Barney's gun-boats; but, during the night, a number of explosions announced their destruction by the Americans themselves.† It was now resolved to advance upon the capital, only a few miles distant. A decided resistance, however, now began. Riflemen harassed the van, and a strong body of troops with artillery made demonstration of serious opposition; but it was not till the following day that the Americans made their final stand, behind a branch of the Potomac, in rear of the little town of Bladensburgh. Here they had formed in three lines, doubling the number of the assailants, but consisting chiefly of militia; their front and left flank covered by the river, and their right resting on a dense wood and

* Between Benedict and Marlborough, a march of nearly forty miles, there are ten or twelve difficult defiles, which, with a few hours' labour, might have been rendered so strong, that a small detachment with six pieces of light artillery, might have defended them against any force. But no precaution whatever had been taken by the Americans to obstruct the approach of an enemy.

† In the language of the American General Wilkinson, they were "unfortunately abandoned and blown up by order of President Madison, although in a situation highly favourable for defence."

deep ravine. They had twenty pieces of artillery, some of which swept the bridge of Bladensburgh and its main approaches, along which the British light brigade rushed through a murderous discharge to the attack. It was irresistible, and the first line of the Americans was driven back upon the second, which, in its turn, advanced upon the light brigade. In the mean time, the second brigade had crossed the bridge, and deploying on the right, turned the left flank of the Americans, and drove it upon the centre. All was now thrown into confusion: the victory was with the British, and the road to Washington lay open before them.* On the 24th, they entered the capital, and, after destroying most of the public buildings, returned unmolested to Benedict, where they embarked on board the transports.† The squadron which had at

* Little generalship was displayed in this attack, and less spirit in the defence. The American position was so strong, that, had they conducted themselves with coolness and resolution, it is scarcely conceivable, according to the opinion of a British officer present, how they could have lost the day. With the exception of Commodore Barney and his sailors, no troops could behave worse than they did. General Ross seems to have relied more on the effects of an immediate attack upon raw troops, than on the advantages to be gained by science and skill; and no attempt was made to discover a ford, by which the destructive passage of the bridge might have been avoided.

† The destruction of the national edifices at Washington, has reflected a very "equivocal glory" upon its perpetrators. It was a wanton and useless outrage upon the feelings of the nation. "Of all the errors committed on our part during that unhappy war," remarks an intelligent British Traveller, "this was undoubtedly one of the greatest." Setting aside the question as to its abstract defensibility, on the ground of retaliation or otherwise, it is obvious, that it was in the highest degree impolitic; because its immediate effect, as might have been anticipated, was to break down party spirit among the Americans, and to unite them as one man in support of the measures of their Government. The firebrand was no sooner applied to their Chief Magistrate's Palace and the

the same time ascended the Potomac, met with even less resistance than that which had ascended the Patuxent. The citizens of Alexandria purchased their safety by delivering up all their shipping, merchandise, and naval and ordnance stores, with which the invaders returned to the ocean.

The success of the attack on Washington, encouraged General Ross to undertake an expedition against Baltimore. On the 12th of September, he landed 5000 men at North Point, about fourteen miles from the city. No opposition was offered to the debarkation, but effective preparations had been made for the defence of the city, and General Stricker, with 3000 men, was despatched to retard the progress of the invaders. The advanced parties met about eight miles from the city. In the skirmish which ensued, General Ross, who had incautiously ridden to the front, to ascertain whence the firing originated, was mortally wounded by a shot from a rifleman. The command devolved on Colonel Brooke, under whom the British advanced to meet the main detachment. The battle was better contested than the affair of Bla-

National Senate House, than thousands who had from the beginning maintained a systematic opposition to the contest, at once came forward and took up arms to maintain it: their national feelings were roused into powerful excitement, and they joined in one loud voice of execration at the destruction of their national edifices. Our ministers, had such been their object, could not have devised a more effectual way of strengthening Mr. Madison's hands. Had our troops recorded their triumph upon the front of the buildings, and left them uninjured, the indignant feeling of humiliation would have wreaked itself on those by whose imbecility the capture of the city had been occasioned, and who escaped so nimbly when it fell into the enemy's hands. But the burning of the buildings saved Mr. Madison. A thirst for revenge of the insult overcame every other feeling; and the war became thenceforward, what it had not been before, decidedly popular and national."—Duncan's Travels, vol. i, p. 256.

densburgh. The American line was not shaken by either the musketry or the artillery, and did not yield until the bayonet was laid in the rest. As soon, however, as their left gave way, the whole army fell into confusion, and a complete rout ensued. On the following day, the British came in sight of the lines of Baltimore, defended by from 15,000 to 20,000 men, and a large train of artillery. To attack these in front, would have been exposing the assailants to tremendous slaughter; it was therefore determined to carry Fort M'Henry on the extreme left of the entrenchments, and close to the bank of the river Petapsco. It was necessary, however, that the guns of the fort should be silenced by the fire of the shipping; but so many difficulties, natural and artificial, were found to be interposed, that the large ships could not get up.* Deprived of the co-operation of the naval force, the British commander was unable to prosecute the enterprise, and the troops were withdrawn. They returned unmolested to North Point, and, the next day, re-embarked. The death of General Ross seemed to have broken up the plan of operation, and the fleet soon afterwards left Chesapeake Bay, and separated.

The military operations of the war were closed with an ill-planned and unsuccessful attack upon New Orleans. The defence of this place by the American General, Jackson, has been a fruitful theme of extravagant eulogy,† although his bold assumption of ar-

* It is intimated by Mr. James, in his History of the War, that the Admiral called off the bomb-ships without necessity, and that an offer was made to him by several captains of frigates, to lighten their vessels, and lay them alongside the batteries, but was refused. The American accounts represent the fleet as having been repulsed, and the attempt on Baltimore as defeated!

† General Wilkinson, in a strain of absurd gasconade, ranks the affair at New Orleans with the victories of Marengo, Austerlitz,

bitrary power for this purpose, in violation of the constitution, is reluctantly admitted to have been perhaps justified by the emergency.* His promptitude, energy, and ability were conspicuously displayed in the vigorous exertions he made to put the place into a state of defence; and he had excellent advisers at hand; but he was still more essentially indebted to the mistakes of the assailants. The point of attack was ill-chosen, owing to the very defective or erroneous information obtained respecting the local situation; and a forward movement of the first corps that landed, in expectation of a general rising in favour of the invaders, had nearly occasioned its entire destruction. A sudden and furious night attack upon their *bivouac*, threw them into complete disorder; but they soon rallied and beat back the assailants. Had the English general pushed forward more vigorously, he would have found the city defenceless; but time was allowed for the Americans to fortify a strong position four miles below New Orleans, and five days elapsed before an attack was made upon their entrenchments. The crowning error lay in the fatal gallantry which led the intrepid British commander, General Pakenham, to persist in the attack of the American lines, after the disorganization of his force, through the misconduct of Colonel Mullens. While bravely leading to the walls the regiment that bore the ladders, General Pakenham was killed; and in attempting to

Leipsic, and Waterloo! Another American writer compares it to those of Cressy and Agincourt!

* Martial law was proclaimed, and the authority of the civil magistrate forcibly suspended. "May no emergency hereafter occur," is the comment of an American historian, "in which a military officer shall consider himself authorized to cite as a precedent this violation of the constitution!"—Hale's History, p. 434.

restore order, General Gibbs, the second in command, was mortally wounded. General Keene was also wounded severely; and the troops, without officers to direct them, halted, then fell back, and fled, leaving the plain covered with their dead and wounded. On the western side of the river, where the Americans were thrice the number of the assailants, and were protected by entrenchments, the attack was completely successful: the British party drove the Americans before them, until intelligence of the defeat of the main army, induced them to desist from the pursuit, and to return to their entrenchments. General Lambert, upon whom the command of the British army devolved, having lost all hope of success, prepared to return to his shipping. In his retreat, he was unmolested, General Jackson prudently contenting himself with having repelled the enemy, and not wishing to put his laurels in hazard. Such was the victory upon which, with little reason, the Americans plume themselves.* The carnage on the part of the British was dreadful; and it is distressing to reflect, that it took place after the treaty of pacification had been actually signed at Ghent, and the two nations had, therefore, ceased to be at war. The final assault was made on the 8th of January, 1815: the treaty was signed upon the 24th of December preceding.

A seeming fatality had attended the whole of this disastrous and unnatural contest from its very commencement. It was begun almost without an object;

* Throughout this affair, there was no opportunity for manœuvring on a grand scale: and excepting the night attack on the British advance, which failed, General Jackson did nothing more than command an army that defended a parapet too lofty to be carried but by escalade. His bravery is not to be questioned; but little courage or military skill was requisite for the successful defence of such entrenchments.

it was prosecuted without glory or advantage to either party; and the peace left unadjusted all the ostensible grounds of war, for the repeal of the orders in council would have followed of course upon the restoration of peace in Europe.* It may be hoped, however, that both nations have reaped from dear-bought experience a salutary lesson as to the inutility and unprofitableness of war; and that the young and sturdy Republic will in future be deterred from copying the worst vice of the old monarchies, a passion for military glory, and a delight in that

> "—game which, were their subjects wise,
> Kings would not play at."

Since the peace of 1815, the annals of the United States have exhibited a steady progress of internal improvement and territorial aggrandisement; but no events have occurred of marked or general interest. In

* In the above account of the transactions of the war, use has been made of the American authorities already cited, of Mr. James's Naval History, and of "A Narrative of the Campaigns of Washington and New Orleans." 8vo. London, 1826. The discrepancies in the respective official statements on either side, are numerous and irreconcileable; and the popular American accounts are full of the grossest exaggeration. Mr. Hale's History is, upon the whole, fair and impartial, and has been chiefly followed. But, as a specimen of its occasional inaccuracies, it may be mentioned, that the British Government is represented as having, in the Treaty of Ghent, "receded from all their demands." It is singular enough, that a writer in the Quarterly Review should have committed the same blunder; on which the North American Reviewers observe: "The only inference which can be made from this remark, is, that the Writer knows nothing about the negotiation of the treaty of Ghent. That treaty was a compromise. Each party proposed things on which it did not insist, and receded from terms at first brought forward as essential." —N. Amer. Rev. No. lxi. p. 484. The treaty of Ghent was merely one of pacification, which left the several questions respecting boundaries to be settled by commission; and it contained no stipulations respecting the colonial trade, one of the most important points in dispute, which still remains in an unsatisfactory state.

1817, Mr. Madison was succeeded in the presidency by James Monroe, who held it, by re-election in 1821, for the same term as his predecessors in the high office. On his retirement in 1825, five candidates for the presidency presented themselves; but the contest lay chiefly between the New England party, who eventually succeeded in elevating Mr. John Quincy Adams (son of the successor of Washington) to the presidency, and the republicans of the Southern States, who supported the pretensions of General Jackson, "the hero of New Orleans." Towards the close of 1828, the contest between these parties was renewed, and issued in the election of the General.

The American Federacy is certainly the most remarkable political phenomenon, in its origin, character, and rapid development, that the world has ever witnessed. Already, the United States lay claim to a geographical area which, in point of territorial extent, is exceeded only by the empires of Russia, Great Britain, China, and Brazil. The celerity with which the population has been multiplying, is unprecedented. Little more than forty years have elapsed since the United States have taken their rank among nations as an independent power. Commencing with less than four millions of inhabitants, the population has, within that time, tripled, being now very nearly equal to the population of England, and exceeding that of either Prussia or Spain. By the end of the present century, supposing it to increase at the same rate, it will amount to about half that of the Chinese empire.* The causes

* Burke, in his memorable speech on Conciliation with the Colonies, in March 1775, used expressions which were no doubt regarded at the time as rhetoric: they now read like predictions. "Such is the strength with which population shoots in that part

of this rapid increase are not to be found in the physical capabilities of the country, or the mere circumstance of there being such ample room for the ever-growing numbers. In Brazil, there is a still wider extent of fertile territory, with a more genial climate; yet, at the beginning of the present century, after having been colonized nearly 300 years, it contained only twelve cities, sixty-six towns, and less than half a million of inhabitants. Since then, its population, increased by emigration from Europe, has risen to between four and five millions, one-half of whom are slaves, and the whites form only one-sixth of the total. In the United States, the case is just reversed: the slaves form one-sixth, and the whites very nearly five-sixths. Thus, while the total population is nearly three times that of Brazil, the white population is about thirteen times as numerous.

But the rapid growth of the commerce of the North American States, has been not less remarkable and prodigious, than that of the population. And the latter circumstance receives its explanation from the former. The spirit of commercial enterprise which the first settlers brought with them, (and of which it is difficult to say, whether it ought to be regarded as the parent or the offspring of republican principles,) has been the moving power of the political machinery, the fountain of national strength, and the soul of the social system. It is the spirit of commerce that

of the world, that, state the numbers as high as we will, while the dispute continues, the exaggeration ends. While we are discussing any given magnitude, they are grown to it. While we spend our time in deliberating on the mode of governing two millions, we shall find we have millions more to manage. Your children do not grow faster from infancy to manhood, than they spread from families to communities, and from villages to nations."—Speeches, vol. i. p. 79.

has pushed on the population into the wilderness, opening new channels, creating fresh markets in all directions, and calling new cities into existence, as if by enchantment, along the line of its march. The Americans are not only beginning with an area greater than that with which other empires close, but they are starting from a point in civilization, and more especially in the practical application of the useful arts, to which the older empires never attained. The facilities and security of intercourse between the remotest parts of this vast territory, the rapid diffusion of information by means of the press throughout the Union, and the constant migratory movement that is going forward in all directions, connect together the different States in a closer geographical union, than is frequently found to subsist between the adjacent provinces of a feudal empire. While the thoughts of a European cultivator range within a circle of twenty miles diameter, the ideas of the American planter or trader traverse the wide extent of the national territory between the two oceans. The mighty streams of the American continent "make geographers" of all the settlers on their banks, who depend upon this communication with the wide world for all the means of raising themselves above the condition of the wandering savages around them. In South America, on the contrary, these grand inlets to civilization have hitherto been closed by the jealous policy that has condemned vast regions of fertile country to depopulation and barbarism. So opposite to the free and beneficent spirit of commerce is the genius of the feudal system, which is based upon conquest and monopoly.

In the year 1704, the total exports from this country to North America and the West Indies, amounted to only 483,265*l.* In 1773, they had increased to

4,791,734*l.*, which was only 1,717,000*l.* short of the whole export trade of England at the former period. "What England had been growing to by a progressive course of improvement, brought in by varieties of people, by succession of civilizing conquests and civilizing settlements in a series of 1700 years," to use the emphatic language of Burke, was doubled to her by America in the course of a single life.* Subsequently to the separation of the Colonies from the mother country, the commerce of America has continued to increase at a rate quite equal to this. For several years after the commencement of the French Revolution, the state of the political world was particularly favourable to the enterprise of the Americans, whose vessels, as neutrals, navigated the ocean in safety, and were employed to carry from port to port the commodities of the belligerents. In fifteen years, beginning with 1793, these favourable circumstances increased the amount of American tonnage from 491,000 to 1,242,000 tons. In 1821, it was 1,262,618 tons; in 1826, 1,534,000 tons, being an increase of 111,070 tons within the year. It is now very nearly 1,600,000.† The owners are chiefly residents in New England and New York: the States south of the Potomac, own only one-eighth part of the shipping. The number of persons engaged in commerce in 1820, was 72,400. The total value of the exports in the year 1790, was 20,205,165 dollars. In 1806, it had risen to 101,536,963 dollars. The export trade has since declined, owing to the restoration of peace in Europe and the increase

* Burke's Speeches, vol. i. p. 283.

† The registered tonnage, employed in foreign trade, and the enrolled and licensed tonnage, employed in the country trade, formed, in 1825, nearly equal proportions.

of home manufactures. In 1821, the exports amounted to 64,974,382 dollars, which was below the average of the five preceding years. The exports of 1825 exceeded 92 millions of dollars; those of 1826 were only 78 millions, while the imports were 85 millions. On the other hand, the proportion of the foreign trade carried on in native vessels, has been steadily increasing.

The present revenue of the Republic is derived principally from duties upon imports. The mean revenue of the years 1826, 7, 8, was 25,022,552 dollars, or 5,317,292*l.* sterling, of which 4,474,000*l.* was derived from the Customs; the remainder arising from the sale of public lands, internal revenue, loans and treasury notes, direct taxes, and miscellaneous. The mean expenditure of those years was 4,982,839*l.*, of which 2,347,423*l.* was appropriated to paying the interest of the public debt, and reducing it; the expenditure on the military department was 818,700*l.*; on the naval department, 816,769*l.*; and the remainder comprised the civil list, foreign intercourse, revolutionary and other pensions, and the Indian department. Exclusive of the revenue of the General Government, the Twenty-four States have each a separate revenue, amounting collectively to about 1,704,000*l.*,* and, with the revenue of the General Government, to 7,021,000*l.* It is calculated, that every free individual in the Union contributes to the revenue, one way or other, about 14s. 6d. yearly.† Small as this sum ap-

* The revenue of Pennsylvania is the largest, being more than a fourth of the aggregate total. In other words, the taxes levied by that State, are four times heavier than in the New England States, being at the rate of 1 dollar 98 cents for each individual. The revenue of New York, is next in amount, and approaches to another fourth of the total.

Each person pays to the State Government, on the average,

pears, it is large in proportion to the aggregate income of the country; and as the tariff duties from which the revenue of the General Government is derived, are levied avowedly for the fostering of the native manufactures, which are confined to the Northern and Middle States,* the agriculturists of the Southern States loudly complain of the unequal and burdensome taxation. This revenue must therefore be regarded as somewhat precarious; and should the repeal of the tariff law be effected, some more direct mode of taxation must be resorted to, to meet the demands of the public creditor.

The States in which the greatest attention is paid to manufactures, are Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New York, New Hampshire, and Connecticut. The principal manufactures are those of cotton and woollen cloths, of iron, and of leather. In 1820,

71 cents, or 3s. annually; to the General Government, 2 dollars 21 cents, or nearly 9s. 5d. But, excluding the slaves, the proportion is, to both the State and the General Government, 3 dollars 40 cents.

* "The tariff was established, by small majorities in both houses, in 1824, and the duties imposed by it on manufactured goods, varied, according to their descriptions, from 25 to 40 per cent. on their value. These duties, enormous as their rate appears, were found insufficient to render the fabrication of most goods a profitable concern. It was proved in evidence before a committee of the Congress, in 1827 and 1828, that most of the manufacturing establishments had been losing concerns. In woollen goods, it was shewn, that the raw material was 40 per cent. higher than in Europe, while the cost of implements, and especially the price of labour, still further exceeded that of England. The Congress therefore increased the rate of duty on every species of European goods in a very high degree: in some instances, the duty imposed on coarse woollen goods was raised to 160 per cent. on their first cost..... It is natural that the Southern States should loudly complain of being thus grievously burdened with taxes, not for the general purposes of the whole of the States, but to support the unnatural and artificial trade of some of the northern people."—Quart. Rev. No. lxxvii. pp. 244.

the number of inhabitants engaged in manufactures, was 349,506, of whom 218,116 (or nearly two-thirds) were resident in the nine States north of Delaware Bay. It was not till the imposition of the embargo in 1807, that any considerable impulse was given to this branch of industry. It received a serious check on the cessation of the restrictions in 1815, but has been on the increase since the year 1818,—owing chiefly, however, to that system of commercial restrictions which is exciting at this moment so serious a contention between the different sections of the Federal Union as almost to endanger the Constitution.

The complicated contrivance of a Federal Republic, must still be viewed as undergoing in America the test of experiment. "To what limits such a republic might, without inconveniency, enlarge its dominions, by assuming neighbouring provinces into the confederation; or how far it is capable of uniting the liberty of a small commonwealth with the safety of a powerful empire; or whether, amongst co-ordinate powers, dissensions and jealousies would not be likely to arise, which, for want of a common superior, might proceed to extremities; are questions," remarked Dr. Paley, "upon which the records of mankind do not authorize us to decide with tolerable certainty. The experiment is about to be tried in America upon a large scale." * As such it appeared to the illustrious "Father of his Country," when, on the happy day of his inauguration as President, he used these memorable words. "The destiny of the republican model of government is justly considered as *deeply*, perhaps as *finally* staked on the experiment intrusted to the American people." † Since then, the

* Paley's Moral. Phil. Book vi. c. 6. † Hale, p. 343.

Thirteen States have increased to Twenty-four; and the territories which form at present the waste lands of the Republic, are, in the hands of the General Government, a sort of geographical empire, the determinate political shape of which, time must decide.

The sinister prediction, that the American States would soon be dissevered, and form separate empires, having discordant interests, and possibly at variance with each other,—is adverted to by Dr. Dwight; who meets it with the remark, that the mere separation of the American empire into independent districts, would not of itself prevent or destroy the prosperity and happiness of the commonwealth. "Small states," he observes, "when safe from foreign invasion, have been usually happier than great ones. The limited powers of the human mind seem hitherto to have been incompetent to direct with success the internal affairs of a great empire, so as to secure to its inhabitants that degree of happiness which has been realized in states of a moderate extent. The present arrangement of the American territory was intended to promote the internal prosperity of the people by the division, and their safety by the union, of the States. How far it will answer this end, is yet to be proved. For ought which man can foresee, other divisions, and other unions, may be necessary." * "In our country," says another intelligent American writer, "all is yet new and in progress; nothing has received its finish; neither its moral nor its physical

* Dwight's Travels, vol. iv. p. 513. "Should these hereafter take place," adds the learned Writer, "New England and New York will, almost of course, be united in the same political body. The inhabitants are now substantially one people; their interests of every kind are inseparably blended; and not a natural or rational cause of division can be found in either their physical or moral circumstances."

development is complete; and the theorist can only pronounce, that, thus far, it has, in an admirable degree, subserved the substantial ends of human society." *

Waiving any reflections or speculations of our own in this place, we hasten to commence our topographical survey of the country with a description of what may be regarded as its commercial metropolis, though not the federal capital, — the London, though not the Westminster, of the United States.

* North American Review, No. liii, p. 451.

NEW YORK, FROM GOVERNORS ISLAND.

H. Adlard Sc.

TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION.

NEW YORK.

No commercial city can boast of a more striking or advantageous position, than that of New York. It stands upon the southern point of Manhattan Island. The Hudson or North River flows by it on the western side; a narrow part of Long Island Sound, familiarly termed the East River, washes it upon the other; while in front, a noble bay expands between the shores of Long Island and New Jersey, in which the united navies of the world might spread their canvas. Below the Bay are the Narrows, formed by heights which jut forward with a fine sweeping bend, giving a circular form to the magnificent basin, and facilitating the defence of the harbour. At various points above and below them are forts of such imposing strength, that it seems impossible that any naval armament can reach the city, unless with the co-operation of a powerful land force. Ice very rarely, now, obstructs the navigation;* and about twenty miles from the city, the Atlantic opens to the vessels, without a rock or island to annoy them.

"Approaching the city at sunset," says a female Traveller, "I shall not soon forget the impression which its gay appearance made upon me. Passing

* "While Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Alexandria are choked up by ice in severe winters, (as in that of 1804,) New York scarcely suffers any inconvenience from it. This is owing partly to the saltness of the Sound and the Bay. The water at New York differs but little in saltness from the neighbouring Atlantic. The openness of the port is also to be ascribed in part to the greater ebb and flow of the tide."—Lambert's Travels, vol. i. p. 54.

slowly round its southern point, formed by the confluence of the Hudson with what is called the East River, we admired at our leisure the striking panorama which encircled us. Immediately in our front, was the battery, with its little fort and its public walks, diversified with trees, impending over the water, numberless well-dressed figures gliding through the foliage, or standing to admire our nearing vessel. In the back-ground, the neatly painted houses receding into distance; the spiry tops of poplars peering above the roofs, and marking the line of the streets. The city gradually enlarging from the battery as from the apex of a triangle, the eye followed, on one side, the broad channel of the Hudson and the picturesque coast of Jersey, at first sprinkled with villages and little villas, their white walls just glancing in the distance through thick beds of trees; and afterwards rising into abrupt precipices, now crowned with wood, now jutting forward in bare walls of rock. To the right, the more winding waters of the East River, bounded, on the one side, by the wooded heights of Brooklyn and the varied shores of Long Island, and on the other, by quays and warehouses, scarcely discernible through the forest of masts that were crowded as far as the eye could reach. Behind us stretched the broad expanse of the bay, whose islets, crowned with turreted forts, their colours streaming from their flag-staffs, slept on the still and glowing waters, in dark or sunny spots, as they variously caught or shunned the gaze of the sinking sun. It was a glorious scene, and we almost caught the enthusiasm of our companions, who, as they hailed their native city, pronounced it the fairest in the world."

* Wright's (Frances) Views of Society in America, pp. 9—11.

"The harbour of New York," says another Traveller, to whom we are indebted for the most distinct description of this city, "is one of the best in the country, and is capable of almost unlimited extension. The wharfs skirt both sides of the island, and piers project at right angles into the stream, leaving intermediate slips, which have many of the advantages of wet docks, and are free from several of their inconveniences. The tides rise and fall about six feet, but there is always water enough abreast of the piers to float the largest merchantmen. They do not, however, enjoy the advantage of dry docks, for the tide does not ebb sufficiently to empty them, and mechanical means have not yet been resorted to; but vessels which need repair, are heeled down in shallow water, first upon the one side, and then upon the other. Masts surround the city like reeds on the margin of a pool; and when one passes along the wharfs, and witnesses the never-ceasing operations of loading and discharging, warping out and hauling in, vessels of every description arriving and sailing with every breeze that blows, together with the bustling of shippers, custom-house officers, sailors, and carmen, he cannot but be impressed with the great extent of the commerce which can supply such extensive means with such unceasing employment."*

While nature has done so much for this city, as regards its pleasant and advantageous situation, art has as yet done little, at least in the way of ornamental architecture. Except the City Hall, there is scarcely a public building worth noticing. "The streets, in the lower and older portion of the city," says Mr. Duncan, "are very narrow and crooked, and, what is

* Duncan's Travels, vol. i. p. 26.

more immediately inexcusable, are kept in very bad order. Garbage and litter of almost every kind are thrown out upon the pavement, where a multitude of hogs of all ages riot in abundance.* The foot-walks are incumbered with projecting steps and cellar doors, lamp-posts, pump-wells, and occasionally poplar-trees; and where any open space occurs, barrels, packing-boxes, and wheel-barrows are not unfrequently piled up. No town affords greater facilities for subterraneous drains, for the ground slopes on both sides from the centre to the water; and no town that I ever saw, stands so much in need of them. The more modern streets are greatly superior in every respect: they are in general wide and straight, and the foot-walks are comparatively free from projections and incumbrances. The city is throughout very indifferently lighted; and in many places, the feeble glimmerings of a solitary oil-lamp must struggle past two stately trees, which stand like sentinels to defend it."

Broadway, the principal street, (compared by Mr. Duncan to the Trongate of Glasgow, and by the Americans styled the Bond-street of New York,) runs in a straight line from the Battery, through the centre of the city, to its extremity in Bloomingdale road. It measures three miles in length, and is about 80 feet in width. It occupies in general the highest part of the

* "We believe, that there is not a more complete set of laws in the Union, for the promotion of cleanliness, than those enacted by the corporation of this city; yet, it is remarked on all hands, that the streets of New York are the dirtiest in the United States. To us there appears one radical cause of this, and that is, the number of swine which are allowed to go constantly at large. We are aware that there is a prohibitory law in existence respecting these animals; but they roam abroad at pleasure, no one considering it their business to interfere with them."—Picture of New York, p. 35.

ground on which the city stands, and for nearly two miles is pretty compactly built, the houses chiefly of red brick; but there is still a considerable mixture of paltry wooden ones. A few scattered poplars skirt each side; but they are too ragged and dusty in summer to be at all beautiful, and their bareness in winter increases the dreariness of the prospect.

"The early Dutch settlers," continues Mr. Duncan, "with a pertinacious but characteristic adherence to national customs, imported bricks from Holland to construct their dwellings; and a few of these houses still remain. They are one story in height, with the gable end to the street, and a little iron weathercock perched upon the top of it. The British settlers, however, of more innovating dispositions, laid the surrounding forests under contribution for building materials; and a considerable proportion of the older part of the city is still constructed of wood. Frequent and destructive fires were the natural consequence of this system; and these are still, every winter, grubbing out a few of the remaining wooden tenements. The erection of wooden houses is now prohibited, and the brick ones which succeed them, are built with a neatness which is unknown in houses of a similar material at home. The bricks are made of a very fine clay, which affords a very close and smooth grain; and the buildings are always showily painted, either of a bright red with white lines upon the seams, or of a clean looking yellow. In many of the more recent ones, the lintels and steps are of marble. Stone buildings are very rare.

"The City Hall is a splendid edifice, almost entirely of white marble; the architecture, however, is unfortunately very faulty, so that the very reverse of Ovid's description, '*Materiam superabat opus*,' is in this

case applicable.* Internal convenience seems to have been the presiding principle in its design; and a republican propensity to saving, exhibited in constructing the basement story of red free-stone, and the dome of painted wood, has still further injured its appearance. The building is an oblong square with projecting wings, two stories in height besides the basement; with a portico of half the height between the wings, and a kind of lantern dome, supporting a figure of Justice. The portico consists of sixteen Ionic columns, springing from a handsome flight of steps, but unhappily surmounted with a balustraded balcony, in place of a pediment. In the front, there are no fewer than between sixty and seventy windows; some of them flat, and others arched, and a few with intervening Corinthian pilasters. The prevailing defect is the absence of simplicity and grandeur. The portico, in relation to the building, is exceedingly dwarfish; and the windows, with their minute ornaments, break down the whole into too much detail; the injudicious use of red stone also, in the basement story, materially diminishes the apparent height. The principal entrance is by the portico in front: within is a handsome lobby, with a marble stair of elegant proportions, leading to the second story; and from a circular railed gallery at the landing-place, ten marble columns arise, supporting the dome. The apartments of the building are appropriated to the use of the Common Coun-

* The foundation stone of this edifice was laid on the 26th of September, 1803, and it was finished in 1812, at an expense of half a million of dollars, exclusive of the furniture. The old City Hall is described by Morse as a brick building "more strong than elegant," three stories in height, with wings. In the assembly-chamber were portraits of Columbus, of the King and Queen of France, "as large as the life," (presented to Congress by his Most Christian Majesty,) and of General Washington.

cil of the City, and the different Courts of Law. The chair occupied by the Mayor in the Council-room, is the same in which Washington sat, when presiding at the first Congress of the United States; and a full-length portrait of this great man, with those of some others of the Revolutionary chiefs, adorns the walls. In the other rooms, there is a profusion of portraits of officers who distinguished themselves during the recent conflict. It is remarkable, that in this building there is no room at all adapted for the purpose of a popular meeting. We may well wonder at this omission in the principal city of a republican State, where every Act of the Legislature is introduced by the proud preamble,—'*We the people of the State of New York, by the grace of God, free and independent.*'

"A very few of the churches are of stone, but their architecture in general presents glaring specimens of bad taste. The steeples are, in some cases, lofty, but are always of wood, and though as gay as white paint and a gilt weathercock can make them, have, to one from the *old country*, an air of paltriness and insecurity: one of them is so exceedingly slender, that it might not inaptly be likened to an enormous darning-needle. In one of the principal churches, the architect, wishing to avoid the incongruity of a steeple rising above a Grecian portico, has placed it at the other end of the building: in this, there is, of course, only a choice of difficulties, but the result is, in the present case, not happy, for the awkward position suggests to the spectator the idea of a tail.

"In front of the City Hall is a triangular grass-plot, of half an acre or so, intersected with gravel-walks, and skirted on two sides with a few poplars, which is dignified with the rather inappropriate name

of the Park. Green turf, however, is scarce within the precincts of the City, and the natives may be excused although they overrate a little what they possess. The only other portions are, the Bowling Green and the Battery. The Bowling Green is a small oval inclosure, at the lower end of Broadway, in the centre of which once stood a leaden statue of our good old King; but when the natives threw off their allegiance to George the Third, they turned his representative into bullets, and fired them at his troops. The Battery is a strip of ground at the southern extremity of the island, about a quarter of a mile in length, which, in the days of the Dutch governors, was the site of an earthen breast-work, over which a few pieces of cannon presented themselves to the vessels coming up the bay; but the embankment has long been levelled, and the guns thrown aside. It is now covered with a verdant turf, and shaded by the branching foliage of numerous trees, with a modern stone fort of great strength, projecting from one corner of it into the water. In a summer evening, the Battery is a deservedly favourite promenade, and the prospect which it affords, is very rarely to be equalled. The noble bay expands before it; bounded, on the left, by the sloping hills and valleys of Long Island; in front, by the Narrows, about ten miles off; and on the right, by the shores of New Jersey. Two or three forts appear upon as many islands, and vessels of every size, from the seventy-four gun-ship to the sloop at anchor or under sail. The cliffs of some stately mountain are almost all that could be desired to complete the landscape. A native of New York listens with impatience to the praises of the Bay of Naples; and it is said, that some who have seen both, have expressed some hesitation as to which

deserves the palm. I suspect that Vesuvius is more than sufficient to turn the balance." *

When the Dutch first established themselves on the Island, its surface presented a very irregular appearance. In some places, the ground rose into craggy hills; in other parts were low hollows and marshy swamps. By great labour and expense, that part on which the City is built, has been nearly levelled, and the marshes filled up. Only a few years ago, there was still a lake of fresh water, called "the Collect," near the middle of the City, of which scarcely a vestige remains; and towards the East River, there was a considerable elevation called Bayard's Mount, which has been nearly all cleared away to make room for level streets. In 1640, New York was a mere village, and the only dwelling-houses were few, low, and straggling. The most prominent buildings were then, according to its erudite and right pleasant historian, Diedrich Knickerbocker, "the Fort, the Church of St. Nicholas, the Jail, the Governor's house, the Gallows, the Pillory, the West India Stores, and the City Tavern," of which there are now no remains. In 1697, thirty-four years after the Dutch had been expelled by the English, the population of New York amounted to only 4302 persons. In 1790, it had increased to upwards of 33,000 (including 2369 slaves). In 1810, it had risen to 96,000; in 1816, to 100,619; in 1819, to 119,657; in 1826, to 166,086; and it must now exceed 170,000, including the population of Brooklyn on the opposite shore of Long Island, which may be considered as a suburb.†

For a long time after the Independence of the

* Duncan, vol. i. pp. 27—34.

† La Fayette, vol. i. p. 20, Mr. Cooper states it at about 200,000.

United States had been established, New York had to contend for supremacy against a powerful rivalry. "Philadelphia, distant less than a hundred miles, was not only more wealthy and more populous, but, for many years, it enjoyed the *éclat* and advantage of being the capital of the Union. Boston and Baltimore are both sea-ports of extensive connections and of great and enlightened enterprise. Against this serious competition, however, New York struggled with success, gradually obtaining the superiority in tonnage and in population; until, within a few years, opposition has silently yielded to the force of circumstances, and those towns, which had so long been rivals, have become auxiliaries to her aggrandisement." * In 1793, the number of vessels that entered this port from foreign countries was 683, and coastwise, 1381. The exports had amounted, the preceding year, to 2,535,790 dollars, and the customs to 1,256,738 dollars. In 1795, the customs were double that amount, and the exports had quadrupled. In 1816, the latter amounted in value to 19,690,031 dollars. In the following years, they declined, amounting, in 1820, to only 13,163,244 dollars, of which about one-third was foreign produce. But in 1825, they had risen to 35,259,261 dollars, of which foreign produce constituted two-fifths. The revenue collected at this port, has amounted of late to one-fourth of the total sum collected by Government thoughout the United States.†

The natural advantages of its position must always render this port an important emporium. It is the

* Cooper's Notions, vol. i. p. 163.

† Dwight, vol. iii. p. 450. Picture of New York, p. 143. Carey and Lea, p. 148. The chief exports from this State consist of wheat, maize, rye, beef, pork, lumber, pearl-ash, and manufactured goods.

first practicable port at all seasons of the year, after quitting the mouth of the Chesapeake for the northward. It lies in the angle formed by the coast, and whence the courses to Europe, to the West Indies, or to the Southern Atlantic, can be made direct. Ships from Virginia or Louisiana commonly pass within a day's sail of New York on their way to Europe; and coasters from Boston frequently stop at the wharfs of this City, to deposit part of their freight, before proceeding further southward. Its capacious and excellent roadstead, its secure port and magnificent bay, are not its only advantages. It commands an internal navigation of almost unequal extent. Eastward, the Sound opens to it 200 miles of the New England shore, and 140 of that of Long Island. Through the adjacent bays, small vessels penetrate in almost every direction into New Jersey. Northward, the Hudson, "the finest natural canal in the world," affords a navigation of 170 miles; and by means of the great canals communicating with Lake Erie on the one side * and Lake Champlain on the other,† this City has

* The Erie Canal, extending from that Lake to the Hudson, a distance of 360 miles, was begun in 1817, and completed in 1825, at an expense of 5,000,000 dollars. It is deservedly characterized as one of the greatest works of the kind ever undertaken. It is 40 feet wide on the surface, 28 at the bottom, and 4 feet deep. From Buffalo on Lake Erie to Montezuma on Seneca river (155 miles), the level uniformly descends; the total descent is 194 feet by 21 locks. From Montezuma to Utica (96 miles), it uniformly ascends, the ascent being 42 feet by 9 locks; but for 67 miles there is not a lock. From Utica to Albany (109 miles), it again descends 419 feet by 51 locks.—Carey and Lea.

† The Champlain Canal, 22 miles in length, connecting that Lake with the Hudson, was completed in 1820. But since then, this canal appears to have been extended, so as to fall into the great western canal, its total extent being now estimated at 64 miles. The cost of both canals was 9,123,000 dollars. The tolls amounted in 1825, to 500,000 dollars; in 1827, to 850,000.

become the concentrating point of the commerce of the Great Lakes on the left, and the State of Vermont on the right. Another canal, commenced in 1825, is to unite the Hudson with the head waters of the Delaware; and one is in progress, which, by connecting those of the Ohio with Lake Erie, will open an inland communication between New York and New Orleans, a distance of more than 2000 miles. Three or four hundred vessels, averaging forty tons, are employed continually on the Hudson during the mild season; and the advantages arising from the application of steam to navigation, of which New York first set the example, are here exhibited in their fullest extent.

Owing to the recent and rapid increase of its business and population, New York wears the appearance almost of a new city; and a description of a few years' standing, becomes obsolete. Lambert, who travelled in 1806—8, describes it as the finest and most agreeable city, as regards its situation and buildings, in the United States; having "neither the narrow and confined irregularity of Boston, nor the monotonous regularity of Philadelphia, but a happy medium between both." Land in this city, which, twenty years before, had sold for 50 dollars, was then worth 1500; so rapidly had it risen in value. It contained at that time thirty-three places of worship; which, if correct, was only thirteen more than in 1789. Dr. Dwight, however, describing the city in 1811, enumerates fifty-five. In 1821, the whole number of churches and chapels in the city and county of New York, was 71; and they are now stated to amount to 99; *viz.* Presbyterian (Trinitarian), 22; Episcopal, 18; Baptist, 14; Reformed Dutch, 13; Methodist Society, 3; Methodist Episcopal, 7; Methodist African, 3; Independents, 4; Friends, 3; Roman Catholics, 3; Lu-

therans, 2; Unitarians, 2; Universalists, 2; Moravians, 1; Hebrew Synagogue, 1; New Jerusalem, 1. Besides which, the State Prison, the Penitentiary, the Alms-house, the Bridewell, and the Debtors' Prison, are all furnished with chapels, in which the doctrines of the Reformation are faithfully preached.*

Among the churches, Dr. Dwight particularizes St. John's, in Hudson's Square, as one of the richest, and, in the interior, one of the most beautiful. The steeple of St. Paul's is praised, but the church is massive and heavy.† The other public buildings, besides the prisons above referred to, are a General Hospital and Lunatic Asylum, Columbia College, a Free School, an Orphan Asylum, a Public Library, the Custom House, the United States' Arsenal, the State Arsenal, two Theatres, the Banks, the City Hotel, the Tontine Coffee House, and the Halls occupied by the Washington, Mechanics, and Tammany Societies.‡ None of

* In Morse's American Geography, published in 1789, the places of worship in New York are enumerated as follows:—Reformed Dutch, 3; Presbyterians, 4; Episcopal, 3; German, Lutheran and Calvinists, 2; Roman Catholic, 1; Friends, 1; Baptist, 2; Moravians, 1; Methodists, 1; Jews' Synagogue, 1; French Protestant church (out of repair), 1: total, 20.

† St. Paul's Chapel in Broadway, completed in 1766, contains, Morse says, "a superb monument, erected by order of Congress, to the memory of the brave General Montgomery, who fell in the attack of Quebec, in December 1775."

‡ The Tammany Society, or Columbian Order, was professedly established to afford relief to persons in distress. Its principal business, however, Dr. Dwight says, is believed to be that of influencing elections. The Washington Benevolent Society also, though really employed in many benevolent purposes, is substantially a political association. The same may be said of some others.—Dwight, vol. iii. p. 440. The number of ostensibly benevolent societies in New York, is stated by Lambert to be 31. They have since then increased. Some of them are of an undeniably disinterested and philanthropic character. Captain Basil Hall speaks

these are distinguished, however, by any particular architectural beauty. Lieutenant Hall spent an evening in one of the theatres,—"a shabby building without, poorly lighted and decorated within; the play was wretched, and miserably acted; and the audience consisted almost entirely of men." Mr. Lambert, on the other hand, speaks of the principal theatre as large, handsome, and well fitted up; and Mr. Cooper's performances obtained for him the honour of being regarded as the American Kemble. But the Americans generally have little taste for the drama. Dancing is the favourite amusement. New York has its Vauxhall and its Ranelagh, but they are "poor imitations of those near London." * There is a small Museum at New York, the best part of which is a collection of birds, well preserved, and the worst, a set of wax-work figures. A Botanic Garden, founded by Professor Hosack, in 1801, is now under the charge of Columbia College. This institution, which originally bore the name of King's College, was established by lottery, and incorporated by charter in 1754. It was designed for the purpose of educating youth in the learned languages and in the arts and sciences. In 1769, a faculty of medicine was annexed to it; but in 1807, a distinct college of physicians was established. There are four professorships; of moral philosophy, classical literature, the physical sciences, and belles lettres. New York has also its Literary and Philosophical Society (chartered in 1814); its Historical Society; its Academy of Fine Arts; and a Lyceum

with warm praise of the House of Refuge for Juvenile Delinquents. —See B. Hall's Travels, vol. i. p. 24.

* Lambert, vol. i. p. 61. In the centre of the Vauxhall garden is "a large equestrian statue of Washington."

of Natural History.* These four societies have their respective apartments in the New York Institution, the western division of which is occupied by the Museum.

In the number of its Religious Institutions, New York presents an honourable feature of the state of society. In the Picture of New York for 1818, we find enumerated no fewer than twelve Missionary Societies, the oldest of which, the New York Missionary Society, (supported principally by the Presbyterian denomination,) was instituted in 1796. In 1816, the American Bible Society was instituted by a convention of delegates from Bible Societies in different parts of the United States.† Besides this central Institution, New York has several separate Auxiliary Bible Societies; also, a Tract Society, a Sunday School Union, and various Education Societies.

Morse describes New York, forty years ago, as "the gayest place in America." "The ladies," he says, "in the richness and brilliancy of their dress, are not equalled in any city in the United States, not even in Charleston, which has heretofore been called the centre of the *beau monde*. In point of sociability and hospitality," he adds, "New York is hardly exceeded by any town" in the Union. With regard to their love of literature, and their patronage of the arts and sciences, inquiries could not then be answered quite satisfactorily. Dr. Dwight bears a similar testimony to the hospitality by which its inhabitants are distinguished. "Tables are spread here," he says, "with a luxury that must, I think, satisfy the demands

* Of this philosophical Society, Captain Basil Hall, who attended some of the meetings, speaks in terms of unusual panegyric.

† In 1828, the American Bible Society had issued 511,168 copies of the Bible or New Testament; and its Auxiliary Societies amounted to 547.

of any epicure. The economy of the inhabitants is, I think, less remarkable and less universal, than their industry. The furniture and carriages of many of the inhabitants are rich and beautiful. Until lately, almost all the coaches were private property. Hackney coaches are now employed in considerable numbers.*... The general attachment to learning is less vigorous in this city, than in Boston, commerce having originally taken a more entire possession of the minds of its inhabitants. The character of New York, however, has for some time been materially changing in this respect. Wealth also, in a much higher degree than good sense can justify, is considered as conferring importance and distinction on the owner."† This last circumstance, indeed, is by no means peculiar to the city of New York. Mr. Cooper tells us, that "here, as elsewhere, the *parvenus* are commonly the most lavish in their expenditure, either because money is a novelty, or because they find it necessary to purchase consideration by its liberal use." With regard to the general character of the society, it comprises, we are told, "such a *mélange* of customs, nations, and manners, all tempered, without being destroyed, by the institutions and opinions of the country," that it scarcely admits of definite description. "Society in New York, in consequence of its extraordinary increase, is rather in a state of effervescence, than settled; and where that is the case, the lees sometimes get nearer to the surface than is desirable." "With the exception of New Orleans, it is the only city in

* Mr. Cooper says: "I should think about the same proportion of the inhabitants keep carriages here as in France. The equipages, with the exception of liveries and heraldic blazonries, are very much like those of London."—Notions, &c. vol. i. p. 203.

† Dwight, vol. iii. pp. 451—453.

the Union that has not the character of a provincial town." *

The languages spoken in this city are very various. "When passing through the streets, you will hear English, French, Dutch, and German, and all the various brogues spoken by the numerous nations, when imperfectly acquainted with the English tongue." It is computed, that one third of the inhabitants are either natives of New England or descendants of those who have emigrated from the northern States. Not more than a third of the population is, strictly speaking, native to this State; and the proportion of Europeans of various nations, is probably larger than in any other city in the Union.† Captain Basil Hall describes the first impression made upon an Englishman, on his arrival, as very singular. While so many things recall the sea-ports of England, abundant indications of its being another country force themselves on the attention. "The signs over the shop-doors were written in English; but the language we heard spoken, was different in tone from what we had been accustomed to. Still, it was English. Yet, there was more or less of a foreign air in all we saw, especially about the dress and gait of the men. Negroes and negresses also were seen in abundance on the wharfs. The form of most of the wheeled carriages was novel."

* Notions of the Americans, vol. i. pp. 165—221.

† According to a statement in a New York newspaper, the number of passengers who arrived at the port of New York between March 1, 1818, and December 11, 1819, was 35,560, consisting of the following classes, as entered at the Mayor's office; *viz.*, Americans, 16,628; English, 7629; Welsh, 590; Scotch, 1492; Irish, 6067; French, 930; Germans, 499; Spanish, 217; Portuguese, 54; Hollanders, 155; Italians, 103; Swiss, 372; Norwegians, 3; Swedes, 28; Danes, 97; Prussians, 48; Sardinians, 3.—Hodgson's Letters, vol. ii. p. 123.

The names of places, and the inscriptions over the doors,—some of them singularly uncouth and strange, concur to remind the stranger that he is in a new country. This impression, however, soon wears off. On returning to New York from the interior, "all that visionary, dreamy kind of effect which the strange mixture of new and old objects had excited on first landing from England, had so completely fled," that our Traveller could with difficulty recall even a trace of it to his recollection.*

The police of New York, Dr. Dwight says, has become superior to that of any other city in the Union; notwithstanding that its efficiency does not extend to the cleanliness of the streets. There is another point also, on which the wisdom and enterprise of the citizens are not displayed to advantage. The water is generally very bad; and an attempt made to supply the city with pure and wholesome water, was perverted into a miserable job, and failed. A still more serious drawback on the "otherwise unrivalled position" of New York, is the occasional visitation of the yellow fever. Mr. Cooper tells us, that the most exaggerated notions prevail in Europe concerning the danger of the disease in this latitude. "The malady," he says, "rarely appears before the last of August, and has invariably disappeared with the first frosts, which are commonly felt here in October. The fever of 1821,

* Hall, vol. i. p. 6. vol. ii. p. 206. "Flour and Feed Store"—"Cheap Store"—"Clothing Store"—"Cake Store and Bakery"—"Wine and Tea Store," explain themselves. "Liberty Street"—"Amos Street"—"Thirty-first Street"—"Avenue A." are not less characteristic. But the following list of places on Long Island, affixed to an Inn-door at Brooklyn, is not a little curious:—"Flat Bush and Bath—Hempstead—Jerusalem—Cow Neck—Westbury—Mosquito Cove—Jericho—Oyster Bay—Huntingdon—Eastwood—Dixhill—Babylon, and Islip, Stage-house."—*Ib.* vol. i. p. 18.

caused much less alarm than that of 1819, though the infected district was far more extensive, and occupied a part of the city that was supposed to be healthy.... The seeds of the disease are undoubtedly imported, whether it is ever generated here or not. Indeed, there is scarcely a summer in which some case of the fever does not occur at the Lazaretto, through vessels from the West Indies or the more southern points of the United States. That the disorder does not extend itself, is imputed to the pureness of the atmosphere at the time being. It is certain, that the inhabitants of New York, who would have considered their lives in jeopardy by entering their dwellings one day, take peaceable possession of them the morning after a wholesome frost with entire impunity."* Although the true yellow fever is certainly imported, yet it is admitted, that a fever strongly resembling it sometimes originates in the climate. Upon the whole, the laboured attempt of this American writer to prove that the hazard of the disease has been magnified, leaves an impression the very opposite to that which he aims at producing; and the natural conclusion is, that, during the heats of summer, when the thermometer frequently stands above 80° for many successive days, New York is far from being a salubrious residence. According to the statement of Dr. Mitchell, however, upwards of one-third of the deaths in New York, are occasioned by consumption and debility.

* Notions of the Americans, vol. i. pp. 153—159. It would seem that the "slips," or irregular docks of the harbour, which are apt to become very foul and offensive in the hot weather, have generally been the spots to which the origination or first appearance of the yellow fever has been traced. There appears to be little doubt, in fact, as to its strictly endemic origin; and it has become epidemic only under extraordinary circumstances.—See Warden's United States, vol. i. ch. 7.

"To the influence of moisture and the sudden changes of the weather," says Mr. Lambert, "has been attributed the prevalence of nervous disorders and debility among a great number of the inhabitants of the United States. Much may, no doubt, be ascribed to those causes; but I think the mode of living has a more immediate effect upon the human frame, than even the climate. The higher and middling classes of the Americans live, generally speaking, in a more luxurious manner than the same description of people in England. The constant use of segars by the young men, even from an early age, may also tend to impair the constitution, and create a stimulus beyond that which nature requires, or is capable of supporting. The effects of a luxurious, or of a meagre diet, are equally injurious to the constitution, and, together with the sudden and violent changes of the climate, may create a series of nervous complaints, consumption, and debility, which, in the States bordering on the Atlantic, carry off at least one-third of the inhabitants in the prime of life." *

The environs of New York afford some very agreeable excursions. Long Island, in particular, is a favourite summer resort. The climate is deemed very salubrious, and there are numerous villages at short distances along the shore. A little above Brooklyn, a town fast rising into importance, immediately opposite to the city, and communicating with it by a steam ferry boat, the United States have established a navy-yard, and are building ships of war. The navy-yard is conveniently situated upon the bank of a com-

* Lambert, vol. i. pp. 82, 3. The rate of mortality in New York, is very considerably higher than in London, and suicide is not less frequent. This Traveller is disposed to ascribe a prejudicial effect to the crowded churchyards and vaults in the heart of the town.

modious little bay, opening into the Sound, where vessels of the largest class may float in safety. Here lies the famous steam frigate, "Fulton the First," dismantled and roofed in; "a most tortoise-looking man of war," says Mr. Duncan, "in shape pretty nearly an oblong octagon, rounded off a little at the corners;" and he describes its construction as follows.

"The steam frigate is a double boat resting upon two keels, with an intervening space, 156 feet long, and 15 feet wide, in which the paddle-wheel revolves. This is carefully covered in, so as to be as much as possible unapproachable by shot. The wheel has a free motion both ways upon its axis, so that it can propel the vessel with either end foremost. For this purpose, each individual boat has two rudders, one at each end, which are also carefully defended: each pair acts simultaneously, and when the pair at one end is in operation, the other is secured so as to offer no obstruction to the vessel's progress. She carries two bowsprits and two masts, which are intended to bear latteen sails. The rigging formed no part of the original design, but was added at the suggestion of Captain Porter, who had been appointed to her command. The sides are 4 feet 10 inches thick, composed of four thicknesses of oak timber, alternately vertical and horizontal. Her gun-ports, thirty in number, are all on the principal deck, and go completely round both ends of the vessel, so that, if necessary, her shot can fly simultaneously at every angle, like radii from the centre of a circle. She carries thirty-two-pounders, some of which are in the carriages; with these, she is intended to throw red-hot shot, for preparing which she is amply provided with furnaces. Fulton also intended that she should carry upon her upper deck four Columbiads, as they are called; enormous guns,

capable of discharging a ball of a hundred pounds weight into an enemy's vessel, under the water mark. At present, however, her upper deck is without any armament, but is surrounded with a strong bulwark. The officers' cabins are in the centre of the vessel, or on the main deck. The steam-boilers are contained in the one boat, and the engine in the other. Room is left for a machine, which Fulton purposed to add, capable of discharging with great force an incessant stream of water, either hot or cold, which, it was anticipated, would completely inundate an enemy's armament and ammunition, if it did not also destroy the men. Her machinery impels her at the rate of five and a half knots an hour; and her inventor felt confident that, in a calm or light breeze, no seventy-four would be a match for her.....But I am led to think that considerable doubt prevails as to the possibility of working her, so as to make her efficient against an enemy's vessel. Fulton died before her engine was put on board. Had he lived to superintend its complete adjustment, it is impossible to say to what degree of perfection he might have brought it; but his Biographer acknowledges that there are, at present, great and obvious defects in her machinery. During the trial voyages, various inconveniences were experienced. One of these was the heat of the furnaces, which is so insupportable, that the engine-men cannot remain beside them for more than a minute or two at a time. In the confusion and bustle of an action, it would probably be found extremely difficult, if not impossible, to regulate with deliberation and coolness the many complicated operations which would be necessary in such a machine; and where so much internal combustion is going forward, the slightest inattention or accident in managing the powder, might be

instantaneously fatal to all on board. Should they succeed in overcoming these difficulties, and acquire that expertness in her management which practice alone can be expected to produce, we can scarcely imagine, for a bay or harbour, a more powerful instrument of attack or defence. Independent of wind or tide, she could plough her way under an enemy's stern, or across his bows, and vomit forth her flaming balls wherever the foe was most vulnerable; while the reverting of the paddle-wheel would instantly relieve her from a wrong position, without the delay of working round; and the enormous thickness of her sides would render any but the largest guns inefficient upon her timbers.

"The commissioners, in their last report, recommended that, notwithstanding the peace, she should be commissioned and sent to sea, that officers and men might be trained to her management, and that defects in her construction might be discovered and obviated. But this recommendation could have been complied with only at an expense which would ill-agree with American ideas of economy; and here she lies, slumbering in ignoble indolence and security. I would add with all my heart, *Requiescat in pace.*" *

The heights of Brooklyn overlook the city and harbour; and during the Revolutionary war, some fortifications were hastily thrown up there by the citizens; but, happily, the peace prevented their completion. Dr. Dwight speaks of this elevation as the finest position for a view of the magnificent scenery. But the best bird's eye view of the city, is said to be gained from the high ground between the Hackensack and North

* Duncan, vol. i. pp. 35—41. The keel of this singular vessel was laid in June 1814. By May 1815, her engine was put on board, various obstacles having impeded its construction; and before that period, Fulton had died.

Rivers, on the New Jersey side of the Hudson.* This is another of the favourite tours of the New York citizens. A third is to Staten Island, which is esteemed so salubrious, that the Corporation have selected its shore as a fit place for receiving invalids and sickly ships from abroad. For an ample description of all that is attractive in the vicinity, we must, however, refer our readers to the "Picture of New York." Our business is simply to note the more distinguishing features of the country.

Long Island is, for the most part, like the peninsula of Cape Cod, Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and a considerable tract in the southern part of Massachusetts, a vast body of fine yellow sand, rising from 100 to 200, and, in some places, to nearly 300 feet above the level of the ocean. Of the same sand, Dr. Dwight says, is formed the immense beach extending everywhere as a barrier against the ocean, in front of the great bay which reaches on the south side of the island from Hempstead to Southampton, about 80 miles, communicating with the Atlantic by a few narrow inlets. This beach is tossed into various wild and fantastic forms. In many places, the yellow sand, as on Cape Cod, is covered with a thin stratum of white sand, sometimes naked, but generally overspread with a layer of soil. The stones found on the island have universally, as far as examined by the learned Traveller, a rounded appearance, as if they had been long washed with water. It has been supposed, that both

* The hill is called Weehawk. Near the foot of it is a ferry to "*the Duelling Ground*" of Hoboken, where the "honourable questions" of the New York duellists are speedily decided. It can be readily approached only by water. There stands the tomb of the lamented Hamilton,—in ruins!—Picture of New York, pp. 322, 356. This spot is chosen in order to evade the laws of New York.

Long Island and Staten Island were originally joined to the main, forming part of that vast sandy beach extending from Cape Florida to Cape Cod, which appears to have been thrown up by the remarkable current known by the name of the Gulf-stream. Marine shells and marsh-mud have been dug up at various places at the depth of 20, 30, and even 50 feet; and marine substances have been found at a considerable distance in the interior.* In the township of Smith-town on Long Island, there is pond called Ronkonkama, which is said to rise regularly for seven years, and to fall with the same regularity through the following seven. It abounds with perch. Dr. Dwight, however, who reports this extraordinary circumstance "on authority that cannot be rationally questioned," hesitates to vouch for the truth of the story.†

Captain Basil Hall made an excursion from New York, to see the falls of the Passaic, in New Jersey. "These falls," he says, "which are dammed up for six days in the week to turn machinery, and let loose on Sunday, are considered as one of the most fashionable sights in the neighbourhood; and I must own," he adds, "that their popularity does credit to the taste of the cockneys of New York." But he apologises for "skipping" a description of this natural curiosity.‡

* See Dwight's Travels, vol. iii. pp. 278—285.

† Dwight, vol. iii. p. 272. A minute statistical and topographical account of the whole State of New York, will be found in this valuable but somewhat prolix work.

‡ This Traveller is a little capricious. He devotes three pages to the description of the common arrangements of an eating-house, but excuses himself for passing over *these* picturesque falls. His account of the curious process of moving a brick dwelling "bodily along the ground," an operation of which he had ocular demonstration while at New York, is, however, some compensation for this omission.—See Basil Hall, vol. i. pp. 38—44

According to the Picture of New York, "immense masses of perpendicular rocks rise to the height of 100 feet from the level of the water in the basin below, their tops fringed with evergreen. Some violent convulsion of nature appears to have rent these rocks to their bases, as numerous cracks and deep fissures appear in all directions. Nothing can be imagined more truly wild and picturesque than the scenery hereabouts." It is "a nest of rocks and mountains." Of the cascade itself, we have no further description; but the adjacent village of Patterson, with its numerous cotton-manufactories, is destined, we are told, with a singular misapplication of the expression, to become the "Birmingham of America!" *

But we must now, with Captain Basil Hall, "disentangle ourselves from the fascinations of this great city," and prepare to ascend the majestic river to which the graphic description and legendary stories of Geoffrey Crayon have imparted a sort of classic interest.

FROM NEW YORK TO LAKE CHAMPLAIN.

"Formerly," says this Traveller, "the passage from New York to Albany, was considered as an affair of a week or ten days. Three days was called good, and forty-eight hours excellent; though a fortnight was not very uncommon. Now, however, the same voyage is currently made in thirteen hours; sometimes in

* Picture of New York, pp. 352—4. In 1825, there were at Patterson, twelve cotton-mills, moving 22,000 spindles, three woollen factories, two duck-factories, &c. Passaic river rises in the northern part of the State, and flowing south, falls into Newark bay. At the great falls, nearly up to which it is navigable by small vessels, ten miles from its mouth, the river descends perpendicularly 70 feet in an entire sheet, "presenting a scene of singular beauty and grandeur."—Carey and Lea's Atlas.

twelve; and it has been done in little more than eleven, which, considering that the distance is 145 miles, is great going. What would good old Hendrick Hudson, the original founder of the colony, have said, had he looked out of his grave, and seen our gallant steamer, the Constellation, come flying past him like a comet, at the rate of twelve knots an hour? He would be apt enough to declare, that it was the veritable Flying Dutchman of which so much has been told; and his first emotions might probably be those of envy at the glorious pipe his spectre countryman * was smoking. But if anybody were to attempt to convince him that the apparition he saw dashing by at the peep of day, was a ship without sails or oars, which had left Manhattan Island, or New York, at sunset the evening before, the worthy old gentleman could scarcely be blamed for declaring the whole story, with all its circumstances, a parcel of monstrous lies. It is not Albany alone, however, that is benefited by these numerous and swift-moving vessels. The country both above and below, and on both banks of the river, derives from them nearly equal advantages. Stony Point, West Point, and fifty other points and towns, and burghs,—Sparta, Poughkeepsie, Fishkill, Newburgh, Troy, Glasgow, Gibbonsville, and so on, line the sides of this immense artery, through which are poured the resources of the interior, and by which also the productions of every corner of the globe are sent back to the heart of the country." †

"For the first fifty miles from its mouth, the Hudson is never much less than a mile in width; and in two instances, it expands into small lakes of twice that

* This is a mistake; Hudson was an Englishman.

† Basil Hall, vol. i. p. 102.

breadth; running always in a direction a little W. of N. The eye at first looks along an endless vista, that narrows by distance. The western shore is a perpendicular rock, weather-worn and venerable, bearing a little the appearance of artificial parapets, from which word it takes its name. This rock has a very equal altitude of about 500 feet. At the foot of this wall of stone, there is occasionally room for the hut of some labourer in the quarries which are wrought in its side; and now and then, a house is seen seated on a narrow bottom that may furnish subsistence for a few cattle, or, perhaps, a garden for the occupant. The opposite bank is cultivated to the water, though it is also high, unequal, and broken. A few villages are seen, white, neat, and thriving, and of a youthful vigorous air, as is generally the case with an American village; while there is scarcely an eligible site for a dwelling, that is not occupied by a villa or one of the convenient and respectable-looking farm-houses of the country. Orchards, cattle, fields of grain, and all the other signs of a high domestic condition, serve to heighten the contrast of the opposing banks." * Such is the general

* Cooper's Notions, vol. i. p. 272. The lands on the left bank of the Hudson, for a considerable distance above New York, were formerly, Captain Basil Hall was told, held by great proprietors, chiefly by the Livingstone family; "but the abolition of entails, and the repeal of the law of primogeniture, have already broken it down into small portions. The manor of Livingstone, an extensive and fertile district, formerly owned by one person, is now divided into forty or fifty parcels, belonging to as many different proprietors. And as these new possessors clear away and cultivate the soil at a great rate, the population goes on swelling rapidly.... Every thing," he adds, "that we saw in those districts not actually under the plough, wore an air of premature and hopeless decay. The ancient manor-houses were allowed to fall to pieces; the trees of the parks and pleasure-grounds were all untended; and the rank grass was thickly matted along with weeds over the walks."—Basil Hall, vol. i. p. 49. It must have been one of these "boweries"

character of what is termed the first division of the river, before entering the Highlands. The more distinct description furnished by Mr. Duncan, will probably not be unacceptable to the reader.

"About a mile above New York, and nearly opposite to Hoboken, is the village of Greenwich, (erected in former times as a retreat from the yellow fever,) now almost an integral part of the city. Above Greenwich, the banks on the right" (the left bank of the river) "slope with a gentle declivity to the water, and are in general thickly wooded: on the left, they are frequently broken and precipitous. About fifteen miles up the river, Kingsbridge heights appear on the right; and below them, Haarlem creek, as it is called, which stretches with an irregular curve from the Hudson into Long Island Sound, giving to the Manhattan territory its insular character, and limiting the jurisdiction of the City corporation of New York. The New Jersey shore now becomes bold and precipitous; and for several miles, an abrupt wall of granite raises its bare forehead on the left to a height of nearly 200 feet. The Palisades, as this range has been most appropriately denominated, form a striking feature in the landscape; they are in general from 200 to 300 feet from the water's edge. In some places, the front has been broken, and irregular masses of rock have tumbled downwards to the water; but, for the most part, it is smooth and perpendicular, like the wall of an ancient fortress, while, here and there, a solitary

or country seats, which Dr. Karl Knipperhausen purchased, and where Dolph Heyliger found his treasure. But Captain Basil Hall is hardly fair in ascribing the decay of these old Dutch manor-houses and their "pictures," and the disappearance of the ancient aristocracy of the New Netherlands, over which he mourns, simply to the "blighting tempest of democracy." It is singular how differently the same scene may strike different travellers.

pine, 'moor'd on the rifted rock,' seems, like the banner of a citadel, to wave a proud defiance from the edge of the cliff.*

"With the Palisades, terminates the State of New Jersey; and we approach a wider part of the stream, which the early Dutch settlers dignified with the appellation of the Tappaan Sea, but which was, in after times, modified into that of Tappaan Bay. This lake, as we may call it, is about ten miles long, and the banks are from four to seven miles apart, presenting a very considerable variety of landscape;—'here, the bold promontory, crowned with embowering trees, advancing into the bay,—there, the long woodland slope sweeping up from the shore in rich luxuriance;—while at a distance, a long waving line of rocky heights throw their gigantic shades across the water.'† In many places, the ground has been cleared of wood, and country seats and snug farm-houses, flanked by capacious barns, give variety to the scene; in other situations, however, the forests are yet untamed, and afford the traveller a glimpse of what America formerly was, when none but the Indian traversed its shores, and only the bark canoe glided over its waters. On the traveller's left is Rockland county, a favourite resort of the early Dutch settlers. The race is, hitherto, so unmixed, that very little English is spoken

* Lieutenant F. Hall says, that the whole of this ridge closely resembles Under Cliff in the Isle of Wight.

† Knickerbocker, vol. ii. ch. 2. The "Sleepy Hollow," we are told, was not far from the rural port of Greensburgh, which was situated "in the bosom of one of those spacious coves that indent the eastern shore of the Hudson, at that broad expansion of the river denominated by the ancient Dutch navigators, the Tappaan Zee, and where they always prudently shortened sail, and implored the protection of St. Nicholas when they crossed."—Sketch Book, vol. ii. p. 281.

in any part of the county. Some of the land on the right contains good free-stone, and has been valued so high as 1500 dollars an acre (about 340*l.* sterling).

"I was particularly struck, in my progress up this lordly stream, with the multitude of thriving little towns, which, at short intervals, stud its banks. They are generally of wood, and some are obviously of recent origin; but in others, a sprinkling of brick buildings gives an aspect of comparative antiquity and a promise of permanence to the settlement. All of them have wharfs projecting into the river, which are never without sloops loading or discharging: in many of them are to be found banks and courts of justice.*

"Somewhat above the Tappaan Bay, there is a contraction and sudden bend of the channel; and the stream, after washing in its descent the basis of the mountainous range denominated the Highlands, makes a circuit round a bold headland called Verplank's Point, which projects from the eastern shore. The turn is so sudden, that, in going up the river, the banks at a little distance seem to close completely in; and it is not till you have approached very near it, that the narrow channel appears upon the left, through which the river issues from the mountainous region. Before we reached this part of our course, a most agreeable change took place in the weather. The clouds broke, and the rays of the sun burst through; the winds subsided into a gentle breeze, the temperature of the air became perceptibly milder, and we entered the

* On the eastern shore, opposite to Rockland, at the distance of thirty miles from New York, is a place called Sing-sing, where there is a Penitentiary or State Prison, established upon the Auburn system. Captain Basil Hall speaks in the highest terms of the admirable manner in which this establishment is managed, of which he gives a full account.—Basil Hall, vol. i. pp. 51—79.

Alpine region under the cheering and beautifying influence of a lovely autumnal afternoon, rendered doubly enlivening by the previous contrast. Verplank's Point commands a fine prospect of the river. The bank swells up with a gradual but rapid slope; the brow of it is crowned with a neat family mansion; and a little below, the roof of the tea-house appears from among the trees. Behind, rise the lofty hills, and you could almost imagine yourself on the margin of Loch Lomond, or some other of our Scottish lakes.* Our floating leviathan now entered the narrow channel, and we were soon surrounded with the Highlands of the Hudson. These are said to form a part of the eastern or Blue Ridge division of the Apalachian mountains, a continuation of which skirts the boundaries of Connecticut and Massachusetts, and pursuing a north-easterly course, passes through Vermont into Canada. The height of the more elevated points on the banks of the Hudson, does not much exceed 1500 feet. They are, of course, low in comparison with a great many of the mountains of Scotland; but their effect in the landscape is much more imposing than that of more elevated masses in a hilly country.

"An American mountain is, in general, very unlike a Scottish one. Ours are bare, craggy ridges, sharp and angular in their outline, rearing a flinty peak towards heaven, with, perhaps, a few straggling bushes scattered near the base; but more commonly, the purple heather or yellow broom is all that is found on the scanty patches of earth which here and there cling to

* Captain Basil Hall describes the river, on approaching West Point, as assuming all the grandeur of the finest lochs in the Scottish highlands, with the additional embellishment of a rich coating of foliage reaching from the summits nearly to the water's edge.

its sides. In America, the hills swell up in undulating curves, rounded gracefully off both at the base and the summit, and carpeted completely over with dense forests of pine. In the Highlands of the Hudson, however, there is a partial intermingling of the Scottish character: bare masses of rock project at intervals from among the thick foliage, and creeping shrubs of various kinds weave a net-work round them. The mellowing tints of autumn were now spreading themselves among the forest leaves, imparting to the scenery the richness and variety which are peculiar to the season; and as our steam-boat ploughed its way along, the eye feasted itself on the ever-varying landscape, or rested on the brilliant reflection in the placid mirror below.

"The ramparts of Fort Putnam now opened to our view on the left, perched upon a natural platform, about two-thirds up the ridge. Events of tragical interest in the history of the Revolutionary war, identify themselves with this fortress,—events which can never be forgotten while the name of André survives.*

* "The ruins of military works are scattered profusely among these wild and rugged hills; and more than one tale of blood and daring is recounted to the traveller as he glides along their sombre shadows."—Cooper's Notions, vol. i. p. 274. The spot which the local superstition has consecrated to the manes of poor André, is, however, near the Tappaan Zee. "In the centre of the road stood an enormous tulip-tree, which towered like a giant above all the other trees of the neighbourhood, and formed a kind of land-mark. It was connected with the tragical story of the unfortunate André, who had been taken prisoner hard by, and was universally known by the name of Major André's tree. The common people regarded it with a mixture of respect and superstition, partly out of sympathy for the fate of its ill-starred namesake, and partly from the tales of strange sights and doleful lamentations told concerning it....About two hundred yards from the tree, a small brook crossed the road, and ran into a marshy and thickly wooded

Beyond Fort Putnam, on another elevated flat of considerable extent, stands the Military Academy of West Point, containing 250 cadets. This institution was established by the General Government a considerable time ago; but since last war, it has been fostered with assiduous care, and now the tactics of Napoleon's school are taught in it by men who discharged similar offices in the Polytechnic schools of France. A bare rock on the opposite side of the river, serves the young soldiers as a target, and its battered brow bears token of their proficiency.*

"Nearly opposite to West Point is the Sugar Loaf Mountain, conspicuous by its regularly conical outline; and among a numerous succession of others are the Crow's Nest, Butter Hill, and New Beacon. Anthony's Nose tosses high on the right a bare peak of granite, and holds its name in virtue of the real or fancied appearance of its beetling top. A large rock, which once crowned the summit of Butter Hill, 1520 feet above tide-water, now reposes on a sand-bank in

glen, known by the name of Wiley's Swamp. A few rough logs, laid side by side, served for a bridge over this stream. On that side of the road where the brook entered the wood, a groupe of oaks and chestnuts, matted thick with wild grape-vines, threw a cavernous gloom over it. It was at this identical spot that the unfortunate André was captured: and under the covert of those chestnuts and vines were the sturdy yeomen concealed who surprised him. This has ever since been considered as a haunted stream, and fearful are the feelings of the school-boy who has to pass it alone after dark."—Legend of Sleepy Hollow. Dr. Dwight states, that André was taken at Tarry-town, and executed at Tappan, on the opposite shore.—Travels, vol. i. p. 423.

* This is the only institution of the kind in the United States, which is maintained at the expense of the General Government. Captain Basil Hall visited it, and praises the efficient manner in which it is conducted. The nominations lie with the President of the United States, and the applications are numerous.

the bed of the river, opposite West Point, far enough from the shore for vessels to sail round it."*

This was the land of romance to the early settlers; and Indian tradition had peopled the high lands with imaginary beings, before the Flying Dutchman had been seen or heard of on the Hudson. These aboriginal superstitions, however, are well nigh forgotten in the more recent adventures of Dolph Heyliger and Rip Van Winkle. Geoffrey Crayon has selected this part of the river as a subject for one of his graphic sketches. "To the left, the Dunderberg reared its wooded precipices height over height, forest over forest, away into the deep summer sky. To the right strutted forth the bold promontory of Anthony's Nose with a solitary eagle wheeling about it; while beyond, mountain succeeded to mountain, until they seemed to lock their arms together, and confine this mighty river in their embraces. There was a feeling of quiet luxury in gazing at the broad, green bosoms here and there scooped out among the precipices; or at woodlands high in air, nodding over the edge of some beetling bluffs, and their foliage all transparent in the yellow sunshine."† The Dunderberg (or, as Dr. Dwight writes it, Donderbarrak) receives its name, Thunder-Hill, from its echoes, which, when awakened by the tempests of summer, have a magnificent effect. This

* Duncan, vol. i. pp. 311—318. An account of the transition of the rock from its original resting-place, is given from the American Journal of Science. It seems that it used to be a common amusement for the officers, when off duty, to roll large rocks from the sides of the hills. In June 1778, Colonel Putnam and a party of friends, having provided themselves with axes, ropes, and levers, contrived to launch this large rock, which overhung the precipice; and once set in motion, it carried every thing before it in its route to the river.

† Bracebridge Hall, vol. ii. p. 295.

part of the river is particularly subject to sudden flaws* of wind from the mountains; and the name of Weygat (or Windgate) has been given to the opening between the majestic cliffs of the Butter Hill and Brecknock range, on account of the violence with which the wind often blows through the narrow channel. From the summit of the Sugar-loaf, an excellent view is obtained of the grand and solemn scenery, including the Kaatskill mountains, which are seen at the distance of about 40 miles, their blue summits lost in the clouds.†

Above the Highlands, the Hudson assumes a different character, its bed again expanding to a breadth of about three miles. "From the bay of Newburgh to

* It was one of these flaws which threw on her beam-ends the sloop in which Dolph Heyliger took his passage for Albany, and occasioned his being knocked overboard. Just as they turned the point where the river "makes a sudden bend, the only one in the whole course of its majestic career," and which must therefore have been, we are told, the bend at West Point, "a violent flaw of wind came sweeping down a mountain gully, bending the forest before it, and, in a moment, lashing up the river into white froth and foam." It was on a point of the western shore that Dolph landed, and scrambled up the rocks. "The captains of the river-craft talk of a little bulbous-bottomed Dutch goblin in trunk hose and sugar-loafed hat, with a speaking trumpet in his hand, which, they say, keeps about the Dunderberg. They declare that they have heard him, in stormy weather, in the midst of the turmoil, giving orders in low Dutch for the piping up of a fresh gust of wind, or the rattling off of another thunderclap." At Pollopel's Island, the jurisdiction of the Dunderberg potentate ceases; and there, "the little white sugar-loaf hat on the mast head, which was known to be the hat of the Heer of the Dunderberg, spun up into the air like a top, whirled up the clouds into a vertex, and hurried them back to the summit of the Dunderberg, while the sloop righted herself and sailed on as quietly as if in a mill-pond."—Bracebridge Hall, vol. ii. pp. 293, 330. The invention of steam-vessels has, however, materially lessened the power of the goblin.

† Dr. Dwight ascended this peak, and has given a minute description of the country it commands.—Travels, vol. iii. p. 413.

that of Hudson, a distance of between 60 and 70 miles, it appears," Mr. Cooper says, "like a succession of beautiful lakes, each reach preserving the proportions and appearance of a separate sheet of water, rather than of part of a river. From Hudson to Albany, a distance of 36 miles, the Hudson acquires more of the character of a river. It is dotted with islands, much like the Seine above Caudebec, and its scenery is picturesque] and agreeable."* As far as Hudson, 124 miles above New York, a ship of the line of 64 guns may ascend the river without meeting with a single obstruction. The tide flows to the height of 12 inches at Albany; and vessels of 80 tons can ascend to Troy, seven miles higher, or even to the mouth of the Mohawk. The country north of the Highlands, Dr. Dwight supposes to have been, in fact, originally a vast lake. The valley of the Hudson is here, in some places, not far from 40 miles in breadth. The mountains on both sides form a complete barrier to the waters of such a lake, while, on the south, the highlands would keep its waters to a great height, till they forced open their present channel,—possibly by "the slow recession of a cataract between Anthony's Nose and Bear Hill."† The waters of this noble river are, to a great extent, the learned Writer remarks, derived

* Cooper's Notions, vol. i. p. 274.

† This opinion accords with that of Dr. Mitchell, the American Editor of Cuvier's Theory of the Earth. "The Catskill mountains," says the learned writer, "are composed chiefly of granite and gneiss, abounding in loose nodules and solid veins of magnetical iron ore. The width of the chain may be rated at about sixteen miles. According to the barometrical observations of Captain Partridge, of the corps of engineers, Butternut, on the west side of the river, is 1529 feet above tide-water, and the New Beacon 1565 feet. This thick and solid barrier seems in ancient days to have impeded the course of the water, and to have raised a lake high enough to cover all the country, to Quaker Hill and the

from the ocean, its only tributaries being mere mill-streams; and "the rest of the waters owe the greatness of their mass chiefly to the fact, that, in consequence of the lowness of their bed, they are stopped and heaped up by its influence." Owing to this circumstance, the Hudson is the most navigable river, in proportion to the supplies which it receives from its fountains, perhaps in the world.*

After passing the highlands, in ascending the river, the Kaatskill mountains, on the left, are for a great distance every where visible, "swelling up to a noble height, and lording it over the surrounding country. Every change of season, every change of weather, indeed every hour of the day, produces some change in the magical lines and shapes of these mountains; and they are regarded by all the good wives far and near, as perfect barometers. When the weather is fair and settled, they are clothed in blue and purple, and print their bold outlines on the clear evening sky; but sometimes, when the rest of the landscape is cloudless, they will gather a hood of grey vapours about their summits, which, in the last rays of the setting sun, will glow and light up like a crown of glory." † Captain Basil Hall landed at Catskill (as the name of the town is usually written); ‡ and on the following day,

Taconick Mountains on the east, and the Shawangunk and the Catskill mountains on the west. The lake may be calculated to have extended to the Little Falls of the Mohawk and to Hadley's Falls on the Hudson."—Mitchell's Observations cited in Hodgson's Letters, vol. i. p. 331.

* Dwight, vol. iii. pp. 426, 7.

† Sketch Book, vol. i. p. 49.

‡ This town is nearly opposite to Hudson. Lieutenant F. Hall left the Hudson at Fishkill, opposite to Newburgh, and proceeded to Albany by land. "About three miles from Fishkill," he says, "a wild torrent rushed over its bed of broken rocks across the road; the romantic bridge flung over its brawling course, the mill

climbed this beautiful and steep range to a place called Pine Orchard, a favourite resort of parties from New York and Albany, where a splendid hotel has risen "like an exhalation," on the very brink of the precipice, some five and twenty hundred feet above the river, commanding a very extensive view of the valley of the Hudson. The Falls of the Cauterskill are a picturesque object in this neighbourhood; and the valley called "the Clove," forming a deep indenture in the mountains, shews off the scenery to great advantage. The highest point of this ridge has been estimated at 3549 feet above the sea. The basis of the mountains consists of the same freestone as the Blue Ridge, of which it appears to be a prolongation or a "dismembered branch."

On the eastern side of the river, the route to Albany lies through a country gently undulating, and thickly intersected with forests, from which, however, the noblest timber has been almost wholly extracted. Dutchess county, of which Poughkeepsie* is the shire town, is reckoned one of the best tracts of land in the State: it is remarkably well cultivated, and filled up with inhabitants. To this succeeds Columbia county, in which Hudson is situated; and then the county and territory of Rennselaar, which takes its name from the family of the great hereditary landed proprietor, the *patroon* of Albany and the surrounding country. This singular vestige of feudalism in the midst of universal democracy, is believed to be almost the only instance of the kind now extant,—at least

on its craggy banks, and the deep wooded glen down which it hastens to the Hudson, deserve a place in every traveller's journal."—Hall's Canada, p. 20.

* This flourishing town of cacophonous name, is reckoned half way between New York and Albany

in the Northern States. Mr. Van Rennselaar still retains the Dutch title of *patroon*, equivalent to *Seigneur;* he is reported to have 30 miles of territory, and 5000 tenants, and to be worth seven millions of dollars.*

Albany, the seat of the State Legislature of New York, has been lately brought into considerable mercantile importance as a place of transit and deposite, by the great Erie canal, the eastern entrance to which lies almost within the town; and it is consequently rapidly swelling on every hand. In the year 1792, Dr. Dwight says, it contained few houses built in the modern English manner. "The body was composed of clumsy Dutch buildings, a great number of which had been erected from eighty to a hundred years. Seven successive fires, five of which were kindled by incendiaries, have swept away a large part of these, as well as many other buildings, so that the inhabitants have been compelled to build a considerable part of the town anew."† In the year 1790, Albany contained 3498 inhabitants; in the year 1810, (including the suburb of Colonie,) 10,762; having more than tripled its population in twenty years. Two-thirds of its houses must of course have been added since the former census, besides many that have been rebuilt. Albany is, therefore, for the most part a new town. Mr. Duncan estimates its population, in 1819, at

* Hall's Canada, p. 27. Duncan's Travels, vol. i. p. 325. The latter Traveller states the territory of this gentleman to extend 60 miles in length, including two counties with a population of 60,000 or 70,000 persons.

† Of the city of Albany in its primitive state, and of the manners and customs of the old Albanians, we have an interesting account in Mrs. Grant's "Memoirs of an American Lady," vol. i. ch. 6, &c. This work is not altogether superseded even by Knickerbocker's History.

between 12,000 and 13,000: it must be now much more considerable. Dr. Dwight says, the public buildings have been as much improved as the private ones. He mentions the State-house, ten churches,* an arsenal, a prison, and three banks. The new Dutch church in Hudson-street is described as one of the best and most beautiful of the kind he had seen. The streets are well paved; and upon the whole, few towns have so advantageous an appearance. The inhabitants, who are chiefly "immigrants" from New England and other parts, are distinguished by their public spirit. A singular mixture of poverty and splendour meets the eye in some parts of the town. "A number of the old Dutch erections," Mr. Duncan says, "are still standing; small houses of red and yellow bricks with the gable end to the street, having a door and window in the ground floor, a single window in the next, and above it, the year of their erection embossed upon the surface in huge iron figures, and the whole surmounted with an iron weathercock rusted upon the rod.† There is an air of antiquity about these buildings, which is interesting in a country where antiquity is so rare. The modern

* Mr. Duncan enumerates eleven, *viz.*—3 Presbyterian, 2 Dutch Reformed, 1 Dutch Lutheran, 1 Baptist, 1 Episcopalian, 1 Methodist, 1 Quaker, and 1 Romish.

† The very description given by Geoffrey Crayon of Antony Vander Heyden's house, in the days when Albany "was in all its glory, inhabited almost exclusively by the descendants of the original Dutch settlers;" when every thing was quiet and orderly, and the grass grew about the unpaved streets. The houses were built, in those days, partly of wood and partly of small Dutch bricks, "such as the worthy colonists brought with them from Holland, before they discovered that bricks could be manufactured elsewhere."—See Bracebridge Hall, vol. ii. pp. 343, 231. Many of the neighbouring villages, Lieutenant Hall says, continue almost entirely Dutch.

erections exhibit the same tasteful style which prevails in New York and Philadelphia. Two or three of the public buildings are of white marble. One of them is surmounted with a very neat dome; but in another, the effect of the marble wall is sadly disfigured by the untasteful addition of a red-tiled roof. The Capitol or State-house has rather a neat portico, and a dome surmounted with a statue of Justice. Near the Capitol is a very neat academy, with two wings built of red-dish-coloured freestone." * The Patroon's residence is in a pleasant situation, a little to the northward of the city. Nearly opposite to the town is a large wooded hill, on which are barracks capable of holding, it is said, nearly 10,000 men.

Albany, though not reputed unhealthy, is very warm in the summer months, the thermometer ranging sometimes from 85° to 92°. In winter, the cold is not less severe, and the Hudson becomes frozen up, so as to afford a regular road across the ice between the opposite shores. Mrs. Grant describes the periodical breaking up of the ice as a spectacle of uncommon interest and grandeur. Its approach being announced by a loud and long peal like thunder, the whole population of Albany, in former times, would be assembled at the river side in a moment, to witness the passage of the ice. "Every house was left empty; the meanest slave, the youngest child, all were to be found on the shore, immoveable and silent as death," till the whole was past. It is the swelling of the water under the ice, increased by rivulets enlarged by melted snow, that produces the phenomenon; the prelude to which

* Duncan, vol. i. p. 323. The Capitol stands at the upper end of a very steep but wide street, running at right angles to the river. Lieutenant Hall objects to the lofty columned portico as too large for the building, which, being but small, "looks all porch."

is a fracture lengthways in the middle of the stream, produced by the effort of the imprisoned waters. "Conceive," says this Writer, "a solid mass from six to eight feet thick, bursting for many miles in one continued rupture, produced by a force inconceivably great, and in a manner inexpressibly sudden. Thunder is no adequate image of this awful explosion, which roused all the sleepers within the reach of the sound. The stream, in summer, was confined by a pebbly strand overhung with high and steep banks, crowned with lofty trees. Their tangled roots, laid bare by the impetuous torrents, formed caverns ever fresh and fragrant, where the most delicate plants flourished, unvisited by scorching suns or nipping blasts; and nothing could be more singular than the variety of plants and birds that were sheltered in these intricate and safe recesses. But, when the bursting of the crystal surface set loose the many waters that had rushed down, swollen with the annual tribute of dissolving snow, the islands and lowlands were all flooded in an instant; and the lofty banks from which you were wont to overlook the stream, were now entirely filled [by an impetuous torrent, bearing down, with incredible and tumultuous rage, immense shoals of ice; which breaking every instant by the concussion of others, jammed together in some places, in others erecting themselves in gigantic heights for an instant in the air, and seeming to combat with their fellow giants crowding on in all directions, and falling together with an inconceivable crash,—formed a terrible moving picture, animated and various beyond description. For it was not only the cerulean ice, whose broken edges combating with the stream, refracted light into a thousand rainbows, that charmed your attention; lofty pines, large pieces of the bank

torn off by the ice, with all their early green and tender foliage, were driven on like travelling islands amid this battle of breakers, for such it seemed." *

About ten miles above Albany, the Hudson receives, on its right bank, the Mohawk river, its principal tributary, and almost equal in size, at the junction, to the main branch. A short distance from its mouth are the falls called the Cohoz or Cahooz,† where the river descends, at high water, in one sheet, to the depth of 70 feet.‡ Their extreme breadth, according to Lieutenant Hall, is about 300 toises, which is much more than the mean breadth of the stream, both above and below them, being increased by the manner in which the ledge of rock forms an obtuse angle in the direction of the current. The bed of the falls is serpentine rock; and according to Volney, this river separates the freestone formation from the primitive. Above the falls, the banks are nearly on a level with the stream, but are increased below by the depth of the descent. In summer, the overflow is scanty; and when Lieutenant Hall saw them, in the middle of March, "a cap of snow rested on the most prominent cliff of the angle, from beneath which the stream filtered in silver veins. The whole effect of these falls," he adds, "the broadest, I believe, in the States, except Niagara, is diminished for want of the relief of a bold, darkly shadowed back-ground. The air of wintry desolation, varied only by the sombre foliage of the

* Grant's Amer. Lady, vol. ii. pp. 284–6.

† *Cohoz* is the Indian name of the Falls. Volney supposed it to be an imitative word; and by a singular coincidence, he says, he found it applied, in the country of Liége, to a small cascade three leagues from Spa.

‡ Volney says, some reckon it 65 feet in height; others, only 50. The Marquis de Chastellux makes it 75. In Carey and Lea, it is stated at 70, and the breadth at between 300 and 400 yards.

pine and cedar, stretching their dark masses over beds of snow, took little from the rude force of a scene, the character of which is simply grand, rather than lovely or romantic. There is a very good point of view from a long covered bridge, which crosses the Mohawk near its mouth, and leads to the village of Waterford." *

At Waterford, 180 miles from the sea, the Hudson becomes "a reduced and rural stream, about as large as the Seine at Paris; and can be traced for leagues,—sometimes still, lovely, and green with islands, sometimes noisy, rapid, and tumbling,—until you reach its sources in the rugged, broken mountains of the northern counties of this State." This remarkable river has its source in the township of Tipperary, (co. of Essex,) in about latitude 44° 10′ N. After running for a short distance S. W., it turns with a right angle S.E., and flows in that direction, till it receives, after a course of between 50 and 60 miles, a branch from the Scaroon lake. It then winds southward and eastward, becoming first the northern, and then the eastern limit of the county of Saratoga, till it meets the Mohawk. On reaching the township of Hadley, it suddenly turns to the N.E., and maintains that course to Sandy Hill; whence it pursues a direction nearly due S., declining a little to the west, till it enters the ocean, after a course of about 330 miles.†

Saratoga Springs, about 30 miles N. of Albany, and those of Ballston, 12 miles S. W. of Saratoga, have of late years become the most fashionable watering-places in the United States; and a large concourse of persons assemble there, during the season (from July to September), from every part of the Union, and even from Canada. Although these springs are from 1000 to 1500 miles from the Southern States, the inhabitants

* Hall's Canada, p. 30. † Dwight, vol. iii. p. 425.

of Georgia and Carolina speak of them, we are told, with as much familiarity as our Londoners speak of Bath or Cheltenham;* and when the summer heats and the dread of the yellow fever, drive them to their plantations, the gentry of the southern climate repair to New York, whence they ascend the Hudson to Albany, and take the stage to Ballston. The Falls of Niagara, Glen's Falls, and the romantic scenery of Lake George, are among the attractive localities, which are generally comprehended in the excursion.

In the year 1792, when Dr. Dwight first visited Ballston springs, they were surrounded with an absolute forest extending to a great distance; and except a miserable cottage or two, there was not a house within two or three miles. The Rev. Mr. Ball, from whom the township derives its name, informed him, that they were discovered by the resort of deer to them, which was so great as to have made a well-beaten path. Soon after the discovery, they began to be used as remedies for various diseases, particularly chronic rheumatism, which they have sometimes cured in a remarkable manner. They rise in a valley watered by a branch of the same "mill-stream" that flows by Saratoga. In the valley and on the bordering declivities, has now risen a very pretty watering-place, called Ballston Spa. The waters contain in solution†, carbonic

* Hodgson's Letters, vol. i. p. 51.

† Dr. Steel gives the following analysis of the principal fountain at Ballston Spa. One gallon (or 232 cubic inches) of the water yielded

	Grains.	
Muriate of soda	159	
Carbonate of soda	9	
,, lime	75.5	
,, magnesia	2.5	
,, iron	7	
		253 grains.
Carbonic acid gas		210 cubic inches.

acid, muriate of soda, carbonate of lime, carbonate of soda, carbonate of iron, and carbonate of magnesia. They are "strongly diuretic, gently diaphoretic, and aperient; are a pleasant and powerful stimulus to the stomach, and produce a fine exhilaration of spirits." They are deemed most useful in cases of dyspepsy, calculous complaints, cutaneous eruptions, ulcers, and scrofula. To persons affected with pulmonary complaints, they are positively injurious.

The waters of the Saratoga springs are of a similar character. The principal one, called the Congress spring, is found to contain in a gallon of water, 343 cubic inches of carbonic acid gas, (a quantity of fixed air exceeding anything hitherto discovered,) and 676 grains of marine salt and various carbonates.* Large quantities of the water of this spring, as well as of that at Ballston, are bottled and transmitted weekly to the cities on the sea-coast. Indeed, these waters have become so much an article of merchandise, that considerable quantities are exported every year to the West Indies and to Europe. Saratoga has within a few years become a considerable place, containing several elegant hotels and lodging-houses; and a handsome Presbyterian church has been built, which is supplied by a resident clergyman.†

* The following analysis is the result of repeated experiments. In 232 cubic inches of water are found

	Grains.
Muriate of soda	471.5
Carbonate of lime	178.476
,, soda	16.5
,, magnesia	3.356
,, iron	6.168
	676 grains.

The temperature at the bottom of the spring is uniformly 50° Fahr.

† Dwight, vol. iii. pp. 396—401.

Lake George, about 20 miles N. of Saratoga, is universally considered, Dr. Dwight says, as being in itself and its environs the most beautiful object of the kind in the United States; and several European travellers have given it the preference to the lakes of Switzerland. Even Captain Basil Hall was compelled to acknowledge that here he had "come, at last, to some beautiful scenery in the United States,—beautiful in every respect, and leaving nothing to wish for. I own," he says, "that Lake George exceeded my expectations as far as it exceeds the power of the Americans to overpraise it." * For a description of the scenery, we must have recourse to the pages of the American Writer.

"The access to the Lake from the South, is eminently noble, being formed by two vast ranges of mountains, which commencing several miles south of Fort George, extend beyond Plattsburg, and terminate near the north line of the State, occupying a distance of about 100 miles. Those on the East are high and bold, and in many places naked and hoary. Those on the West are somewhat inferior, and generally covered with a thick forest to their summits. The road for the last three or four miles, passes through a forest, and conceals the lake from the view of the traveller, until he arrives at the eminence on which Fort George is built. Here is opened at once a prospect the splendour of which is rarely exceeded. The scenery of this spot owes its beauty equally to the water, the islands, the shore, and the mountains.

"The water, probably, is not surpassed by any in the world; † pure, sweet, pellucid, of an elegant hue

* Detecting nothing in the scenery to find fault with, this determined Censor turns upon the Americans, and rates them for not admiring it more, and then abuses their steam-boats.

† See page 41 of this volume, note †.

when immediately under the eye, and at very small, as well as at greater distances, presenting a gay, luminous azure, and appearing as if a soft lustre undulated everywhere on its surface, with a continual and brilliant emanation. The islands are interesting on account of their number, location, size, and figure. Their number is very great, fancifully computed at 365. Their location is exquisite; solitary, in pairs, and in groupes, containing from three to perhaps thirty, arranged, with relation to each other and the neighbouring shores, in unceasing variety. Their size varies from a few feet to a mile and a half in length. But the diversity of their appearance is peculiarly derived from their surface. A few are naked rocks, and, by the power of contrast, present very interesting features in the aspect of the groupe; while some are partially, and most are completely covered with vegetation. Some are bushy; others, ornamented with a single tree, with two, or three, or many trees. A yet greater number exhibit an entire forest. Some of them, of a long and narrow structure, present through various openings in their umbrage, the sky, the mountains, the points, and other distant beautiful objects, changing to the eye as the traveller approaches and passes them. On a great number, the lofty pine lifts its head above every other tree, waving majestically in the sky. On others, the beech, maple, and oak, with their clustering branches, present the strongest examples of flourishing vegetation. On many, again, decayed, bare, and falling trees are finely contrasted with this vivid effect.

"The shores of this lake exhibit a scarcely less striking aspect. On one side, you are presented with a beach of light-coloured sand, forming a long-extended border, and shewing the purity of its waters in the

strongest light; on another, a thick, dark forest rises immediately from the rocky shore, overhanging and obscuring the waters with its gloomy foliage. Here, the shore is scooped by a circular sweep; the next bend is perhaps elliptical; and the third, a mere indent. The points also are alternately circular, obtuse, and acute angles. Not a few of them are long, narrow slips, resembling many of the islands, shooting either horizontally or with easy declension far into the lake, and covered with a fine variety of forest. In many places, a smoothly-sloping margin, for the distance of one, two, or three miles, presents a cheerful border, as the seat of present or future cultivation. In others, mountainous promontories ascend immediately from the water.

"The mountains consist of two great ranges bordering the lake from north to south. The western range, however, passes westward of the north-west bay, at the head of which a vast spur, shooting towards the south-east, forms the whole of the peninsula between that bay and the lake. On the latter, it abuts with great majesty in a sudden and noble eminence, crowned with two fine summits. From this spot, fourteen miles from Fort George, it accompanies the lake uninterruptedly to the northern end, and then passes on towards Canada. Both these ranges alternately approach the lake, so as to constitute a considerable part of its shores, and recede from it to the distance sometimes of three miles. They are visible also, in smaller portions and greater, from one to twenty miles in length. Generally, they are covered entirely with forests; but, in several instances, are dappled with rocks, or absolutely naked, wild and solitary: this appearance is derived chiefly, if not wholly, from conflagrations.

"The summits of these mountains are of almost every form, from the arch to the bold bluff and sharp cone; and this variety is almost everywhere visible. In some instances, they are bald, solemn, and forbidding; in many others, tufted with lofty trees. While casting his eye over them, the traveller is fascinated with the immense diversity of swells, undulations, slopes, and summits, pointed and arched with their piny crowns; now near, verdant, and vivid; then gradually receding and becoming more obscure, until the scene closes in misty confusion.

"The three best points of view are, Fort George, a station a little north of Shelving Rock, 14 miles, and another at Sabbath-day Point, 21 miles from the head of the lake. The last view is to be taken southward; the other two, northward. From Fort George, the best prospect is taken of the lake itself, which is there seen to the distance of 14 miles, together with the north-west bay, while the mountains are visible on both sides for 25 miles. Six fine islands are also in full view; and the mountain at the end of the peninsula, rises in the back ground with the utmost advantage; as does Shelving Rock, a promontory shooting out from the east far into the lake. The scenes of the two remaining prospects are, however, clearly superior to these both in beauty and variety. From Sabbath-day Point, advancing northward, the scenery evidently declines in beauty. Still it is fine, and some of it exquisite. Rogers's Rock and Anthony's Nose, uncouth as the latter name may seem,* are among the most interesting objects in the whole groupe. Even at the

* Anthony's Nose seems to have been a favourite name with the old Dutch settlers for mountains distinguished by bold precipices. Besides the mountain so called on the Hudson, and this on Lake George, there are two more on the Mohawk, which have received the same quaint appellation.

northern end, the landscape is of a superior cast, and, in most other regions, would present uncommon attractions." *

Near the southern extremity of the Lake, a watering place has started up under the direction and by the enterprise of a Mr. Caldwell of Albany, the proprietor of the township, whose name it bears. At its northern extremity, the waters of the Lake descend by a narrow channel into Lake Champlain, † at the foot of the mountain point on which Fort Ticonderoga still frowns defiance on those who ascend the latter basin; but its martial terrors, Lieutenant Hall says, are now extinguished, "or marked only by the crumbling remains of field-works and the ruin of old fortified barracks." On the right bank of the stream rises Mount Defiance, and on the opposite side of Lake Champlain, Mount Independence; "names which bespeak their military fame in days of old, but now, like retired country gentlemen, they are content to raise oak and pine woods, instead of frowning batteries." Lake George, Ticonderoga, and Saratoga, are all classical and popular spots to the native of the United States; and the guide-books at the Springs, are full of the details of General Burgoyne's surrender and other mishaps at Saratoga; events which the Americans do well to remember with gratitude to Divine Providence, but which are not of a nature to impart either romantic or historic interest to the scenery in the eyes of a foreigner.

Of Lake Champlain, Dr. Dwight gives the following not very pleasing description. "This piece of

* Dwight, vol. iii. pp. 336—341.

† The surface of Lake George is stated by Dr. Morse to be 100 feet above the level of Lake Champlain: Dr. Dwight thinks it to be nearer 300. There are three sets of falls in the stream which flows into the latter.

water extends from Fair Haven to St. John's in Canada, two hundred miles. Its least breadth is half a mile, and its greatest, eighteen miles. Its contents are estimated at 640,000 acres. From Fair Haven to Crown Point, it is narrow, and in some places shallow, but of sufficient depth for any vessels which will ever be needed there. In this division, the waters are of a disagreeable colour; the shore is lined with a margin of bulrushes; and a sickly odour prevails. No piece of water can easily be more unpleasant than this part of Lake Champlain." "The country (along this part of the eastern shore) wears an equally disagreeable aspect. The ground is hard clay, glistening in the track of the horse and the wheel; the surface flat and lifeless; the forest chiefly pine, and so often burned, that a great number of the trees are either decayed or dead. The inhabitants are universally poor, and their houses are generally log-huts. What inducements any man could find to plant himself in this ground, it is not easy to determine. The climate is sickly, the soil indifferent, the water bad, and the scenery dull and heavy; and I could not discover the remotest hope of any change for the better.

"Among other disagreeable objects in this region, the streams have a remarkable appearance. The beds in which they flow, are excessively disproportioned in breadth to the quantity of water; appearing rather as shallow, flat valleys, than as the channels of brooks and mill-streams. One of them, I judged to be not less than sixty rods in breadth; in the middle of which ran, or rather lay, a mass of water, scarcely sufficient to turn an over-shot mill. In the summer and autumn, they are covered with bulrushes and other rank weeds; while the pool at the bottom, turbid with clay, resembles in colour dirty suds. In passing these receptacles,

we were saluted with a sweet, sickish effluvium, oppressive to the lungs, and extremely dispiriting to the feelings. In the winter and spring, the streams fill these beds, and demand very long and expensive bridges; seriously inconvenient, as one would suppose, to the inhabitants. To complete the dulness of this region, the post road, which formerly passed along the lake, now turns from Shoreham into the interior. The travelling, therefore, has chiefly left this tract; and a stranger has become almost a curiosity.

"At Crown Point, the aspect of the lake changes in an instant. The water loses its foul appearance, becoming pleasant to the eye, and sweet and salubrious. Here, also, it extends suddenly to the breadth of four or five miles, and assumes an aspect of magnificence. Against Ferrisburgh, it expands suddenly again to the breadth of ten or twelve miles, and continues to grow wider as far as Burlington. After this, it holds its breadth, generally, until near the forty-fifth degree of latitude. Its depth from Crown Point northward, is great; but I know not that it has been accurately measured.

"Crown Point, notwithstanding the fine prospects which it commands, is a gloomy, melancholy spot. The houses are almost mere hovels; and the few beggared inhabitants appear like outcasts from human society. Rags and tattered garments, washed and hung out to dry, strongly indicated their miserable circumstances. Not a cheerful object met the eye. A great part of the surface was overspread with ruined fortresses, the relics of war and destruction, and the monuments of perfidy, ambition, and cruelty.* The

These forts were chiefly erected by the Canadian French, within the acknowledged limits of the British territory, in pursuance of the plan they had formed to exterminate the English

opposite shore is wild and dreary. A forest consisting chiefly of pines burned and blasted, spreads beyond the sight. A decayed and dismal house on Chimney Point, was the only human habitation in view upon that shore. Beyond the forest, rose the Green Mountains in lofty piles of grandeur, inspiring emotions remote from cheerfulness, and, in such a scene, harmonizing only with melancholy solemnity. On the west, a chain of hills, unusually rugged and inhospitable, ascends immediately from the lake; forbidding, except in now and then a solitary spot, the settlement of man. From their wild and shaggy recesses, the

colonists. "In the secret chambers of this very fort (French Fort)," says Dr. Dwight, "dug, as became such designs, beneath the ground,—copies of the vaults of abbeys and castles in their native country,—caverns to which treachery and murder slunk from the eye of day,—those plots were contrived, which were to terminate in the destruction of families and villages throughout New York and New England. By the inhabitants of these countries, the wretches who contrived them had never been injured, even in thought. Peaceable in their lives, and satisfied with the produce of their own honest industry, they asked nothing more than to eat their bread in quiet, and to enjoy without intrusion the blessings given them by their Creator. Here, the price was fixed which was to be paid for the scalps of these unoffending people. Here, the scout was formed, the path of murder marked out, the future butchery realized in anticipation. Here, cruelty presided at the council, and in cold blood feasted on the shrieks, the groans, the gasps, and the agonies of suffering parents and their slaughtered offspring. Here was kindled the fire which erelong blazed to heaven, and consumed the houses, the happiness, and the hopes of thousands, fairly numbered among the best inhabitants of the globe. Here, worst of all, were displayed long rows of scalps; white in one place with the venerable locks of age, and glistening in another with the ringlets of childhood and of youth; received and surveyed with smiles of self-gratulation, and rewarded with the promised and ungrudged boon. Such were some of the thoughts which instinctively crowded into my mind at the sight of the subterranean chambers which are now the ruins of this infamous fortress."

traveller is warned to expect the approach of the wolf and the bear; and from these rugged cliffs, projecting to the water's edge, the boatman is taught to look for shipwreck and destruction. The property of this peninsula is in Columbia College. Whether the pecuniary profits of the Point will ever reach the College, I doubt; and it also appears doubtful, whether the literature of the College will ever reach the Point.

"The waters of Lake Champlain are supposed by the inhabitants to have been formerly much higher than at present. This opinion is probably just; and may, I suspect, be applied to every such piece of water, whose outlet does not flow over level ground, or is not confined by a mound of granite, or some other stone of similar hardness.....The shores of this lake are generally subject to the fever and ague, and to bilious remittents. In the northern division, the country is fine, the climate superior, the lake noble, and the scenery in a high degree magnificent." *

Lieutenant Hall, who travelled from Albany to Canada in the month of March, has given a description of the country under its wintry aspect. At Pittstown, nineteen miles from Albany, the road leaves the course of the Hudson, and running N.E., traverses the chains of hills which spring laterally from the great north-eastern chain of the West Point mountains. Salem, twenty-nine miles further, is beautifully embosomed amid these ramifications, which seem to divide the low country into a number of separate basins, each watered by its own sequestered stream. Masses of slaty rock are everywhere scattered through the country. On approaching Granville, situated in one of these mountain basins, a few miles from the

* Dwight, vol. ii. pp. 430—433.

foot of the Green and Bald Mountains, which form a continuation of the chain, the streams are found no longer to flow towards the Hudson, but have a northerly course to Lake Champlain. Quitting the main north road at Granville, our Traveller proceeded to Whitehall (formerly called Skenesborough), to take the benefit of sleighs in crossing the lake. "The valley closes in as you approach Whitehall, until its lofty barriers barely leave space sufficient for the site of the village, and the course of a small river, called Wood-creek, which rushes into the lake with a small cascade: its right bank rises perpendicularly several hundred feet. Strata of dark grey limestone, disposed at regular parallels, exhibit an appearance of masonry, so perfect as to require a second glance to convince you that a wall is not built up from the bed of the stream. The heights on the opposite side of the valley are equally bold, and marked with the same character; their summits are everywhere darkened with forests of oak, pine, and cedar. Large detached masses of granite are scattered generally through the valley, and among the houses of the village, which, like several others on our road, very much resembled a large timber-yard, from the quantity of wood cutting up and scattered about for purposes of building. Indeed, it is impossible to travel through the States, without taking part with the unfortunate trees, which, unable, like their persecuted fellows of the soil, the Indians, to make good a retreat, are exposed to every form and species of destruction which Yankey convenience or dexterity can invent: felling, burning, rooting up, tearing down, lopping, and chopping, are all employed with most unrelenting severity.

"At Whitehall, we embarked in sleighs on Lake

Champlain. The afternoon was bright and mild, and well disposed us to enjoy the pleasing change from our snail-paced waggon to the smooth rapidity of a sleigh, gliding at the rate of nine miles an hour. The first object our driver was happy to point out to us, was several of our own flotilla anchored near the town, sad 'trophies of the fight.' The head of the lake, called 'the Narrows,' does not exceed the breadth of a small river; the sides rise in lofty cliffs, whose grey strata sometimes assume the regular direction of the mason's level, sometimes form an angle more or less acute with the horizon, and sometimes, particularly in projecting points, seem almost vertical to it. At Shoreham, nearly opposite to Crown Point, we found good accommodation for the night at Mr. Larenburg's tavern, and set off the next morning before breakfast; but we had soon cause to repent of thus committing ourselves fasting to the mercy of the elements. The lake now began to widen, and the shores to sink in proportion; the keen blasts of the north, sweeping over its frozen expanse, pierced us with needles of ice. The thermometer was 22° below zero. Buffalo-hides, bear-skins, caps, shawls, and handkerchiefs were vainly employed against a degree of cold so much beyond our habits. Our guide alone, of the party, his chin and eye-lashes gemmed and powdered with the drifting snow, boldly set his face and horses in the teeth of the storm. Sometimes, a crack in the ice would compel us to wait, while he went forward to explore it with his axe, (without which the American sleigh-drivers seldom travel,) when, having ascertained its breadth and the foot-hold on either side, he would drive his horses at speed, and clear the fissure with its snow ridge, at a flying leap; a sensation we found agree-

able enough, but not so agreeable as a good inn and dinner at Burlington.

"Burlington is a beautiful little town, rising from the edge of the lake; the principal buildings are disposed in a neat square. On a hill above the town stands the college, a plain brick building, the greater part of which is unoccupied, and seemingly unfinished. We crossed the next morning to Plattsburg, curious to view the theatre of our misfortunes.* It is a flourishing little town, situated principally on the left bank of the Saranac, a little river which, falling into the lake, makes, with an adjacent island and Cumberland Point, a convenient bay, across which the American flotilla lay anchored, to receive our attack; the untoward issue of which decided the retreat of Sir George Prevost's army.

"I observed that the shores of the lake gradually sunk down to the level of the water, while the mountain ridges fell off to the right and left, leaving a broad and nearly level expanse of wood and ice. Traces of cultivation diminished as we approached the frontier. A few solitary houses, commonly the resort of smugglers, were scattered on the shore, embosomed in forests of a most uninviting aspect. Between Champlain and Isle-aux-Noix, travellers take leave of America, and enter on the Canadian territory."†

Having conducted the reader to the frontier in this direction, we must now return to Albany, whence the road leads off westward to the Great Lakes and the far-famed Falls of Niagara.

* See page 182 of this volume.

† Hall's Canada, pp. 33—40.

FROM ALBANY TO NIAGARA.

THE first stage from Albany on the western road, is to Shenectady, sixteen miles. Captain Basil Hall took a circuitous route which doubled the distance, in order to see the junction of the Erie Canal with the branch which connects it with Lake Champlain. "Near the village called Juncta," he says, "we had an opportunity of examining a string of nine locks, by which the canal is raised to the level of the country to the westward of Albany. Crowds of boats laden with flour, grain, and other produce, were met by others as deeply laden with commodities from all parts of the world, ready to be distributed over the western countries. On the way to this place, our Traveller "looked in at one of the State arsenals at Watervliet," where he saw about 50,000 stand of arms in good order,—"a bristling mass of dormant strength ready to be called into action for the purposes of national defence."

Shenectady, which is situated on the Mohawk, still retains the antiquated appearance of a Dutch town. It is governed by a mayor and corporation. Its chief claim to notice arises from the proximity of Union College, which, under the able administration of President Nott, has attained high respectability. Here, Captain Basil Hall embarked in the canal packet, and proceeded a day's *towing* to Caughnawaga.* The canal winds along the base of a low and prettily wooded bank on the southern side of the Mohawk. "Our perpendicular height above the stream," says this Traveller, "may have been thirty or forty feet,

* The road crosses the Mohawk by a roofed wooden bridge, 1000 feet in length, and then skirts, for a considerable distance, the northern bank of the river.

by which elevation we commanded a range of prospect, *both* up and down, of great extent and variety. The Mohawk is studded with many islands and long, projecting, flat, wooded points, lying in the tortuous reaches or bendings of the stream. The vigour of the spring tints had not yet yielded to the withering effects of the fierce summer. Be the cause what it may, I cannot conceive a more beautiful combination of verdure; and as the windings of the canal brought us in sight of fresh vistas, new cultivation, new villages, new bridges, new aqueducts, rose at every moment, mingled up with scattered dwellings, mills, churches, all span new. The scene looked really one of enchantment." At Caughnawaga,* our Traveller left the canal, and started in an "extra stage" for Utica, a town that has recently sprung up upon the great western canal.† Although not long ago a village of log-huts, it has already several church spires rising over it; and at no great distance, an academical institution has been founded, called Hamilton College. Not far from Utica are the Trenton Falls on the Mohawk, which Captain Basil Hall pronounces to be "well worth seeing." The western road now traverses a country recently cleared and

* Between Caughnawaga and Utica, is a village which takes its name from the "Little Falls" of the Mohawk. At these Falls, "the river passes through a wild, mountainous ravine, now rushing over shelving falls, now whirling and foaming round a projecting point or detached masses of rock; on both sides, the banks are rocky and precipitous, and a few dwarfish trees start from among the crevices. If it were not for the waggon in which you travel, you could almost suppose yourself in the neighbourhood of the Trosachs."—Duncan, vol. ii. p. 25.

† In 1799, Utica consisted of 50 houses, most of them small and temporary buildings. In 1804, the number was 120. It is now a handsome town, carrying on a greater trade than any place in the State, except New York, Albany, and Troy.

improved, to Syracuse, another thriving place, through the very centre of which the Erie Canal passes. "During this drive," says our Traveller, "we had opportunities of seeing the land in various stages of its progress, from the dense, black, tangled, native forests, up to the highest state of cultivation, with wheat and barley waving over it; or from that melancholy and very hopeless-looking state of things, when the trees are laid prostrate upon the earth, one on the top of another, and a miserable log-hut is the only symptom of man's residence,—to such gay and thriving places as Syracuse; with fine, broad streets, large and commodious houses, gay shops, and stage-coaches, waggons, and gigs flying past, all in a bustle. In the centre of the village, we could see from our windows, the canal thickly covered with freight-boats and packets, glancing silently past, and shooting like arrows through the bridges, some of which were of stone, and some of painted wood. The canal at this place has been made of double its ordinary width, and being bent into an agreeable curvature, to suit the turn of the streets, the formality is removed, as well as the ditch-like appearance which generally belongs to canals. The water, also, is made to rise almost level with the towing-path, which improves the effect. I was amused by seeing among the throng of loaded boats, a gayly-painted vessel lying in state, with the words 'Cleopatra's Barge' painted in large characters on her broadside.

"In the course of fifty miles' travelling, we came repeatedly in sight of almost every successive period of agricultural advancement through which America has run, or is actually running. At one place, we found ourselves among the Oneyda tribe of Indians, living on a strip of land called a reservation, from being ap-

propriated exclusively to those poor remains of the former absolute masters of the territory, the native burghers of the forest! They were dressed in blankets, with leggings of skin, laced not very tightly, and reaching to the hide mocassins on their feet. Their painted faces and lank, black, oily hair, made them look as like savages as any lion-hunting travellers could have desired.

"In merely passing along the road, it was of course difficult to form any conjecture as to how much of the country was cleared; especially as new settlers naturally cling to canals, roads, and lakes, and such only were the settlers that we saw. Sometimes, our track lay through a thick forest for a mile or two; though, generally speaking, the country for some distance on both sides of the road, was thickly strewed with houses. Every now and then we came to villages, consisting of several hundred houses; and in the middle, I observed, there were always several churches surmounted with spires, painted with some showy colour, and giving a certain degree of liveliness or finish to scenes in other respects rude enough. In general, however, it must be owned, there prevailed a most uncomfortable appearance of bleakness or rawness, and a total absence of picturesque beauty in these villages; whose dreary aspect was much heightened by the black sort of gigantic wall formed of the abrupt edge of the forest, choked up with underwood, now for the first time exposed to the light of the sun.

"The cleared spaces, however, as they are called, looked to our eyes not less desolate, being studded over with innumerable great black stumps; or, more deplorable still, with tall, scorched, branchless stems of trees, which had undergone the barbarous operation known by the name of girdling. An American settler

can hardly conceive the horror with which a foreigner beholds such numbers of magnificent trees standing round him with their throats cut,—the very Banquos of the murdered forest! The process of girdling is this: a circular cut or ring, two or three inches deep, is made with an axe, quite round the tree, at about five feet from the ground. This, of course, puts an end to vegetable life; and the destruction of the tree being accelerated by the action of fire, these wretched trunks in a year or two present the most miserable objects of decrepitude that can be conceived. But the purpose of the farmer is gained, and that is all he can be expected to look to. His corn crop is no longer overshadowed by the leaves of these unhappy trees, which, in process of time, are cut down, and split into railings, or sawed into billets of firewood,—and their misery is at an end. Even in the cultivated fields, the tops of the stumps were seen poking their black snouts above the young grain, like a shoal of seals. Not a single hedge or wall was to be seen in these places, all the inclosures being made of split logs, built one upon the top of another, in a zig-zag fashion, like what ladies call a Vandyke border. These are termed snake-fences, and are certainly the most ungraceful-looking things I ever saw.

"Most of the houses are built of rough, unbarked logs, nicked at the ends, so as to fit closely and firmly, and roofed with planks. The better sort of dwellings are made of squared timbers, framed together neatly enough, and boarded over at the sides and ends, and then roofed with shingles, which are a sort of oblong slates. The houses are generally left unpainted, and being scattered about without order, look more like a collection of great packing-boxes, than the human residences which the eye is accustomed to see in old

countries. In the more cleared and longer settled parts of the country, we saw many detached houses, which might almost be called villas, very neatly got up, with rows of wooden columns in front, shaded by trees and tall shrubs running round and across the garden, which was prettily fenced in, and embellished with a profusion of flowers. Sometimes a whole village, such as that of Whitesborough, was composed entirely of hese detached villas ; and as most of the houses were half-hidden in the thick foliage of the elm-trees round them, they looked cool and comfortable, when compared with the new and half-burned, and in many places still burning country, only a few miles off." *

Syracuse,† in the year 1820, consisted of one house, one mill, and one tavern. In 1827, it contained 1500 inhabitants, with two large churches ; innumerable shops, filled with goods brought there by water-carriage from every corner of the globe ; two large and splendid hotels ; many dozens of grocery-stores or whisky-shops ; several busy printing-presses, from one of which issues a weekly newspaper ; and a daily post from the east, the south, and the west. In the neighbourhood are the salt-works of Salina, which yield about 500,000 bushels of salt annually. The road then runs to Skeneateles, at the upper end of a lake of the same name ; and thence to Auburn, not " the loveliest village of the plain," but a flourishing place, and celebrated for its State Penitentiary,—" the

* Basil Hall, vol. i. pp. 126—131.

† The incongruous mixture of classic names, unmeaningly applied to some of the villages on this route, in alternation with modern appellations, English, Dutch, and Indian, has, to a stranger, a very absurd effect. The following places occur in succession,—Utica, Chittinengo, Manlius, Onondago, Syracuse, Skeneateles, Elbridge, Brutus, Auburn, Camillus, Cayuga, Waterloo!

parent experiment of that system which has done America so much honour." A theological academy has also been established here. The next stage is to Cayuga, on the western bank of the still and beautiful lake of that name, which is here crossed by a wooden bridge, resting on loose stone piers, 1850 paces in length. A few miles further, the flourishing settlement of Waterloo has sprung up on the bank of a creek communicating between the Cayuga and Seneca lakes; the situation is very beautiful. A wearisome swamp extends from this place to Seneca lake, (so named from an Indian nation nearly extinct,) and a yet more wearisome "log causey" affords the means of crossing it. At the further end is the village of Geneva. Another stage of sixteen miles leads to Canandaigua, situated at the end of an extremely pretty lake, not so large as the last two, but still an extensive piece of water. Canandaigua is a very pretty village, nearly in the centre of Ontario county: it contains three churches, one of them belonging to the Episcopalians. The dwellings have more the appearance of detached country-houses, than of streets; and there are some showy hotels.* Twenty-four miles further is Avon, upon the bank of the Genesee river. Captain Basil Hall, instead of proceeding direct to this place, drove across the country to the village of Rochester, which is built on the banks of that river, just above some beautiful waterfalls, and only a few miles from

* At a place called Bristol, near Canandaigua, there is an inflammable spring. On applying a lighted candle, "in a few minutes," says Captain B. Hall, "we had a row of natural gas-lights, blazing in a style worthy of Pall Mall, for many yards along the banks of a pretty little valley; in the middle of which, a clear stream of water was leaping merrily down to the plains below, over a series of steps or slabs formed by the horizontal strata of limestone covering all that part of the country."

the southern shore of Lake Ontario, which is concealed, however, by a dense screen of untouched forest. The Erie Canal passes through the heart of this singular village, and "strides across the Genesee river on a noble aqueduct of stone."

Rochester, Captain Basil Hall says, is celebrated all over the Union, as one of the most striking instances of rapid increase in size and population of which even this country affords an example. In 1815, its population consisted of 331 souls. These had increased, in 1818, to 1049; in 1820, to 1502; in 1822, to 2700; in February, 1825, to 4274; in August of the same year, to 5273; and in 1827, to upwards of 8000.* The cause of this rapid influx is of course the Erie Canal, this village having become the emporium of the rich agricultural districts upon the Genesee river. The

* The following table, shewing the number of persons engaged in some of the principal occupations in 1826, affords a curious insight into the composition of American society in a settlement twelve years old:—

Clergymen (1 to 1100)	7	Wheel-wrights	24
Physicians (1 to 307)	25	Carpenters	304
Lawyers (1 to 275)	28	Masons	95
Merchants	74	Coopers	73
Clerks	89	Blacksmiths	67
Printers	31	Gunsmiths	14
Innkeepers	16	Tinsmiths	23
Bakers	14	Coachmakers	17
Butchers	33	Chairmakers	10
Grocers	84	Cabinetmakers	23
Tallow-chandlers	8	Tanners	29
Tailors	48	Comb-makers	5
Shoemakers	184	Painters	26
Hatters	20	Goldsmiths	16
Clothiers	23	Saddlers	21
Millers	20	Labourers	423
Mill-wrights	21		

Four political and one religious newspaper were issued from the presses of this town, and one Christian Monthly Magazine.

population is composed chiefly of emigrants from New England, with a few from other parts of the Union, a considerable number of German, English, Scotch, and Irish settlers, and a few natives of Canada, Norway, and Switzerland; making up a very singular and motley society. "Every thing in this bustling place," says Captain Basil Hall, "appeared to be in motion. The very streets seemed to be starting up of their own accord, ready-made, and looking as fresh and new as if they had been turned out of the work men's hands but an hour before,—or that a great box-ful' of new houses had been sent by steam from New York, and tumbled out on the half-cleared land. The canal-banks were at some places still unturfed; the lime seemed hardly dry in the masonry of the aqueduct, in the bridges, and in the numberless great saw-mills and manufactories. In many of these buildings, the people were at work below stairs, while at top, the carpenters were busy nailing on the planks of the roof. Some dwellings were half painted, while the foundations of others, within five yards' distance, were only beginning. I cannot say how many churches, court-houses, jails, and hotels I counted, all in motion, creeping upwards. Several streets were nearly finished, but had not as yet received their names; and many others were in the reverse predicament, being named, but not commenced,—their local habitation being merely signified by lines of stakes. Here and there, we saw great warehouses, without window-sashes, but half filled with goods, and furnished with hoisting cranes, ready to fish up the huge pyramids of flour-barrels, bales, and boxes lying in the streets. In the centre of the town, the spire of a Presbyterian church rose to a great height, and on each side of the supporting tower was to be seen the dial-plate of a clock,

of [illegible] the machinery, in the hurry-skurry, had been left [illegible] York. I need not say, that these half-[illegible]ished, [illegible]e-finished, and embryo streets were crowded with people, carts, stages, cattle, pigs, far [illegible] the reach of numbers;—and as all these were [illegible] up their voices together, in keeping with the [illegible]er of hammers, the ringing of axes, and the creak-[illegible] of machinery, there was a fine concert."

On leaving his place, Captain Hall travelled about 30 miles on "the Ridge Road," which runs along the summit of a gently sloping bank of sand and gravel, supposed to have formed, at some remote era, the beach of Lake Ontario, to the southern margin of which it is nearly parallel, but a hundred feet higher in level, and at a distance of eight or ten miles. The intervening tract is a moderately inclined flat belt of country, above the general level of which, this "old beach" rises to the height of 15 or 20 feet. The slope of the southern side of the ridge is much steeper than that which faces the lake, resembling in that respect the natural embankments on sea-coasts or the shores of lakes, thrown up by the combined action of wind and water.* The direct road from Avon runs to Batavia, a small, straggling village; and thence, a stage of 40 miles to Buffalo, a busy, thriving town, beautifully situated at the lower extremity of Lake Erie, near the mouth of a small creek which forms the termination of the Great Canal. At Black Rock, two miles below Buffalo, a ferry-boat conveys the Traveller to the Canadian shore, a few miles above

* "On the island of Michilimackinac, there are the most decisive proofs, that the waters of Huron and Michigan are several feet lower than they once were. Proofs equally decisive are presented on its southern borders, of a similar subsidence in Lake Erie."—Dwight, vol. iv. p. 68. See also, for a similar remark respecting Lake Champlain, page 254 of this volume.

THE FALLS OF NIAGARA.

THE accounts given of these celebrated Falls by ferent travellers, vary so remarkably, both as to th first impression which they produce, and as to the prominent features of the scene, that any attem combine their reports in a general description, v be impracticable. We shall therefore select three tinct descriptions, adding such further particula we may be able to gather from other sources. Cap Basil Hall tells us, that the Falls "infinitely e ceeded" his anticipations; and he cites the reply of a gentleman who, on his return from the Niagara, was appealed to by a party, whether he thought they would be disappointed—"Why no, unless you expect to witness the sea coming down from the moon." Mr. Duncan, on the other hand, says, that the impression produced on his mind by the first view of the Falls, was decidedly that of disappointment; which he believes to be a very common feeling when strangers visit them for the first time; but those who visit them the oftenest, admire and wonder at them the most. This Traveller visited them twice, and we shall first give his distinct and well-written description of the scene.

"It was on a beautiful morning that I last left Buffalo. The sky was clear, and the air perfectly serene. Not a single cloud was seen upon the broad expanse, except in the north-west, on the very verge of the horizon, where two little fleecy specks appeared and disappeared at intervals; sometimes rising separately, and sometimes mingling their vapours. These were clouds of spray rising above the Falls; perfectly conspicuous to the naked eye at a distance of twenty miles.*

* "Weld says, that he saw the clouds of spray from the Falls

THE FALLS OF NIAGARA.

"Passing along the bank, you soon reach Grand Island, embraced in the forking of the river. Each branch of the stream is more than a mile in width. The western channel is the boundary between the British and American possessions; and this island, nearly seven miles long, and containing between 20,000 and 30,000 acres, is, of course, left within the territory of New York. It is of an irregular lozenge shape, and as yet thickly covered with pines and cedars.

"Passing Grand Island, and Navy Island, a smaller one which succeeds it, the stream becomes about two miles and a half wide, and you reach Chippawa creek, village, and fort, between two and three miles above the Falls. Here terminates the navigation of the upper part of the Niagara; for the rapidity of the stream soon increases so considerably, that vessels cannot with safety venture further. The change becomes very soon obvious on the surface of the water. Neither waves, however, nor any violent agitation is visible for some time; you see only

"'The torrent's smoothness ere it dash below.'

Dimples and indented lines, with here and there a little eddying whirl, run along near the shore; betokening at once the depth of the channel, the vast body of water, and the accelerated impetus with which it hurries along. Every straw also that floats past, though motionless upon the bosom of the river, and undisturbed by a single ripple, is the index of an irresistible influence, which sweeps to one common issue all within its grasp.

"Goat Island, the lowest of all, now appears inserted like a wedge in the centre of the stream. By it

while sailing on Lake Erie, at a distance of fifty-four miles. From the appearance which they presented at a distance of twenty miles, I am inclined to think this is not at all improbable."

the river is divided into two currents, which issue in the two great falls; and the nearer channel shelves down into a steep and rocky declivity, over which an extensive rapid foams and rushes with prodigious fury. Before reaching the island, the traveller remarks at a distance the agitated billows, then the white-crested breakers, and at length he has a full view of the rapid, nearly a mile in length, the immediate and most appropriate prelude to the great Fall.

"Nearly opposite the middle of Goat Island, the channel of the rapid suddenly widens, encroaching with a considerable curvature upon the bank, as if a portion of the water sought to shun, by a circuitous route, its inevitable destiny. In this little bay, if it may be so called, are a number of islets covered with wood, and to all appearance securely anchored amid the brawling torrent; but, before approaching them, you discover with surprise, that the daring foot of man has ventured to descend the steep bank, to erect a cluster of mills, which dip their water-wheels into the impetuous rapid. Immediately below, the shore bends to the right, contracting the channel, and throwing back the reluctant water which had left the main current; and immediately the whole is engulfed in the Great Horse-shoe Fall, which, like an immense cauldron, sends up to the sky a stupendous column of smoke and spray.

"A few minutes' ride now gives you the first view of the Falls. The road winds along pretty close by the bank of the stream, till past the centre of the great rapid, where the channel makes the returning bend to the right. The road does not follow this bend, but, going very nearly straight forward, recedes of course very considerably from the bank. The level of the road is by this time greatly higher than the surface of

the river, which begins gradually to descend near Chippawa, and sinks about fifty feet in perpendicular height, between the commencement of the rapid and its termination. As the distance increases a little between the road and the bank, the vast concave of the Falls of Niagara begins to open upon your view, inclining towards the road at an angle of about forty-five degrees. First you see the American fall, the further extremity of the semi-circle, breaking in a broad white sheet of foam upon a heap of rocks below. Close by its inner extremity is a gush of water which in any other situation would be esteemed a considerable cascade, but here seems but a fragment of the larger cataract, separated by a small island or rock in the bed of the river. The eye then rests upon the precipitous end of Goat Island, consisting of accumulated masses of stone, in horizontal strata, supporting a scanty covering of earth, and crowded to the edge with pines. Last of all, about a third part of the concave of the British fall rounds into prospect; the remainder is concealed by the bend and the elevation of the intervening bank. From the interior of this vast semi-circle, the spray is volumed upwards in prodigious masses, which conceal at intervals various portions of the scenery; and the deep, hollow thunder of the cataracts is mingled with the roar of the long and angry rapid.

"In my first visit, I was quite alone, and piloted my way from the tavern to the edge of the precipitous bank, by the directions which I received from the landlord. Crossing a field or two, which slope from the road towards the river, a little below the Falls, I reached a small distillery, past which a kind of foot-path conducts to the edge of the bank. The ground is marshy for a considerable space up and down, with

a good deal of brushwood scattered about; but part of it had been cut away from the brow of the precipice, to afford a view of the Falls.

"I looked cautiously over the brink. The water was foaming past, about 160 feet below me. Beyond it rose the bank on the American side, precipitous and rocky; and away to the right, the immense basin into which the waters were thundering, and from which the columns of spray were towering up in misty grandeur.

"The falls made a more powerful impression on my mind, when they opened to view for the second time, on the road from Chippawa. The American fall appeared broader, deeper, much more imposing, than when I first saw it. The craggy end of Goat Island seemed more precipitous and grand; a bald eagle was perched upon its very edge, close by the side of the British fall, and waved its pinions in safety over the profound abyss. The curve of the British fall next circled in; and the recollection of how much was still hidden from view, powerfully aided the combined effect.

"After an early dinner, the party with whom I came, set out for a nearer view. During the summer, the American newspapers had announced that the whole of the Table Rock had given way, and been precipitated into the channel of the river; I was therefore eager to ascertain the extent of the mischief. We got over the rail fences of two fields, and passing the distillery to which I have already alluded, reached the edge of the precipice. On looking to the right, I at once remarked the great change which had taken place. From within a few feet of where I stood, the bank which had formerly run forward nearly in a straight line towards the Table Rock, now presented

a great concavity. The foot-path along which I had formerly walked, and the bushes behind which I had stood, had all disappeared :—the rock upon whose deceitful support they rested, had suddenly given way, from top to bottom; and a mass, as we were informed, about 160 feet in length, and from 30 to 40 in breadth, upon which I had formerly imagined myself in security, now lay shattered into ten thousand fragments at the bottom of the precipice. I cannot describe my emotions in contemplating the scene before me. I had trodden where the foot of man will never tread again; I had stood and walked, where nothing but the invisible atmosphere is now incumbent.

" The final disruption of this mass took place about midnight in the month of July or August. The landlord of the tavern had walked over it the preceding afternoon, with two ladies and a gentleman: they returned the following day, to view the frightful chasm, and one of the ladies shed tears at the spectacle.

" A new path, winding considerably backward from the brow of the cliff, has been cut through the brushwood with which the marsh abounds, and a line of planks conducts the traveller to the Table Rock. The rent extended to within a few yards of this celebrated spot, but no part of it gave way: how long it may be ere it does so, none can say.

" The top of the Table Rock forms a circular platform of considerable area, on the same level, and in immediate contact, with the western extremity of the British fall. It extends backward for several yards; and I put the point of my shoe into the water, with perfect safety, immediately before it was precipitated from the cliff. In front, the rock projects some feet beyond the line of the fall, and of the inferior mass of

rocks upon which it is supported. It requires not a little nerve to approach the edge; but the landlord told us, that he has seen people sitting with their feet hanging over it, coolly engaged in sketching a view of the Falls. It was not without considerable timidity that I crept near enough to look over, close by the brink of the water; but the sight of the gulf below repays the effort, and indeed is one that can never be forgotten. The water breaks into spray at the very top, and sends up a steam from the inexplorable abyss, which shrouds all below in most terrific obscurity. A portion of the vapour rises between the descending water and the rock, and comes whirling out in the most violent agitation; and the deep, hollow sound of the cataract, reverberating from the rocky caverns, completes the elements of sublimity with which the scene is charged.

"Leaving the Table Rock, we returned by the winding foot-path, and, a short way below the road from the distillery, we reached the ladder which conducts to the bed of the river. I had imagined that there must be a good deal of danger connected with descending, but, on the contrary, it is perfectly safe. The top of the ladder is secured between the stumps of two trees, against the side of a deep gash in the rock, and slopes down along the face of the precipice, the lower end resting upon a large accumulation of soil and rock, which has formerly fallen from above.

"There is some difficulty, however, in getting forward, after having arrived at the foot of the ladder. The path lies to the right along a sloping bank of earth and stones, alternately rising and falling, though ultimately descending as you approach the Falls. The foot-way is so narrow that it admits of no more than one abreast; it is besides wet and slippery throughout, and in many places encumbered with fragments of

rock. To look up, is frightful; in some places, the higher stratum of rock overhangs the rest most threateningly, and the fissures are so numerous, that the whole fabric of the bank seems to be held together by a most precarious cohesion. Your progress is also impeded by the thick rain which is every where descending; sometimes filtering through the seams of the rock, sometimes falling in heavy drops from its edge, as from the eaves of a house, and, in two or three places, spouting upon you in a continued stream. This water proceeds from the marsh above, and, by gradually washing out the earth, was doubtless the cause of the bank's giving way last summer.

"With considerable exertion, and not without being completely drenched, we made our way to the fragments of the large portion which fell. The separation had taken place from top to bottom, in a straight line, leaving the new surface which was disclosed, perfectly smooth and perpendicular. A deep rent is quite evident behind that part which supports the Table Rock, and in all probability, some future traveller will have to record its fall. It was not till now that we could form any adequate idea of the prodigious extent of the ruin. Large masses lay hurled across the declivity, and piled one upon another, so as to render walking both difficult and dangerous. Some large pieces seemed so nicely poised upon each other, that a slight touch would have overset them, and communicated motion to all that were near.

"Desirous of getting to the bottom of the Great Fall, I made my way about half way over the scattered masses; but when I felt some of them rocking under me, and saw that no one of the party ventured to follow, I thought prudence required that I should turn. Before facing about, however, I broke from the edge

of a large block of limestone, a piece of portable dimensions, which was penetrated by veins of white crystals, and contained in a cleft at one end of it, a fine groupe very regularly formed.

"I now stood and surveyed the wondrous scene before me, mentally comparing the view of the Falls from below, with that which I had enjoyed from the Table Rock. Of the magnitude and force of the descending torrents, we have here a much more impressive conception; for, as we see no part of the rapids above, and indeed nothing of the flood till it has begun its descent from the cliff, the mind is occupied almost entirely with the height, and width, and grandeur of the two enormous cascades. We look up in amazement at the unintermitted pouring of so vast an accumulation of waters; and were this the only view which could be obtained, it would seem an inscrutable mystery, from what source so immeasurable a volume of fresh water could be constantly poured forth.

"The noise of the Falls is of course greatly increased below; indeed, it thunders in the ear most overpoweringly. I use the term *thunders*, for want of a more appropriate one, but it by no means conveys any adequate idea of the awfully deep and unvarying sound.

"To heighten the splendour of the scene, a magnificent rainbow, pencilled on the clouds of spray, and perfectly unbroken from end to end, over-arched the space between the one bank and the other, at the widest part. This, in so entire a state, is rather a rare occurrence; for, though the prismatic colours are always visible during sunshine, floating in little fragments here and there, they only unite into a regular bow in particular positions of the sun, and never complete the semi-circular curve but when the air, as hap-

pened on this occasion, is perfectly calm. I was peculiarly fortunate in the period of this visit.

"It is now not unusual to cross in a boat, a short way below the Falls, to the American shore, and there enjoy a considerable variety of prospect.*

"A beautiful moonlight evening succeeded, and so favourable an opportunity of another view was not to be neglected. I did not venture, at so late an hour, to thread the mazes of the path to the Table Rock, but repaired to a sloping bank at the bottom of a field immediately above it. The moon's rays fell directly upon the American cascade, leaving the greater part of the other fall in deep shadow. The spray appeared to rise in greatly increased volumes, and the dim light mingling with its haze, and accompanied by a perceptible increase in the sound of the cataracts, imparted to the whole a peculiar sublimity, which was wanting in daylight." †

The next Traveller of whose description we shall avail ourselves, is Mr. Howison, whose visit to the Falls appears to have been more recent than that of Mr. Duncan.

"Three extensive views of the Falls may be obtained from three different places. In general, the first opportunity travellers have of seeing the cataract, is from the high-road, which, at one point, lies near the bank of the river. This place, however, being considerably above the level of the Falls, and a good way beyond them, affords a view that is comparatively imperfect and unimposing.

"The Table Rock, from which the Falls of Niagara

* This was before Judge Porter had, by "a wonderful effort of boldness and skill," succeeded in throwing a wooden bridge across from the main-land to Goat Island, a short way above the Falls.

† Duncan, vol. ii. pp. 33—47.

may be contemplated in all their grandeur, lies on an exact level with the edge of the cataract on the Canada side, and indeed forms a part of the precipice over which the water gushes. It derives its name from the circumstance of its projecting beyond the cliffs that support it like the leaf of a table. To gain this position, it is necessary to descend a steep bank, and to follow a path that winds among shrubbery and trees, which entirely conceal from the eye the scene that awaits him who traverses it. When near the termination of this road, a few steps carried me beyond all these obstructions, and a magnificent amphitheatre of cataracts burst upon my view with appalling suddenness and majesty. However, in a moment, the scene was concealed from my eyes by a dense cloud of spray, which involved me so completely, that I did not dare to extricate myself. A mingled rushing and thundering filled my ears. I could see nothing, except when the wind made a chasm in the spray, and then tremendous cataracts seemed to encompass me on every side, while below, a raging and foamy gulf of undiscoverable extent lashed the rocks with its hissing waves, and swallowed under a horrible obscurity, the smoking floods that were precipitated into its bosom.

"At first the sky was obscured by clouds, but after a few minutes the sun burst forth, and the breeze subsiding at the same time, permitted the spray to ascend perpendicularly. A host of pyramidal clouds rose majestically, one after another, from the abyss at the bottom of the Fall; and each, when it had ascended a little above the edge of the cataract, displayed a beautiful rainbow, which in a few moments was gradually transferred into the bosom of the cloud that immediately succeeded. The spray of the Great Fall had extended itself through a wide space directly over

me, and, receiving the full influence of the sun, exhibited a luminous and magnificent rainbow, which continued to over-arch and irradiate the spot on which I stood, while I enthusiastically contemplated the indescribable scene.

"Any person, who has nerve enough (as I had), may plunge his hand into the water of the Great Fall after it is projected over the precipice, merely by lying down flat, with his face beyond the edge of the Table Rock, and stretching out his arm to its utmost extent. The experiment is truly a horrible one, and such as I would not wish to repeat; for, even to this day, I feel a shuddering and recoiling sensation when I recollect having been in the posture above described.

"The body of water which composes the middle part of the Great Fall, is so immense, that it descends nearly two-thirds of the space without being ruffled or broken; and the solemn calmness with which it rolls over the edge of the precipice, is finely contrasted with the perturbed appearance it assumes after having reached the gulf below. But the water towards each side of the Fall, is shattered the moment it drops over the rock, and loses as it descends, in a great measure, the character of a fluid, being divided into pyramidal-shaped fragments, the bases of which are turned upwards. The surface of the gulf below the cataract, presents a very singular aspect; seeming, as it were, filled with an immense quantity of hoar-frost, which is agitated by small and rapid undulations. The particles of water are dazzlingly white, and do not apparently unite together, as might be supposed, but seem to continue for a time in a state of distinct comminution, and to repel each other with a thrilling and shivering motion which cannot easily be described.

"The noise made by the Horse-shoe Fall, though

very great, is infinitely less than might be expected, and varies in loudness according to the state of the atmosphere. When the weather is clear and frosty, it may be distinctly heard at the distance of ten or twelve miles, but much further when there is a steady breeze: however, I have frequently stood upon the declivity of the high bank that overlooks the Table Rock, and distinguished a low thundering only, which at times was altogether drowned amidst the roaring of the rapids above the cataract.* In my opinion, the concave shape of the Great Fall explains this circumstance. The noise vibrates from one side of the rocky recess to the other, and a little only escapes from its confinement; and even this is less distinctly heard than it would otherwise be, as the profusion of spray renders the air near the cataract a very indifferent conductor of sound.

"The road to the bottom of the Fall, presents many more difficulties than that which leads to the Table Rock. After leaving the Table Rock, the traveller must proceed down the river nearly half a mile, where he will come to a small chasm in the bank, in which there is a spiral staircase inclosed in a wooden building. By descending this stair, which is 70 or 80 feet perpendicular height, he will find himself under the

* Mr. Duncan says: "I have been told in the neighbourhood, that, in particular states of the barometer, and especially before stormy weather, the sound of the cataracts is heard twenty miles off, and even further; but, on both occasions, I could with difficulty distinguish it at a distance of two miles; and sometimes, I understand, it does not reach so far." Dr. Dwight says, that he heard it distinctly when crossing the ferry at the distance of eighteen miles, "the wind blowing from the N.W. almost at right angles with the direction of the sound. Two gentlemen," he adds, "who had lived some time at York, on the north side of Lake Ontario, informed me, that it was not unfrequently heard there: the distance is fifty miles."—Dwight, vol. iv. p. 79.

precipice on the top of which he formerly walked. A high but sloping bank extends from its base to the edge of the river; and on the summit of this, there is a narrow, slippery path, covered with angular fragments of rock, which leads to the Great Fall. The impending cliffs, hung with a profusion of trees and brushwood, over-arch this road, and seem to vibrate with the thunders of the cataract. In some places, they rise abruptly to the height of 100 feet, and display upon their surfaces, fossil shells and the organic remains of a former world; thus sublimely leading the mind to contemplate the convulsions which nature has undergone since the creation. As the traveller advances, he is frightfully stunned by the appalling noise; clouds of spray sometimes envelop him, and suddenly check his faltering steps; rattle-snakes start from the cavities of the rocks, and the scream of eagles, soaring among the whirlwinds of eddying vapour which obscure the gulf of the cataract, at intervals announce that the raging waters have hurled some bewildered animal over the precipice. After scrambling among piles of huge rocks that obstruct his way, the traveller gains the bottom of the Fall, where the soul can be susceptible only of one emotion,—that of uncontrollable terror.

"It was not until I had, by frequent excursions to the Falls, in some measure familiarized my mind with their sublimities, that I ventured to explore the *penetralia* of the Great Cataract. The precipice over which it rolls, is very much arched underneath, while the impetus which the water receives in its descent, projects it far beyond the cliff; and thus an immense Gothic arch is formed by the rock and the torrent. Twice I entered this cavern, and twice I was obliged to retrace my steps, lest I should be suffocated by the

blast of dense spray that whirled round me; however, the third time, I succeeded in advancing about 25 yards. Here, darkness began to encircle me; on one side, the black cliff stretched itself into a gigantic arch far above my head, and on the other, the dense and hissing torrent formed an impenetrable sheet of foam, with which I was drenched in a moment. The rocks were so slippery, that I could hardly keep my feet, or hold securely by them; while the horrid din made me think the precipices above were tumbling down in colossal fragments upon my head.

"It is not easy to determine how far an individual might advance between the sheet of water and the rock; but were it even possible to explore the recess to its utmost extremity, scarcely any one, I believe, would have courage to attempt an expedition of the kind.

"A little way below the Great Fall, the river is, comparatively speaking, so tranquil, that a ferry-boat plies between the Canadian and American shores, for the convenience of travellers. When I first crossed, the heaving flood tossed about the skiff with a violence that seemed very alarming; but as soon as we gained the middle of the river, my attention was altogether engaged by the surpassing grandeur of the scene before me. I was now within the area of a semicircle of cataracts, more than 3000 feet in extent, and floated on the surface of a gulf, raging, fathomless, and interminable. Majestic cliffs, splendid rainbows, lofty trees, and columns of spray, were the gorgeous decorations of this theatre of wonders, while a dazzling sun shed refulgent glories upon every part of the scene. Surrounded with clouds of vapour, and stunned into a state of confusion and terror by the hideous noise, I looked upwards to the height of 150 feet, and saw vast

floods, dense, awful, and stupendous, vehemently bursting over the precipice, and rolling down, as if the windows of heaven were opened to pour another deluge upon the earth. Loud sounds, resembling discharges of artillery or volcanic explosions, were now distinguishable amidst the watery tumult, and added terrors to the abyss from which they issued. The sun looking majestically through the ascending spray, was encircled with a radiant halo; whilst fragments of rainbows floated on every side, and momentarily vanished only to give place to a succession of others more brilliant. Looking backwards, I saw the Niagara river, again become calm and tranquil, rolling magnificently between the towering cliffs that rose on either side, and receiving showers of orient dew-drops from the trees that gracefully over-arched its transparent bosom. A gentle breeze ruffled the waters, and beautiful birds fluttered around, as if to welcome its egress from those clouds and thunders and rainbows, which were the heralds of its precipitation into the abyss of the cataract.

"The American Fall, which it is quite unnecessary to describe, is higher than the Horse-shoe, its pitch being 164 feet: however, the quantity of water which rolls over, is not nearly so great as in the former. Here, as on the Canada side, there is a wooden staircase, by which the most nervous and timid person may descend to the bottom of the cataract with ease and safety.

"The Niagara Falls appear to the observer of a magnitude inferior to what they really are, because the objects surrounding do not bear a due proportion to them. The river, cliffs, and trees are on a comparatively small scale, and add little to the composition or grandeur of the scene; therefore, he who contem-

plates the cataracts, unconsciously reduces them to such dimensions as correspond to those of the contiguous objects; thus divesting one part of the scene of a good deal of its magnificence, without communicating any additional grandeur to the other.

"The extent of the Falls has never been correctly ascertained, as, indeed, their peculiar form, and several other circumstances, render this impossible. The height of the Great Fall, as taken with a plumb-line by some engineers from the United States, was found to be 149 feet 9 inches. Its curve is supposed to extend 2100 feet, and the chord of its arc may measure nearly half that space. The breadth of Goat Island, which divides the two cataracts, has been found to be 984 feet, and that of the American fall 1140 feet. Therefore, the whole circumference of the precipice over which the cataracts fall, is 4224 feet, and the width of the cataract itself 3240 feet. At one time, the Table Rock extended 50 feet beyond the cliffs that support it, but its projection is not so great at present."*

Captain Basil Hall, who visited the Falls in 1827, reached them from below, which sufficiently accounts for the much stronger impression the first view appears to have made upon his imagination.

"On our way (from Lockport) to the Falls," he says, "we had one view, and that merely a glimpse, of Lake Ontario, through a wide opening in the trees, on the top of a rising ground. That enormous sheet of water, which is 170 miles long, had none of those appearances of a lake, familiar as such to our eyes. I was prepared to expect something like the sea, but was surprised, though I do not know very well why, by discovering it to be so precisely similar to the ocean. It had the same deep blue tint, and possessed all the ap-

* Howison, pp. 107—116.

pearance of boundless extent. Between the spot where we stood, and the south-western margin of the lake, there lay a belt of flat country, eight or ten miles in width, matted thickly with the untouched forest, and nearly as striking as the grand lake itself. This wooded ground was quite smooth, nearly horizontal, and had, probably, in ancient times formed the bottom of the lake, when the ridge before spoken of was the beach. In casting the eye over this vast extent of forest, not the slightest inequality of surface could be distinguished. The foliage, indeed, appeared to cling to the ground like a rich, mottled sort of dress or carpet.

"The river Niagara, which flows from Lake Erie into Lake Ontario, is unlike any other river that I know of. It is a full-grown stream at the first moment of its existence, and is no larger at its mouth than at its source. Its whole length is about thirty-two miles, one-half of which is above the Falls, and the other half lies between them and Lake Ontario. During the first part of its course, or that above the tremendous scéne alluded to, this celebrated river slips quietly along out of Lake Erie, nearly at the level of the surrounding flat country. So nearly so, indeed, that if, by any of those chances which swell other rivers, but have no effect here, we could suppose the Niagara to rise perpendicularly eight or ten feet, the adjacent portion of Upper Canada on the west, and of the State of New York on the east, would be laid under water.

"After the river passes over the Falls, however, its character is immediately and completely changed. It then runs furiously along the bottom of a deep, wall-sided valley, or huge trench, which seems to have been cut into the horizontal strata of the limestone rock by the continued action of the stream during the lapse of

ages. The cliffs on both sides are at most places nearly perpendicular, without any interval being left between the cliffs and the river, or any rounding of the edges at the top; and a rent would seem a more appropriate term, than a valley. Above the Falls, therefore, that is, between them and Lake Erie, it will be understood, there is literally no valley at all; as the river flows with a gentle current, and almost flush, as seamen call it, or level with the banks; while below the cataract, the bed of the river lies so deep in the earth, that a stranger, unprepared for these peculiarities, is not aware of there being any break at all in the ground, till he comes within a few yards of the very edge of the precipice. In point of fact, we did drive for some distance on the American side of the valley or ravine of Niagara, across which we were looking, all the while, at the scenery in Canada, without knowing it, and without being in the least degree conscious that such a strong natural line of demarcation was interposed between us and that province.

"But the river at the place where we first saw it, four miles north of the Falls, instead of slipping along quietly, finds its way with great impetuosity towards Lake Ontario, over a steep, rocky bed, so as to form one of the most formidable of those well-known torrents called Rapids.

"The first glimpse we got of the Great Fall, was at the distance of about three miles below it, from the right or eastern bank of the river. Without attempting to describe it, I may say, that I felt at the moment quite sure that no subsequent examination, whether near or remote, could ever remove, or even materially weaken the impression left by this first view.....

"The scenery in the neighbourhood of Niagara has,

in itself, little or no interest, and has been rendered still less attractive by the erection of hotels, paper-manufactories, saw-mills, and numerous other raw, staring, wooden edifices. Perhaps it is quite as well that it should be so; because any scenery which should be in keeping with the grand object which gives its character to this wonderful spot, would, in all probability, diminish the effect produced by its standing entirely on its own merits. On this principle, I remember being made sensible, when looking at the temples of Pæstum, how much the effect was heightened by their being placed on a plain, far from trees, mountains, or houses.

"It has been said, that there is always something about a bridge which interests, more or less. If it be not picturesque in itself, it may be curious in its structure, or high, or long; or it may possess something or other to attract notice. At all events, the bridge which connects the main American shore with Goat Island, is one of the most singular pieces of engineering in the world, and shews not only much skill and ingenuity, but boldness of thought in its projector, the owner of the island. It is between six and seven hundred feet in length, and is thrown across one of the worst parts of the rapids, not more than fifty yards above the crest of the American Fall. It is made of wood, and consists of seven straight portions, resting on wooden piers, so contrived as to have perfect stability, although the foundation on which they rest, is extremely unequal. The bed of the river at that place, is covered with rounded and angular stones, varying from the size of a wheel-barrow to that of a stage-coach, and either lying side by side, or piled in heaps; so that while the tops of some of them reach within a foot or two of the surface, others lie at the

depth of twelve or fifteen feet. Along this rugged and steep bottom, the river dashes in a torrent covered with breakers and foam, at the rate of six or seven miles an hour, making a noise not unlike that of the sea on a shallow ledge of rocks.

"We passed the greater part of the 2d of July in roving about the banks, and studying the Falls in as many different aspects as we could command. In the course of our investigations and rambles, we met a gentleman who had resided for the last thirty-six years in this neighbourhood,—happy mortal! He told us that the Great Horse-shoe Fall had, within his memory, gone back forty or fifty yards; that is to say, the edge or arch of the rock over which the water poured, had broken down from time to time to that extent. This account was corroborated by that of another gentleman who had been resident on the spot for forty years.

"As these statements came from persons of good authority, I was led to examine the geological circumstances more minutely; for I could not conceive it possible, that the mere wearing of the water could perform such rapid changes upon hard limestone. The explanation is very simple, however, when the nature of the different strata is attended to. In the first place, they are laid exactly horizontal, the top stratum being a compact calcareous rock. In the next place, I observed, that, in proportion as the examination is carried downwards, the strata are found to be less and less indurated; till, at the distance of a hundred feet from the topmost stratum, the rock turns to a sort of loose shale, which crumbles to pieces under the touch, and is rapidly worn away by the action of the violent blasts of wind, rising out of the pool into which this enormous cascade is projected.

"In process of time, as the lower strata are fairly eaten or worn away, the upper part of the rock must be left without a foundation. But, owing to the tough nature of the upper strata, they continue to project a long way over before they break down. There must come periods, however, every now and then, when the overhanging rock, with such an immense load of water on its shoulders, will give way, and the crest or edge of the Fall will recede a certain distance. At the time of our visit, the top of the rock, or that over which the river was directed, overhung the base, according to the rough estimate I made, between 35 and 40 feet; thus forming a hollow space, or cave, between the falling water and the face of the rock.*

"I visited on three different occasions the extraordinary cave formed between the cascade and the face of the overhanging cliff; first, on the 3d of July, out of mere curiosity; again on the 9th, to try some experiments with the barometer; and, lastly, on the

* "Niagara Falls.—We learn from Mr. Forsyth, the proprietor of the Pavilion, that part of the Great Fall has gone down into the chasm below, to the extent of an acre at least of the rock on the Canada side, thereby extending the curve called the Horseshoe, and adding exceedingly to the grandeur and beauty of the cataract. The Table Rock is not injured; but immediately above it, in the shoe of the Falls, where the water lately descended in a circular sheet, the range has become much more straight, and the resemblance of a semi-circle, or rather a horseshoe, is lost. The launch took place at nine in the evening of the 26th of December last, and shook the Pavilion like as if an earthquake had taken place; the concussion was even felt as far up as Chippawa, two miles above the Falls. So great was the crash, that it shook the bottles and glasses on the shelves in the hotel. There had been no expectation of that part of the Falls giving way; but the fall of the projecting cliff immediately below the Table Rock, is every day looked for."—*Colonial Advocate, Jan.* 7, 1829. The name of the Horseshoe, had long ceased to be applicable. Lieutenant F. Hall remarks, that it had become, in 1816, an acute angle, and that both Weld and Volney had observed this change.

10th, in company with a friend, purely on account of the excitement which I found such a strange combination of circumstances produce. We reached a spot 153 feet from the outside or entrance, by the assistance of a guide, who makes a handsome livelihood by this amphibious pilotage. There was a tolerably good, green sort of light within this singular cavern; but the wind blew us first in one direction, then in another, with such alarming violence, that I thought at first we should be fairly carried off our feet, and jerked into the roaring caldron beneath. This tempest, however, was not nearly so great an inconvenience as the unceasing deluges of water driven against us. Fortunately, the direction of this gale of wind was always more or less upwards, from the pool below, right against the face of the cliffs: were it otherwise, I fancy it would be impossible to go behind the Falls, with any chance of coming out again. Even now, there is a great appearance of hazard in the expedition, though experience shews that there is no real danger. Indeed, the guide, to re-assure us, and to prove the difficulty of the descent, actually leaped downwards, to the distance of five or six yards, from the top of the bank of rubbish at the base of the cliff, along which the path is formed. The gusts of wind rising out of the basin or pool below, blew so violently against him, that he easily regained the walk.

"This enormous cataract, in its descent, like every other cascade, carries along with it a quantity of air, which it forces far below the surface of the water,—an experiment which any one may try on a small scale by pouring water into a tumbler from a height. The quantity of air thus carried down, by so vast a river as Niagara, must be great, and the depth to

which it is driven, in all probability, considerable. It may also be much condensed by the pressure; and it will rise with proportionate violence both on the outside of the cascade, and within the sheet or curtain which forms the cataract.

"It had long been a subject of controversy, I was told, whether the air in the cave behind the Falls was condensed or rarified; and it was amusing to listen to the conflicting arguments on the subject. All parties agreed that there was considerable difficulty in breathing; but, while some ascribed this to a want of air, others asserted that it arose from the quantity being too great. The truth, however, obviously is, that we have too much water; not too much air. For I may ask, with what comfort could any man breathe with half a dozen fire-engines playing full in his face? and positively the effect of the blast behind the Falls, is just what that awkward ceremony might be supposed to produce. The direction of the wind is first one way and then another, crossing and thwarting in a very confused style, and flinging the water sometimes up, sometimes down, and often whirling it round and round like smoke, in curls or spirals, up to the very top of the cave, 100 feet above our heads, to the very edge of the precipice, over which we could distinctly see the river projected forwards, and just beginning to curve downwards. By the way, I took notice that, exactly in proportion to the apparent thickness of the mass of water, so it continued united after passing the brink. But I do not think, at any part of Niagara, the sheet of falling water remains unbroken for more than twenty feet, and that only at one place, well known by the name of the Green Water,—the most sublime and impressive part of the

whole Fall. At every other, the cascade assumes a snowy whiteness very shortly after it begins to descend. This appearance is aided, no doubt, by the blast of wind which rises from the pool on the outside of the sheet; for I observed that the external surface of the cataract was roughened, or turned upwards in a series of frothy ripples, caused either by its friction against the air through which it was passing, or, more probably, by the blast rising upwards from the pool.

"I remarked another singular phenomenon, which I have not happened to hear mentioned before, but which is evidently connected with this branch of the subject. A number of small, sharp-pointed cones of water are projected upwards from the pool, on the outside of the Fall, sometimes to the height of 120 feet. They resemble in form some comets of which I have seen drawings. Their point, or apex, which is always turned upwards, is quite sharp, and not larger, I should say, than a man's fingers and thumb, brought as nearly to a point as possible. The conical tails which stream from these watery meteors, may vary from one or two yards to ten or twelve, and are spread out on all sides in a very curious manner.

"The lower part of the Fall, it must be observed, is so constantly hidden from the view by a thick rolling cloud of spray, that during ten days I never succeeded once in getting a glimpse of the bottom of the falling sheet; nor do I believe it is ever seen. Out of this cloud, which waves backwards and forwards, and rises at times to the height of many hundreds of feet above the Falls, these singular cones, or comets, are seen at all times jumping up. The altitude to which they are projected, I estimated at about thirty feet below the top. The perpendicular elevation to which these

jets of water are thrown, cannot, therefore, be less than 110 or 120 feet above the surface of the pool.

"The controversy respecting the elasticity of the air behind the Fall, was soon settled. I carried with me a barometer of the most delicate kind, made expressly with a view to the experiment. The mercury stood, at two stations on the outside, at 29.68. The instrument was then carried behind the Falls, and placed near the Termination Rock, as an impassable angle of the cliff is called, which lies at the distance of 153 feet from the entrance, measuring from the Canadian or western extremity of the Great Horse-shoe Fall. It now stood at about 29.72. The thermometer, in both cases, was at 70. of Fahrenheit. The inner station was probably ten or twelve feet lower than the external one; and it will be easily understood, that in such a situation, with a torrent of water pouring over the instrument and the observer, and hard squalls or gusts of wind threatening to whisk the whole party into the abyss, there could be no great nicety of readings. I observed, that within the Fall, the mercury vibrated in the tube about four hundredths of an inch, and was never perfectly steady; the highest and lowest points were, therefore, observed by the eye, and the mean recorded. During the external observations, there was only a slight tremor visible on the surface of the column. In order to prevent mistakes, I repeated the experiment at another spot, about 120 feet within the entrance, when the mercury stood at about 29.74., though still vibrating several hundredths of an inch. Upon the whole, then, considering that the inner stations were lower than the external one, the small difference between the external and the internal readings, may be ascribed to errors in observation, and not to

any difference in the degree of elasticity in the air without and within the sheet of falling water.*

"Though I was only half an hour behind the Fall, I came out much exhausted, partly with the bodily exertion of maintaining a secure footing while exposed to such buffeting and drenching, and partly, I should suppose, from the interest belonging to this scene, which certainly exceeds any thing I ever witnessed before. All parts of Niagara, indeed, are on a scale which baffles every attempt of the imagination to paint, and it were ridiculous, therefore, to think of describing it. The ordinary materials of description, I mean analogy and direct comparison with things which are more accessible, fail entirely in the case of that amazing cataract, which is altogether unique." †

The most favourable season for visiting the Falls,

* The conflicting statements respecting the practicability of going behind the curtain of the Falls, are partly reconciled by the very different state of the river at different times. Lake Erie is regularly raised, at the eastern end, by every wind blowing between the N. W. and the S. W. A strong westerly wind elevates the surface six feet above its ordinary level. The river, both at its efflux from the Lake, and at the Cataract, must partake of this elevation; and from the narrowness of the channel below the precipice, the river must be raised very considerably by the increased volume of water brought down by the Fall. On the contrary, when the wind blows from the N. E., the waters of Lake Erie must recede, and the river be necessarily lower. It is then practicable to pass up the stream to the cataract, and to go behind the sheet of descending water; whereas, when the river is full, the water spreads quite to the bank, and covers the only practicable passage. Mr. Bemis told Dr. Dwight, that when he arrived behind the sheet, he found a violent wind blowing directly in his face, with such strength, that respiration became difficult. This wind blew nearly at right angles with the breeze above. At the same time, a strong, offensive smell of sulphur increased the difficulty of breathing, and soon obliged him to retreat.—Dwight, vol. iv. pp. 84—88. The sulphurous smell, Capt. B. Hall does not appear to have perceived.

† Basil Hall, vol. i. pp. 177—204.

Weld says, is about the middle of September, when the woods are variegated with the rich tints of autumn, and "the spectator is not annoyed with vermin. In the summer season, you meet with rattlesnakes at every step, and mosquitoes swarm so thickly in the air, that, to use a common phrase of the country, you might cut them with a knife. The cold nights of September effectually banish these noxious insects." In winter, these Falls assume a new aspect, at once singular and magnificent. "Icicles of great thickness and length are formed along the banks, from the springs which flow over them. The sources, impregnated with sulphur, are congealed into transparent blue columns. Cones are formed by the spray, particularly on the American side, which have large fissures disclosing the interior, composed of clusters of icicles similar to the pipes of an organ. Some parts of the Falls are consolidated into fluted columns, and the streams above, are seen partially frozen."*

This remarkable Cataract is formed by the brow of that vast bed of limestone which is the base of all the neighbouring country. The great Falls of the Genesee are formed by the same brow. On the Niagara, it extends to near Queenstown, seven miles below the Falls; and that they have travelled back that distance to their present position, the river having scooped out a channel through the solid limestone, has become an established opinion. Dr. Dwight finds "nothing strange or perplexing" in the supposition;† and his

* Heriot, cited by Malte Brun, vol. v. p. 116.

† "The Falls of Niagara are among those phenomena from which speculatists have spun a cobweb theory of the earth, proving, or intended to prove,

'That he who made it, and revealed its date
To Moses, was mistaken in its age.'".

Duncan, vol. ii. p. 52.

opinion is entitled to particular attention from the facts which he adduces in support of it. "I have examined," he says, "three falls of the Saco, three of the Connecticut, two of the Hooestennuc, two of Otter creek, three of Onion river, two of the Hudson, two of the Mohawk, one of the Canajoharie, and one of the Passaic; besides several others. In every one of these, the same process of nature has taken place. The mode and the degree in which the phenomenon exists, are different in them all. Where the stone is of a firmer texture, and therefore less liable to be worn, or, from its nature, is less exposed to decomposition by the weather, and wherever the stream is smaller and less rapid, this phenomenon is found in a smaller degree; and wherever the contrary causes are combined, in a greater. The rocks over which the Connecticut falls, are, in each of the instances above referred to, very hard; the Falls, therefore, have receded very little. Glen's Falls were originally in the neighbourhood of Fort Edward, and have receded not far from five miles in a bed of blue limestone, partly worn away by the current of the Hudson, and partly decomposed by the action of the atmosphere. I visited these Falls in 1798, 1799, 1802, and 1812. Between the second and third of these dates, a period of three years only, they were changed so much as to disappoint and surprise me. Several new and considerable chasms were formed, and others were sensibly enlarged and altered in their figures. In 1812, the scene had become in a great measure new. The Cohoes* have receded about a mile from their original position: the channel of the Mohawk has there been forced through a mass of black slate easily worn and continually decomposed. The Canojaharie, a tributary

* See p. 242 of this volume.

of the Mohawk, has, in the same manner, made a passage through a bed of the same slate, between banks in some places not less than 150 feet in height. During the process, the Falls in this stream have gone backward not less than a mile. The Falls of Niagara are formed in an immense mass of limestone horizontally stratified.* On this mass lay originally a bed of earth not far from 200 feet in thickness. After this had been washed away, the river floated on the surface of the limestone, and began gradually to wear that also. Suppose then the brow of this vast stratum near Queenstown united, where it is now separated by the channel of the river, and the declivity continued across its breadth; what changes would its current produce in its bed during the period since the deluge? The very same which the Hudson has produced at Glen's Falls, and the Mohawk at the Cohoes."†

Mr. Duncan, however, combats this generally received notion as to the gradual retrocession of the Falls; contending, that it may be as reasonably concluded, that the whole channel of the Niagara, from the present Falls to Queenstown, was ploughed out by some mighty terraqueous convulsion; that, in place of being the operation of thousands of years, it may have been the work of a month, or perhaps of a day. Partial changes may, he admits, have taken place in the outline of the Great Fall, from the giving way of the rock; but that this change has been incessantly going on, he questions on this ground. The first accounts given of these Falls by European Writers,

* A Writer in the North American Review describes the strata as consisting of limestone above and sandstone below, with forty feet interposing of exceedingly friable slate. This accords with Captain B. Hall's observations.

† Dwight, vol. iv. pp. 88, 9.

which have any claim to authenticity, correspond remarkably, at the distance of a century, to the present aspect of the Cataracts. "Goat Island is correctly delineated according to its present condition; for to this day, as then, it exactly coincides with the edge of the precipice over which the water on each side descends." * On the other hand, we have the authority of more than one resident individual for the fact, that the Great Horse-shoe Fall has receded forty or fifty yards (Dr. Dwight says, one hundred) within the last fifty years. Taking the average at a hundred yards in thirty years, the degree of recession, Dr. Dwight remarks, would be more than sufficient to have proceeded the whole distance from Queenstown since the Deluge, even if we should compute according to the commonly received chronology. At the same time, he adds, no definite calculation can be applied to the subject, as the process would be far from regular or uniform. In seasons marked by great and sudden changes of temperature, the decomposition of the rock would be more rapid and extensive. Physical convulsions may have at least co-operated in forming the channel; and the mass of limestone to be worked through, may be supposed to diminish in depth towards the termination of the ridge. But whether the process has been suddenly effected, or more or less gra-

* Weld, who visited the Falls in 1796, asserts that, within the memory of the inhabitants, the Falls had receded several yards; and that, according to tradition, the Horse-shoe Fall once projected in the middle. Yet, for a century past, he adds, it had remained nearly in its present form. This statement, Mr. Duncan justly considers as rather contradictory. Had the Falls receded several yards within the memory of persons then living, "Goat Island must have projected so many yards below them; while, in point of fact, it does not to this day project a single foot." No tradition on the subject is deserving of the slightest attention.

dual, this at least may be considered as ascertained; that the objections urged against the truth of the Mosaic account of the creation, founded upon the number of years that must have elapsed since these Falls commenced their retrocession, are utterly gratuitous and not less unphilosophical than irreligious.

Supposing, however, the decomposition of the rock to proceed with any regularity, the inquiry has been suggested, what would be the final result of such recession? The Falls would ultimately reach the waters of Lake Erie, and, by depressing the outlet to the common level of the channel below the precipice, would empty the waters of that lake, perhaps suddenly, into Lake Ontario. All the flat country surrounding the latter, together with that which extends along the shores of the St. Lawrence to the ocean, would then, it is supposed, be buried in the deluge. "On this subject," however, remarks Dr. Dwight, "there is no reason for apprehension. Before the waters of Lake Erie can be sensibly affected by this recession, it must have passed through a distance at least three times as great as that between Queenstown and Niagara. The level two miles above, is at least sixty feet higher than at the precipice. The river is every where wider above, than below, by an average at least three-fold. By both these causes, the retrogression of the Falls will be retarded. The mass of stone to be destroyed, will also be greater. Should all the causes of decay, then, operate with equal efficacy as in times past, more than 16,000 years must elapse before this event would take place." *

At the distance of five miles from the Falls, there is a remarkable whirlpool in the river, which has formed in the high, perpendicular bank, a large

* Dwight, vol. iv. p. 92.

semi-circular excavation, on the British side, into which the current whirls with prodigious violence, depositing trunks of trees and the carcases of animals that have been swept down the Falls.* The river must be here several hundred feet deep. At Queenstown, which is four miles further, the stream is still extremely rapid, owing to the narrowness of the channel; † but, after a short distance, and before it empties itself into the lake, it has assumed a quiescent and tranquil course, nor does any turbid appearance remain, to convey the slightest idea of proximity to the Cataract of Niagara.

The country round the Falls, is described by Mr. Howison as thickly inhabited, in a high state of cultivation, and exquisitely beautiful. Several gentlemen's mansions have been recently built in situations commanding the sublime scenery of the river. Goat Island, which has received the more poetic appellation

* Mr. Howison says; "There have been instances of people being carried over the Falls, but I believe, none of the bodies ever were found. A dog, which I have seen, was carried over the Great Fall some years ago, and suffered no injury except the fracture of two of his ribs. Dead wild-ducks are found in great numbers along the banks of the river, near the bottom of the cataract, on the mornings that succeed dark and stormy nights. Some people suppose that these animals are carried over while asleep; but more probably they get entangled among the rapids above, and are swept away before they are aware of their danger."—Howison, pp. 116, 17. In the New York Advertiser of October 8th, last, there is a strange account of a person's leaping the cataract, and taking a dive into the foaming caldron of the Niagara. A boat was in readiness to receive him, but he is stated to have swum to shore, and clambered up the rocks amid the cheers of the spectators. We scarcely know what credit to give to the marvellous relation.—See The Times, November 11, 1829.

† At the ferry, the Niagara is 1250 feet in breadth, and from two to three hundred feet in depth. The wreathing and perturbed appearance of the water, shews that its course is much impeded by the narrowness of the rocky channel.—Howison, p. 89.

of Iris Island, contains about 70 acres of excellent soil, covered with fine timber. A carriage road winds round it, from which small paths diverge to those parts of its rocky shores where the different aspects of the Falls and the Rapids may be viewed to most advantage. This Traveller speaks in raptures of the enchanting beauty of this singular Island,—the indescribable variety of prospect it affords, the luxuriant verdure that crowns its banks, the peculiar beauty and fragrance of its wild flowers, nourished by the spray of the cataract. "Often volumes of snow-white vapour, among which the prismatic colours appear with changeful lustre, float along the cliffs of the Island, gloriously enveloping them in the effulgence of heaven."*

Niagara is said to be an Iroquois word, signifying the thunder of waters.† The once formidable and warlike Iroquois tribes formerly occupied the country round the head of Lake Ontario. Part of the wretched remnant of the Five Nations are now collected at the Seneca village near Buffalo, the inhabitants of which were formerly noted for idleness and dissipation, and, under the influence of a chief named Red Jacket, long resisted all attempts to introduce the knowledge of Christianity. Schools have at length been established there, as well as at Tuscarora and Cattaraugus, by the American Board of Missions, in which the Indians are

* Howison, p. 119. Mr. Schoolcraft and another recent American Traveller speak of "Iris Island," "the Pavilion," and "Ontario Hotel;" names which were not in existence a few years ago. Amid the wilds of Goat Island, the English traveller is startled at meeting with one disgusting type of American civilization,—a billiard table!—See American Sketches, p. 249.

† The Indians pronounce the word Niagâra, but Americans and Canadians universally, Niágara. "The awful spirit of the Iroquois," according to the native legends, says Chateaubriand, dwells at the Cataract of Niagara.

taught to read their own language in translations prepared by the Missionaries. Tuscarora village, which was visited by Mr. Duncan in 1818, is about four miles from Lewiston, on the south of the Ridge Road. The log-huts are scattered at some little distance from each other, on the brow of the slope which forms the continuation of the heights of Queenstown.* A log-hut of larger dimensions than the rest, serves the double purpose of a church on the sabbath, and a school-house during the week. "The sound of the church-going bell," says Mr. Duncan, "was indeed wanting; but an old Indian at the porch was winding a long blast upon a horn; and as its echoes rang through the woods, Indians and white men, old and young, assembled at the summons." The aspect of the congregation was novel and interesting. A small desk at the head of the room was the Missionary's pulpit; forms were ranged around for the auditory; and on the walls were hung the large alphabets and spelling lessons used in Lancasterian schools. The Indians wore dresses of broad cloth of various colours; the men, a kind of frock coat and leggings; the women, a large mantle, red, blue, or green, with leggings and mocassins fancifully embroidered: some of them had a profusion of silver ornaments on various parts of their dress. The whole preserved the most decorous silence and solemnity, the women sitting enveloped in their mantle, with its folds brought up with the left hand across the mouth, so that only the upper part of the countenance was visible. The service was begun with a hymn, which the Indians sang in their own language,

* During the last war with Great Britain, this settlement shared in the desolation of all the villages on each side of the river; but these villages had been rebuilt, and the Indians again collected, at the time of this Traveller's visit.

in a very pleasing style, to one of our ordinary church tunes. Most of them had music-books open before them, and they sang the different parts. Their voices were good; those of the women particularly sweet. When the hymn was concluded, Mr. Crane, the Missionary, addressed them in English, an old Indian interpreting the address to his Red brethren, sentence by sentence. It was listened to with profound attention. Another hymn succeeded, sung by the Indians; after which, Mr. Crane offered up a prayer, and then delivered a discourse, which was in like manner interpreted sentence by sentence. At its conclusion, one of the Christian Indians was called upon to pray in his native language before the whole assembly, which he did with great fervour and emotion. An Indian chief named Longboard then rose, and spontaneously addressed the assembly. He was dressed in a style somewhat superior to most of them, and wore at his breast a large silver medal bearing the bust of Washington. He folded his arms as he rose, and his drawling accents were in striking contrast to the impassioned prayer of the preceding speaker. His speech, which lasted about ten minutes, was ostensibly in support of the Missionary, but had for its real object, to prop his own authority, in order that, when a fit opportunity offered, it might be exerted in an opposite way. He has, since then, thrown off the mask, and been compelled to retire with his adherents into Canada.* At

* This chief had formerly possessed considerable influence in his nation; and he often boasted that it was altogether in consequence of his addresses, that any improvement in the character and conduct of the Indians had taken place. Jealousy of the Missionary's ascendancy, and mortification at finding his own influence undermined by the introduction of civilization, were probably the motives which prompted him and some others to make a vigorous

the conclusion of Longboard's oration, the Indians united in singing another hymn, and the service was concluded with the benediction.

Mr. Duncan was assured, that, since the introduction of Christianity among them, a material improvement had taken place in the condition of the Tuscaroras, who had previously been in a state of as great debasement as any of the surrounding tribes. They now pay considerable attention to agriculture, and, in addition to maize, have begun to cultivate wheat; they are honest in their transactions, sober, industrious, and, as a community, happy and comfortable beyond what they ever were before.*

Other Missionary stations have been established by the American Board, at Mackinaw, on an island in the straits between Lakes Huron and Michigan; at New Stockbridge, on the west side of Lake Michigan; and at Maumee, on the river of that name, near the Ottawas, 10 miles S. of Perrysburg. The Western and Southern tribes have also occupied the attention of the Board; and great advances have been made by some of the Cherokees more especially, in knowledge, morals, and the arts of civilized life. To the interesting subject of these Missions, we shall have occasion to advert hereafter.

The little town of Niagara is built upon the British side of the river, close to the town of Ontario.† Fort

effort to put down the new doctrines, and expel the teachers. The contest occasioned considerable confusion for a time, but terminated in the re-establishment of peace and harmony.

* Duncan, vol. ii. pp. 62—77. See also, "A Sabbath among the Tuscarora Indians," by the same Author. Glasgow, 1819; and Miss. Register for 1829, p. 140.

† "Map-makers and travellers," says Mr. Duncan, "persist in calling it Newark, but that name is not acknowledged by the inhabitants."

George, a turf entrenchment of considerable extent, stands close by the town. On the opposite bank of the river, and close upon the edge of the lake, is Fort Niagara, a stone fortification, originally constructed by the French, but considerably improved and strengthened by the Americans, particularly since the last war; and a strong breastwork has been thrown up to resist the encroachment of the water, which threatened to undermine the whole fabric.

The Welland Canal, connecting the waters of Lake Erie with Lake Ontario, would properly fall under our notice in the description of Canada; yet, a reference to this noble result of individual enterprise seems called for in this place.* Captain B. Hall gives the following description of it.

"The level of Lake Erie above Lake Ontario, is 330 feet; which is surmounted by a series of thirty-seven locks, cut on the ridge of the mountain facing Lake Ontario. The whole canal is 41½ miles long, and is of a size to admit the largest class of sailing vessels navigating the lakes. These are schooners from 90 to 120 tons burden; and they will pass readily enough through the locks, which are made 100 feet long and 22 feet wide. The Welland Canal is 58 feet wide at the surface, 26 at bottom, and carries eight feet water at its shallowest places. By a judicious set of arrangements, this may readily be augmented to 10 feet, if vessels of a greater draught should be built for the lakes. A great part of the channel was

* "The bold and workmanlike idea of making a ship canal from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario, originated with Mr. William Hamilton Merritt, a resident at the village of St. Catherine's in Upper Canada, through which spot the canal now passes. All parties concur in saying, that to his perseverance and knowledge of the subject, as well as to his great personal exertions, this useful work is mainly indebted for its success."—B. Hall, vol. i. p. 215.

ready made by nature. The Welland and Grand Rivers, which form a considerable portion of the whole work, are, indeed, more like canals than running streams, their flow being imperceptible. Ten or twelve miles of the canal, also, are cut through a marsh; by which operation, an extensive tract of rich soil has been laid bare, and will be brought at once into cultivation, in a part of the country where such land is most valuable. . ...The chain of locks by which the canal descends that side of the hill which faces Lake Ontario, was formed under greater advantages than the series at Lockport (on the Erie Canal). They lie, during a great part of the way, along the course of a ravine or natural cleft, so admirably suited to the purposes required, that, in many instances, little more has been found necessary, than merely cutting a towing-path on the banks, after damming up a series of large ponds or reservoirs; which serve not only the primary purpose of feeding the locks, but also furnish water in such profuse quantity, that numerous mills and manufactories will be supplied, even in the driest season, by the mere waste waters of the canal."*

The Welland Canal is said to have one important advantage over its rival, arising from its southern end (or that which opens into Lake Erie) lying further westward than the opening of the American canal; in consequence of which, the ice blocks up the entrance to the latter at Buffalo, several weeks longer than the mouth of the Canadian canal. Lake Erie, which is not in general above ten or twelve fathoms deep,† is frozen over every season; while Ontario is so deep that ice never forms upon it. "It thus acts the part of a

* B. Hall, vol. i. pp. 216, 17.

† Mr. Howison says, from 15 to 18 fathoms.

great heater," Captain B. Hall remarks, "to temper the severity of the winter in those regions; and we find that the climate on both sides of this magnificent body of water, which is 170 miles in length by 35 in breadth, is actually much milder in winter, and cooler in summer, than either at New York or Quebec."*

The communication between the sea and Lake Erie, is at present almost exclusively enjoyed by the Americans, who send their goods either direct, by the Great Canal, to Buffalo, or turn out of it at Syracuse, and having entered Lake Ontario at Oswego, proceed to the Welland, and thus easily reach Lake Erie. But, were a canal cut round the rapids on the St. Lawrence, the most advantageous and direct communication with the sea, this Traveller represents, would be, not by the Hudson, but by the St. Lawrence. "It now costs the Americans 180 miles of canal and 570 feet of lockage, to establish a communication between the ocean and Lake Ontario; whereas, if the improvements were completed round the rapids of the St. Lawrence, 60 miles of canal, and 194 feet of lockage, would accomplish the same purpose."†

We must now return to the Atlantic coast, in order to take a survey of the maritime States to the north of New York. Our description of New England will of course commence with its capital, the birth-place of American Independence.

* We take these measurements from the statements of this Traveller, although differing from the authorities followed in our general description of the Lakes.

† B. Hall, vol. ii. pp. 222—227.

BOSTON.

Boston, the capital of Massachusetts, may boast of what, in America, must be called antiquity. It is a city two hundred years old. Philadelphia was a forest more than half a century after Governor Winthrop had laid the foundations of the City of the Pilgrims; and New York was an insignificant village long after its rival had become a great commercial town. It had increased but slowly in size during the last century, prior to the year 1790, when it contained 18,038 inhabitants.* In 1800, its population had risen to 24,937; in 1810, to 33,250; in 1820, to 43,298. In point of commercial importance it ranks as the fourth city in the Union; New York, Philadelphia, and New Orleans, having now got before it.

The city is built on an irregular peninsula, nearly two miles in length, at the bottom of Massachusetts Bay, and united to the main land by an isthmus more than a mile in length. The harbour is safe and commodious, strongly defended against maritime attack. The town has outgrown the limits of its natural position; and Charleston upon an opposite peninsula, and South Boston upon the main land, may be regarded as integral parts of the city. "Circumscribed, however, as they are," says Mr. Duncan, "the citizens have had the good taste to reserve a park of upwards of forty acres, upon which no buildings have been allowed to encroach. The Mall, as this is called, is surrounded with spreading elms, and is the finest within the limits of any considerable town in the

* Morse, in 1780, gives, as a recent computation, 14,640, (of which 6570 were males, and 8070 females,) exclusive of strangers, who made, he says, nearly one-third of the population.

United States. This obvious ornament has been strangely overlooked in the larger American cities, notwithstanding the abundance of elbow-room which all of them enjoy."* The streets in the old town, with a few exceptions, are, according to Dr. Dwight, "narrow, crooked, and disagreeable. The settlers appear to have built where they wished, where a vote permitted, or where danger or necessity forced them to build. The streets strike the eye of a traveller as if intended to be mere passages from one neighbourhood to another,—the result of casualty, not of contrivance,"—just like a European city. A large proportion of the buildings too, were erected at periods when the inhabitants were in straitened circumstances, and their knowledge of architecture was very defective. The people of New York and Philadelphia, says the learned Traveller, to a great extent, live in hired houses which have been erected by professional builders; whereas the citizens of Boston have very generally lived in houses of their own, which each individual has built according to his own taste or ability. Many of the modern houses in Boston, however, are superior to those of every other American city. Houses of stone are interspersed in great numbers through most parts of the town; but in West Boston, and still more on Mount Vernon, (the modern name of Beacon Hill,) they appear to peculiar advantage. Previously to the year 1796, the latter spot was almost absolutely a waste. In that year, it was purchased by three Boston gentlemen, by whom, at a great expense, the ground was levelled, its steep western declivity cut down, and a field of nearly thirty acres

* "It is remarkable," observes Dr. Dwight, "that the scheme of forming public squares, so beautiful, and in great towns so conducive to health, should have been almost universally forgotten."

converted by this means into "one of the most beautiful building-grounds in the world." * In splendour of building and nobleness of situation, this West End of Boston is not, we are told, "within many degrees of a rival" on that side of the Atlantic.

Boston struck Mr. Duncan as having altogether much more the appearance of an English town, than New York. "Many of the buildings are of a fine white granite, and most of the others are of brick. The streets are very compactly built; and although many of them are narrow and crooked, all exhibit a degree of order and cleanliness which will in vain be looked for in New York.

"On a finely rising ground at the upper part of the Mall, stands the State House, a building of humbler pretensions, as to size and materials, than the New York City Hall, but, in situation and architectural outline, greatly superior. It is nearly square; in front is a lofty, projecting colonnade of the Corinthian order, twelve columns in length, springing from a piazza of rusticated arches, but unhappily bearing only a balustrade, over which rises a small attic story with a pediment; and overtopping all, is a large circular dome, terminated with a small square lantern, from which a most commanding view is obtained of the surrounding country. In front is Boston Bay, studded with nearly forty islands, with fortifications and a light-house; the shores which surround its ample basin, advancing and receding with most capricious irregularity, and forming numerous capes and peninsulas, on one of the largest of which the city stands.

* Captain Basil Hall styles Boston a beautiful town. "Nothing we had yet seen in America," he says, "came near to Boston in the cleanliness, neatness, and, in many instances, the elegance of the streets."

The vast amphitheatre round the bay, exhibits a country richly variegated with hill and valley, immense forests and cultivated ground, and sprinkled with above twenty little towns of snowy whiteness, among which a dozen of spires may be counted." *

Among the other public buildings are about five-and-twenty churches; † the State Prison; a Lunatic Asylum; a General Hospital; a Court-house; an Alms-house; Faneuil Hall; a Medical College; a Custom-house; and a Theatre.‡

The State Prison, or Penitentiary, consists of a range of buildings of granite, containing, besides the apartments for lodging the prisoners, extensive work-shops for carrying on various handicraft arts, with a spacious open court, which affords a free circulation of air to the whole establishment. The prison is sur-

* Duncan, vol. i. pp. 46, 47. The State House, which stands on the eastern side of Beacon Hill, is 173 feet in length by 61. It cost about 40,000*l.* sterling in building.—Dwight, vol. i. p. 454.

† Morse, in 1789, states the number of places of public worship in Boston to be sixteen; *viz.*, Congregationalists, nine; Episcopalians, three; Baptists, two; Quakers, one; Universalists, one. Dr. Dwight, in 1797, found them increased to eighteen, but his enumeration is different; *viz.*, Presbyterians, ten; Episcopal, three; Baptist, two; Methodist, one; Roman Catholic, one; Universalist, one. In 1800, another Presbyterian church, another Episcopal one, another Baptist, another Methodist, another Universalist, and an African church had been added; making twenty-four. Mr. Duncan, distinguishing the congregations as orthodox, or the contrary, states, that in more than half of the churches, (*viz.* one Episcopal and eleven or twelve Presbyterian or Congregational,) Socinian sentiments are avowedly or disguisedly promulgated. The other churches are, he adds, three Episcopalian, four Baptist, (one for Blacks,) two Congregationalist, two Methodist, two Universalist, and one Romish. Duncan, vol. i. p. 87. In this estimate, the proportion of Unitarian congregations, there is reason to believe, is greatly overrated; and according to recent information, they are not on the increase.

There were two theatres, but one has been pulled down.

rounded with a high wall, with turrets and platforms at the four corners, on which sentinels keep guard with loaded muskets. All the prisoners, except those condemned to a solitary cell, are employed in some manual art. Part of them are kept in regular employment by tradesmen who provide them with work: the remainder are variously employed on behalf of the establishment. A small proportion of the earnings of each prisoner is allowed to accumulate for his own benefit, that he may be stimulated to labour, and, when his term of punishment expires, have a little money to supply his immediate exigencies. At the time of Mr. Duncan's visit, the classification in this prison was very imperfect, and there were other drawbacks upon the efficacy of the system. Since then, (in 1825,) a society has been formed at Boston, for "the Improvement of Public Prisons," by whom some important measures have been carried into effect. A new building has been erected within the limits of the State Prison in Charleston; and an act has passed the State legislature, giving the city council of Boston authority to send juvenile delinquents to a separate penitentiary. The neglected and consequently degraded state of the coloured population, is assigned as one main cause of the frequency and increase of crime in this State. In 1826, the total population of Massachusetts was 523,000, of which the coloured population was 7000, or one seventy-fourth part: the whole number of convicts was 314; the coloured convicts, 50, or one-sixth. In Connecticut and New Jersey, the coloured convicts formed a third; in New York, about one-fourth; and in Pennsylvania, more than one-third of the whole number.*

* See "Seventh Report of the Society for the Improvement of

The Lunatic Hospital is well situated, a mile and a half from Boston. The direct approach to it is by one of the many wooden bridges which, "with their wearisome but needful length," connect the town with the surrounding country. The buildings crown the brow of a rising-ground which swells gradually from the water, commanding a fine view of the city and bay. Ten acres of ground, with an ancient mansion, to which new buildings have been attached, are appropriated to this benevolent institution. The General Hospital is "a large and well ventilated granite building, abundantly roomy and well ordered in every part." *

Boston is honourably pre-eminent in the number of its literary and educational institutions. From the "School Report" of 1826, it appears, that the number of schools in this city, is not less than 215, although the population is under 50,000.† The public schools are maintained by a tax; and as every person has a right to send his children to these establishments, the poor obtain education almost gratis. The rich mostly prefer sending their children to pri-

Prison Discipline." London, 1827. Appendix, pp. 306—329. Some highly interesting extracts from the Report of the Boston Society, will be found in this highly valuable collection of documents.

* "Indeed," says Captain Basil Hall, whose words are cited in the text, "I hardly ever saw an establishment of the kind which could pretend to rival it, except, perhaps, the Infirmary at Derby."

† In January 1821, the number of "primary public schools" for the instruction of children between four and seven years of age, was thirty-five; and the number of children belonging to them was, 885 girls and 921 boys. A general regulation provides, that no school shall have less than forty, or more than fifty children attached to it. The teachers are all females. These public primary schools are considered as superior to the private ones. The public schools for older children were, in 1796, six English, and one Latin Grammar School, containing 1300 children. They must now be more numerous.—See Dwight, vol. i. p. 460. Basil Hall, vol. ii. p. 164.

vate academies. The public schools are under the inspection of a committee of gentlemen annually chosen, whose duty it is to visit them once in three months. "The Bostonians are very proud, and perhaps justly so," remarks Captain Basil Hall, "of this system of public instruction." Boston is rich in public libraries, among which that of the Athenæum, a literary institution incorporated in 1817, claims pre-eminence. In works on American history, the collection is said to be unrivalled. A museum is attached to it. The other literary societies of Boston are, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; the American Antiquarian Society; the Massachusetts' Medical Society; the Massachusetts' Historical Society; and the Massachusetts' Agricultural Society. Its charitable associations are not less numerous. Among these are, a Bible Society for Massachusetts; several Missionary Societies; an Institution for the relief of the widows and children of deceased ministers; a Humane Society for the Relief of distressed Seamen; and a Female Asylum.

About three miles from Boston, is Harvard College, the Cambridge University of America; the most ancient and most amply endowed collegiate establishment in the Union. The foundation of this public seminary was laid in the year 1636, by the appropriation of 400*l.* for the purpose of a public school, by the General Court of the infant colony. In 1638, the Rev. John Harvard, of Charleston, bequeathed to it one-half of his property, amounting to nearly 800*l.* The institution was now dignified with the name of Harvard College; and the town, which had hitherto been called Newtown, was named Cambridge, in honour of that seat of science in England, at which a great number of the principal colonists had received

their education. Thus, remarks Dr. Dwight, "within ten years after the little flock which commenced the settlement at Massachusetts, landed at Salem, and within eighteen years after the first foot was set on the shore of Plymouth, a college was endowed by them, and established." In 1650, the first charter was granted by a General Court, constituting the President and Fellows of the College a corporate body. This charter was confirmed by the constitution of the State, when the style of "the University in Cambridge" was first legally given. The professorships of divinity and of mathematics and natural philosophy were founded by Mr. Thomas Hollis, a merchant of London, in 1722 and 1726; that of Hebrew, by the Hon. Thomas Hancock, an eminent merchant of Boston, in 1765. Other professorships have been added from time to time, by subsequent benefactions. They now amount to upwards of twenty, including the Medical Department, which is an integral part of the Institution, although, for the greater convenience of medical students, it occupies buildings in Boston. The University now comprises five colleges and a new hall, (erected in 1814, at an expense of nearly 17,000*l.*,) containing the chapel, lecture-rooms, dining-rooms, and kitchen: this hall, which is of fine white granite, is reckoned the handsomest building in Massachusetts. The buildings stand in an inclosed plain, fourteen acres in extent, sheltered on three sides by forest trees, and in the immediate vicinity of an extensive common. The library, containing (in 1820) upwards of 25,000 volumes, is the best in the United States. The philosophical apparatus is also valuable. The museum has been enriched by a collection of mineralogical specimens, principally presented by Dr. Lettsom of London, and the Paris Committee of Public Safety.

There is also a valuable collection of anatomical wax models, the workmanship of Italian artists.* The academical course is completed in four years, at an expense of not less than about 100 guineas a-year: in most cases, the students expend a great deal more.

"The literary and scientific reputation of Harvard University," says Mr. Duncan, "stands very high; and except Yale College, none in this country can contest with it the pre-eminence. There is one feature, however, in its character, which excites the most melancholy reflections. Its theological creed is undisguised Socinianism; and it is said, that nearly all the professors are of these sentiments.....The state of religion in the capital of New England is far from cheering. Whether the contagious influence spread from Harvard University to Boston, or from Boston to it, I know not; but, though both were once distinguished for evangelical sentiments, both are now alike characterized by the lamentable predominance of Socinianism."†

The rise and progress of what is called Unitarianism in America, is a subject which it scarcely falls within the province of the present work to advert to, except in reference to its supposed connection with the

* Partly imported from Florence, and in part the workmanship of an Italian emigrant. At Boston, there is another collection of anatomical preparations in wax, beautifully executed by a Dr. Williams.

† Duncan, vol. ii. pp. 81, 87. "During 140 years, Boston was probably more distinguished for religion, than any city of the same size in the world. An important change has, however, within a period of no great length, taken place in the religious opinions of the Bostonians. Before this period, moderate Calvinism very generally prevailed. At the present time, Unitarianism appears to be the predominating system. It is believed that neither ministers nor people have had any reason to congratulate themselves on this change."—Dwight, vol. i. p. 470.

national character and institutions. Captain Basil Hall was "forcibly struck," he tells us, "with an important analogy between the doctrines of this *Liberal* Christianity and those principles of government which have gained, by gradual advances, the entire political ascendancy in America;" and he thinks that Unitarianism may fairly be called "the Democracy of Religion." Had not this Writer been biassed by the determination to make democracy answerable for everything he disliked in the United States, he would not, perhaps, have overlooked the fact, that Socinianism is not, never has been, and never can be, either in America or in Europe, the religion of the people. Modern Unitarianism has fixed its strongholds in the Swiss Cantons, under a form of government the most purely aristocratical, perhaps, in the world; and long before the contagion had spread across the Atlantic, it had infected the Presbyterian churches of Geneva, France, Germany, and England. It has always commenced, not with the people, but with the pastors; and its natural history marks it as the hybrid production of Deism and Nominal Christianity. Thus, at Geneva, the writings of the French Encyclopedists, together with the personal influence of Voltaire,* Rousseau, and Gibbon, mainly contributed to produce that secret defection from the faith avowed in the public symbols of the church, which at length proclaimed itself from the pulpits of the city of Calvin. In America, its close affinity to undisguised infidelity, has been not less unequivocally

* Voltaire, writing to D'Alembert in 1757, represents the Calvinists in Geneva as very few, and all the honest folks as Deists. Six years after, he declares with high satisfaction to the same correspondent: "*Il n'y a plus dans la ville de Calvin que quelques gredins qui croient qu consubstantiel*" (meaning the deity of Christ).

manifested; and the influence of Paine, Jefferson,* and Franklin in like manner paved the way for its cheerless and desolating triumphs. Of the state of things at Boston, nine years ago, we have the following account in the Letters of an intelligent English Traveller.

"From all that I can learn, it appears that Unitarian opinions have been entertained in New England for fifty years at least, and perhaps much longer. Generally speaking, however, they were not very openly avowed till much more recently; some of those who held them concealing their sentiments because they were unpopular,—others, because they felt indifferent about them,—and others, more reflecting and philosophical, because they conceived that their extension would be most effectually promoted at that particular time by reserve and caution. The first Unitarian congregation formed in America, was established in the King's chapel soon after the Revolution. This was the chapel in which the Governor worshipped; but, becoming private property, the majority, having changed their sentiments, expunged from the church prayers all allusion to Trinitarian doctrines, and openly renounced the Trinity: the minority of course retired. In 1792, a Unitarian congregation was formed at Portland in the district of Maine, and another at Saco, a small town twenty miles further to the south. Both these congregations soon expired, but another has since been established at Portland.

"As Unitarian sentiments became more general, they were gradually avowed with less reserve; yet, the

* Speaking of Mr. Jefferson, Dr. Priestley uses in a letter, these remarkable words: "He is generally considered as an unbeliever; if so, however, he cannot be far from us, and I hope in the way to be not only almost, but altogether what we are."

pulpits of many ministers who were supposed to have imbibed them, gave no evidence of the fact, except that of *omissions*. This at length brought upon them the charge of insincerity from their more orthodox brethren. The imputation was repelled with warmth; and the public were left in great doubt as to the precise sentiments of many of their pastors. Dr. Morse, who had been the most prominent of those who publicly manifested their regret at the defection of their brethren from the common faith, was accused of misrepresentation; and the most candid felt it almost impossible to arrive at the real state of things. At this time, Dr. Morse happened to meet with Mr. Belsham's Life of Lindsey, in which he found his own representations borne out by letters and documents transmitted from Boston by the Unitarians themselves. These he strung together in the form of a pamphlet, under the title of "American Unitarianism."* This pamphlet was eagerly read, and produced a great sensation. It disclosed the actual state of things, brought the question to an issue, and ranged in opposite ranks those advocates of conflicting sentiments, who had hitherto been confusedly intermingled. A paper controversy has since been carried on at intervals, as particular circumstances or occasional excitement prompted; and both parties, as usual, claim the victory.

"In the mean time, Unitarianism has advanced; but, although it is evident that it prevails to a considerable extent, Dr. Morse assured me, that he did

* "American Unitarianism, or a Brief History of the Progress and Present State of the Unitarian Churches in America. By the Rev. Thomas Belsham. Extracted from his Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Theophilus Lindsey. Boston, 1815" (our copy is the fourth edition).

not believe it was gaining ground at present. If the number of its advocates seems to have augmented during the last year or two, he was disposed to ascribe the apparent increase to a more open avowal of their sentiments by many who were Unitarians before, rather than to a more general conviction of the truth of Unitarianism.....There are comparatively few Unitarians, except in New England; and very few there, except in the towns on the coast. In Boston, I believe, there are seven or eight congregations of Unitarians, of different shades. In Baltimore, a splendid and costly Unitarian chapel was lately finished. In Philadelphia, there is a small Unitarian place of worship. In New York, a new Unitarian chapel (or what the orthodox consider as such) was opened in 1821.....But Boston is the head-quarters of Unitarianism.

"The most important feature in the history of the present state of Unitarianism in this country, is the strong hold it has obtained in Harvard College, the most extensive, and, in a literary point of view, the most respectable college in the Union, in which a large proportion of the younger members of the most opulent families in the different States receive their education. Many parents are prevented by religious considerations from sending their children thither; but the objection has less influence than you would expect, among those who are opposed to Unitarian sentiments. This, and perhaps Transylvania University at Lexington, are, happily, the only colleges under the influence of Unitarian sentiments. Yale College, Princeton, Columbia, and all the others that I am acquainted with, are opposed to them: but the noble theological Institution at Andover, liberally endowed, formed for the express purpose of raising up able champions

to contend earnestly for the faith at home, and accomplished and devoted missionaries to diffuse it abroad, blessed with learned and pious professors ardently engaged in their official duties, is likely to prove the strongest barrier to the progress of Unitarian sentiments." *

At what period Socinianism gained the predominancy in Harvard College, does not appear; but it was not longer ago than 1813, that the alteration in the doctrinal character of the prayers attracted public attention. The insidious and clandestine policy pursued by the Professor of Divinity and his colleagues, long concealed the revolution that was taking place. In this respect, there is the closest analogy between the history of "American Unitarianism," and that of the gradual development of Socinianism in the churches of Geneva. The doctrines which it was wished to explode, were at first suppressed, rather than opposed; and "the religion which consists in not believing," was dexterously insinuated by a method correspondent to its negative character.† The greater number of those who were thus inoculated with the virus of scepticism, were unaware of the process by which the change in their religious feelings was produced. "The majority of those who are Unitarian," it was avowed by one of the party, "are perhaps of

* Hodgson, vol. ii. pp. 237—246.

† The process has been thus not unfairly described. "By separating the mind insensibly from the objects of its belief, it gradually weakens the impression of their existence, till at length indifference becomes doubt, and doubt, not long supportable to him that has once believed, drives the mind to disbelief. In this state, the Socinian system offers a plausible, and, compared with open infidelity, a creditable refuge from the hauntings of conscience and the agitations of uncertainty; and thus, the opinions become an easy conquest."—Eclectic Review, N. S. vol. iv. p. 270, article, American Unitarianism.

these sentiments, without any distinct consciousness of being so." The negative character of the creed, in fact, almost defies definition. The shades of opinion which it includes, are almost infinite. Generally speaking, it is but the chronic form into which the disease of infidelity is apt to settle, in the minds of those who have been taught to enthrone reason in the place of Revelation, and to mistake for truth itself the organ by which truth is apprehended. The "spirit of the Pilgrims" still survives, however, at Boston; and it would be as unjust to impute the partial spread of any form of infidelity in America to its political institutions, as to ascribe the Arianism of Clarke, or the Socinianism[1] of Lindsey, to the constitution or ecclesiastical polity of our own country.

Dr. Dwight has devoted a chapter to the character of the inhabitants of Boston; and as so much loose and vague remark has been put forth by various Travellers, upon the national character of the Americans, (who differ among themselves not less widely than the natives of the different countries comprised in the United Kingdom,) the observations of the learned American must be regarded as claiming attention.

"The Bostonians, almost without an exception, are derived from one country and a single stock. They are all descendants of Englishmen, and of course are united by all the great bonds of society,—language, religion, government, manners, and interests. With a very small number of exceptions, they speak the English language in the English manner; are Protestants; hold the great principles of English liberty; are governed voluntarily by the English common law, and by statutes strongly resembling those of Great Britain, under a constitution essentially copied from the British, and by courts in almost every respect

the same. Their education, also, differs very little in the school, the shop, the counting-house, or the university. Although they are republicans, and generally congregationalists, they are natively friends of good order and firm government, and feel the reputation of Old Massachusetts in much the same manner as an Englishman feels the honour of Old England.

"Every New Englander, with hardly an exception, is taught to read, write, and keep accounts. By means of this privilege, knowledge is, probably, more universally diffused here, than in any other considerable town in the world. A great number of the inhabitants also have been liberally educated.....Boston is distinguished for its habits of business. A man who is not believed to follow some useful business, can scarcely acquire or retain even a decent reputation. A traveller passing through it, is struck with the peculiar appearance of activity every where visible. Almost all whom he meets, move with a sprightliness differing very sensibly from what he observes in New York or Philadelphia.*

"Not less distinguished are the inhabitants, particularly the middle and inferior classes, for their intelligence and information. In a singular degree they are acquainted with the affairs of the town itself, and with the residence and character of almost every inhabitant. I have rarely met a child who could not tell me both the street and the house for which I inquired.† Nor

* Owing to this "ardour" of temperament, the Bostonians, Dr. Dwight says, are distinguished by a pronunciation unusually rapid, frequently contracting two short syllables into one, and rendering the language still rougher by a violent junction of consonants; as Swed'n, Brit'n, gard'n, vess'l. At the same time, they are "perfectly free from the multiform brogue which salutes the ears of a traveller in New York and Philadelphia."

† This remark may illustrate the observation cited from Mr.

are they less distinguished for civility. A Bostonian, if not pressed by business of his own, will readily accompany a stranger to the house which he wishes to find, and will scarcely appear to feel as if he conferred the least obligation.

"The people of Boston are characteristically distinguished by a lively imagination, an ardour easily kindled, a sensibility soon felt and strongly expressed. They admire, where graver people would only approve; detest, where cooler minds would only dislike; applaud a performance where others would listen in silence; and hiss where a less susceptible audience would only frown. This character renders them sometimes more, sometimes less amiable, usually less cautious, and often more exposed to future regret. From this source, their language is frequently hyperbolical, and their pictures of objects in any way interesting, highly coloured.*

"Hence, also, their enterprises are sudden, bold, and sometimes rash. A general spirit of adventure prevails here, which, in numerous instances, has become the means of attempts made with honour and success, in cases where many of their commercial

Cooper at p. 214 of this volume; that New York and New Orleans are the only cities in America that have not the character of a provincial town. Every man's virtues or vices, wisdom or folly, excite in Boston, Dr. Dwight says, "much the same attention, and are examined much in the same manner, as in a country village."

* "The Boston style is a phrase proverbially used throughout a considerable part of this country, to denote a florid, pompous manner of writing, and has been thought by persons at a distance to be the predominant style of this region. It cannot be denied, that several publications written in this manner have issued from the press here, and for a time been much celebrated. Most of the orations delivered on the 5th of March, may be produced as examples. Still, it has never been true that this mode of writing was either general in this town, or adopted by men of superior talents." —Dwight, vol. i. p. 469.

neighbours would have refused to adventure at all. The manner in which they commenced the trade of Nootka Sound, and circumnavigated the globe, advantageously illustrate this observation. A ship belonging to Joseph Barrett, Esq. and others, sailed round the earth three times; and a sloop of moderate size, once. Few merchants in America would, I believe, have resolved on these enterprises, and few seamen have executed them. On the other hand, the dealers in Georgia lands found many more customers in Boston, than in New York. The tea shipped to Boston by the East India Company, was destroyed: in New York and Philadelphia, it was stored." †

The enterprising spirit by which the Bostonians, and the New Englanders generally, are distinguished, has characterized them from the very foundation of the colony; and it formed one topic of eloquent panegyric in the splendid oration of Burke, on moving his famous Resolutions of Conciliation with the Colonies. "Look," he said, "at the manner in which the people of New England have of late carried on the whale-fishery. Whilst we follow them among the tumbling

* The following remarks, intended for the Americans generally, but more especially applicable to the New England emigrants, will illustrate this feature of their character. "The villages on the American frontier, form a striking contrast with those on the Canada side. There, bustle, improvement, and animation fill every street: here, dulness, decay, and apathy discourage enterprise, and repress exertion. It is said, that not one-tenth part of the houses in Buffalo are paid for, and that the greater number of these are already mortgaged. The Americans build houses and make improvements entirely for the benefit of posterity, as they generally engage in speculations so disproportioned to their means, that ruin and insolvency overtake them before they can realize what they have projected, or enjoy what they have accomplished."—Howison, p. 131.

† Dwight., vol. i. pp. 465—468.

mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating into the deepest frozen recesses of Hudson's Bay and Davis's Straits,—whilst we are looking for them beneath the arctic circle, we hear that they have pierced into the opposite region of polar cold; that they are at the antipodes, and engaged under the frozen serpent of the South. Falkland Island, which seemed too remote and romantic an object for the grasp of national ambition, is but a stage and resting-place in the progress of their victorious industry. Nor is the equinoctial heat more discouraging to them, than the accumulated winter of both the poles. We know that whilst some of them draw the line and strike the harpoon on the coast of Africa, others run the longitude, and pursue their gigantic game along the coast of Brazil. No sea but what is vexed by their fisheries. No climate that is not witness to their toils. Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried this most perilous mode of hard industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people; a people who are still, as it were, but in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood." *

It is curious enough to compare with this splendid encomium upon the adventurous spirit of mercantile enterprise, the caricature of the New Englander drawn by an American Writer, in which the same general lineaments are nevertheless preserved. "These Yankees are certainly a very strange race of people. You will see them with their eel-skins upon their hair, to save the expense of barbers, and their ear-rings in their ears, to improve their sight, to see how to cheat

* Burke's Speeches, vol. i. p. 264.

you better, I suppose. They would sooner die than part with one of these ornaments, unless you pay them well for it. At the same time, they live upon nothing. A rasher of pork is a feast for them, even on holidays. Their favourite drink is nothing but switchel or molasses and water, which, they tell you, is better than burgundy or champaign. They are, however, better taught than fed, and make the finest, boldest sailors in the world. They can sail to the North Pole and back in an egg-shell, if the ice does not break it. Indeed, they are seamen by birth, and box the compass in their cradles. You know our genteel laziness unfits us (Virginians) for the drudgery of commerce: so we leave it all to the Yankees. These crafting part of them come here at all seasons in their sloops and schooners, bringing a miscellaneous cargo of all sorts of *notions*, not metaphysical, but material, such as cheese, butter, potatoes, cranberries, onions, beets, *coffins*;—you smile, but it is a fact, that, understanding some years ago, that the yellow fever was raging here with great violence, some of them very charitably risked their own lives to bring us a large quantity of ready-made coffins, of all sizes, in nests, one within another, to supply customers at a moment's warning; an insult which we have hardly forgiven them yet. You will see them sailing up into all our bays, rivers, and creeks; wherever the water runs. As the winter comes on, they creep into some little harbour, where they anchor their vessels, and open store on board, retailing out their articles of every kind to the poor countrymen who come to buy. Towards the spring, they sail away with a load of planks or shingles, which they often get *very cheap*. Indeed, the whole race of Yankee seamen are certainly the most enterprising

people in the world. They are in all quarters of the globe where a penny is to be made. In short, they love money a little better than their own lives. What is worst, they are not always very nice about the means of making it, but are ready to break laws like cobwebs, whenever it suits their interest." *

"This," remarks Lieutenant Hall, (from whose pages we take the citation,) "is confessedly a caricature, but its distorted lineaments may help us to some of the true features of the New-Englanders. They are the Scotchmen of the United States. Inhabiting a country of limited extent, and incapable of maintaining its own population, their industry naturally and successfully directed itself to commercial pursuits; but, as even these became gradually insufficient to maintain their growing numbers, they began, at an early period of their history, to seek for settlements among their neighbours to the South and West.....They were far from acceptable guests. The plodding Dutch and Germans of New York and Pennsylvania held them in particular abhorrence, and, as far as they could, hunted them from their neighbourhood, whenever they attempted to gain a footing in it. 'It is,' says the Author of the Olive Branch,† 'within the memory of those over whose chins no razor has ever mowed a harvest, that Yankee and sharper were regarded as nearly synonymous. And this was not among the low and the illiberal, the base and the vulgar: it pervaded all ranks of society. In the Middle and

* "Letters from Virginia," lett. vi.

† This political publication, by William Carey, of Philadelphia, is supposed to have had a greater run than any work of the sort, since Paine's "Common Sense," seven editions having been called for in thirteen months.

Southern States, traders were universally very much on their guard against Yankee tricks, when dealing with those of the Eastern.'

"It is, therefore, to this class of adventurers and emigrants we are to look for the least favourable traits of the New England character. Patient, industrious, frugal, enterprising, and intelligent, it cannot be denied that they are frequently knavish, mean, and avaricious, as men who make gain the master-spring of their actions. Here we perceive the force and meaning of the Virginian satire; but here, too, its application must be restricted. Even emigration seems to be so far moulded into a system, that it is no longer the resource merely of rogues and vagabonds,* but is embraced as an eligible mode of bettering their condition, by the young and enterprising of all classes. It is a wholesome drain to the exuberance of population, and preserves at home that comparative equality on which public happiness and morals depend.

"The New Englanders should be seen at home, to be correctly judged of: as far as testimony goes, it is universally in their favour. 'I feel a pride and pleasure,' says Mr. Carey, 'in doing justice to the yeomanry of the Eastern States: they will not suffer in a comparison with the same class of men in any part of the world. They are upright, sober, orderly, and regular; shrewd, intelligent, and well-informed; and I believe there is not a greater degree of genuine native urbanity among the yeomanry of any country under the canopy of heaven.' † This is the character

* Whether the first Yankee emigrants peculiarly deserved this character, may reasonably be questioned; but the prejudice against them then existed in all its strength.

† Olive Branch, p. 275.

my own experience recognised in the inhabitants of the beautiful Genesee country, which has been entirely cleared and settled by New Englanders.

"Their religion is scarcely more their glory in their own eyes, than (it is) their opprobrium in those of their neighbours. Pretensions to superior sanctity are always received with jealousy, especially by a people among whom devotion is in repute. The contrast too, betwixt the pious seeming and substantial knavery of many of the New England adventurers, naturally brings these pretensions into still greater discredit, and extorts a wish that they had either a little more morality or a little less religion. There is, however, no reason to doubt, that, in the bulk of the inhabitants, religion is not merely a show and pretext, but a belief and practice. Men tire of mutual hypocrisy, when it has grown too common to impose." *

"Education," remarks Mr. Duncan, "which prevails much more universally throughout the New England States, than in any other portion of the Union, and is frequently accompanied with religious instruction, has given to the natives a very decided cast of national character, resembling, in many respects, that for which the Scots among Europeans have long been distinguished. The kind of education also in the two countries, is remarkably similar: it is more general than accurate, and more useful than elegant, imparted by means of district or parochial schools, and, in this country, almost entirely without expense to those who receive it. The characteristics

* F. Hall's Canada, pp. 339—343. These remarks come with at least the grace of impartiality from a writer who has taken care, by a virulent and ignorant tirade against Calvinism, and a high compliment to the Unitarians, to let us know that the religion of the New Englanders is little to his taste.

of a New Englander are, intelligence, sobriety, enterprise, perseverance. When he finds his range at home too limited to admit of a sufficiently successful application of these qualities, he betakes himself to distant regions, and traverses one State after another, till he finds some nook in which he can establish himself with advantage. In the Southern and Western States, many of the most successful merchants, the most industrious farmers, the most money-making land-speculators, are natives of New England; and scarcely is there a station in society, or a mode of obtaining a livelihood, in which there will not be found a full proportion of them. If you meet a waggon in some remote country-road, with a cheerful-looking family, and a tall, slender figure whistling along with an axe over his shoulder,—it is a Yankee backwoodsman on his march for the wilderness of Illinois or Tennessee; where he will build a log-house, clear a few acres of land, sell the whole at a profit to the next comer, and start with the waggon a second time, to penetrate some hundreds of miles further into the woods, and repeat the process. If you see at the turnpike-gate of a country town, a light carriage resembling a British taxed-cart, built up all round with a pile of assorted packing-boxes and trunks,—it is the travelling-store of a New England pedlar, who is marketing his wares, *swopping*, or selling, or buying, as he and his customers can agree about it; *guessing* away with every one he meets, but turning all to good account in the end. In all those bye-ways of getting on in the world for which America affords unexampled facilities, none are found to succeed like the natives of New England.

"The consequence of this adventurous spirit is, that they attract, along with their prosperity, a con-

siderable share of the envy and ill-will which successful rivalry generally excites. Perhaps, there are instances in which cunning, rather than honesty, has characterized their enterprises; but, among so many adventurers, it is not surprising that some should be unprincipled; and of course, a well-educated and ingenious rogue has a fearful advantage over ignorant and stupid ones. From whatever cause it may have arisen, it is certain that, in the South, there is a strong prejudice against them; and it is very customary there to say many hard things of the Yankees, which are true only of a small number, and those the very worst of them." *

American writers are apt to forget, when they complain of the unfavourable representations of the national character given by English travellers and journalists, and impute them to illiberal prejudice, that those representations have chiefly originated with themselves. It is from the character which the Yankee, for instance, bears among his southern countrymen, that we in Europe have taken our idea of the New Englander. Admitting that the most unjust estimate has been formed of the resident population of the Eastern States, the blame must rest upon those parties whose *sectional* prejudices have led them to asperse and ridicule the character of the best educated and most estimable portion of the American people. "It is worthy of remark," says the Author of Notions of the Americans, "that nearly all the English travellers who have written of America, pass lightly over this important section of the Union. Volumes have been written concerning the half-tenanted districts of the West, while the manners and condition

* Duncan, vol. i. pp. 106—108.

of the original States, where the true effects of the American system can alone be traced, are usually disposed of in a few hurried pages." The reason is obvious; there is less to excite curiosity and to gratify the imagination, in the tame landscape and sober civilization of New England, than in the savage luxuriance of nature in the western wilderness, or the "fresher and more vivid tints of a border life." But it is in the Eastern States, that religion, order, frugality, and even liberty have confessedly taken deepest root; and "no liberal American," Mr. Cooper tells us, "however he may cherish some of the peculiarities of his own particular State, will deny them the meed of these high and honourable distinctions." *

It is not a little singular, that the etymology of the *soubriquet* by which the New Englander is now so generally distinguished, should already have become doubtful. The word is most commonly supposed, Mr. Cooper informs us, to be a corruption of *Yengeese*, the manner in which the native tribes first known to the colonists, pronounced the word English; and those who reject this derivation, are unable, he adds, to produce even a plausible substitute.† It has been usually applied in this country to the American colonists indiscriminately, as a term of contempt; but, as adopted by the Americans themselves, it is used with a remarkable distinction in its acceptation. There is the Yankee proper or New Englander, and the Yankee by courtesy or misnomer. "At home," we are told, "the native even of New York, though of English origin,

* Cooper's Notions, vol. i. pp. 131—134.

† Knickerbocker tells us, that Yankies in the Mais-Tchsuaeg, or Massachusett language, signifies *silent men*, and that it was waggishly given by the Indians to the loquacious strangers! This, we presume, is meant only for a joke.

will tell you he is not a Yankee," the term being perfectly provincial in its application.* "But, out of the United States, even the Georgian does not hesitate to call himself a Yankee. The Americans are particularly fond of distinguishing anything connected with their general enterprise, skill, or reputation, by this term. Thus, the Southern planter, who is probably more averse than any other to admit a community of those personal qualities which are thought to mark the differences in provincial character,—will talk of what a Yankee merchant, a Yankee negotiator, or a Yankee soldier can do, or has done; meaning always the people of the United States. Thus, it is apparent, that the term has two significations among the Americans themselves, one of which may be called its national, and the other its local meaning. The New-Englandman evidently exults in the appellation at all times. Those of the other States with whom I have come in contact, are manifestly quite as well pleased to lay no claim to the title, though all use it freely in its foreign or natural sense." †

Assuming this representation to be correct, the pro-

* New York, however, may now almost be considered as Yankeeland, being for the most part peopled with emigrants from New England. From three-fifths to two-thirds of the inhabitants, according to Dr. Dwight, have originated from that country.

† Cooper's Notions, vol. i. pp. 72, 3.—This Writer proceeds to assert, that the inhabitants of different States living a thousand miles asunder, speak of each other with more kindness in common, than the inhabitants of adjoining counties in England or provinces in France. In another place, he remarks, that the United States of America are perhaps the only country in Christendom where political disaffection does not in a greater or less degree prevail. The glaring inaccuracy of both assertions renders this Author's statements on other subjects liable to suspicion. The first is in palpable contradiction to his own admissions, as well as to general testimony. As to the latter, he must be supposed, for his credit's sake, never to have heard of the Hartford Convention.

per explanation seems to be, that the aristocratic gentry of Virginia, and the planters of the slave-holding States, have no objection to share in the credit and advantage of any doings of the Yankees, that are thought to reflect credit upon the national character, while they nevertheless despise their plodding industry, hate their Puritan principles, and are extremely jealous of their political ascendancy.

Including the inhabitants of the six States of New England, this Writer calculates, that not fewer than four millions of the American people are descended from the settlers at Plymouth and their successors; that is, four-tenths of the white population. This estimate seems to be quite within compass of the fact. About one million are inhabitants of the three States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, comprising an area of not quite 14,000 square miles, which gives an average of a little less than 70 to the square mile. Massachusetts itself, which is about the extent of Yorkshire and Lancashire united, contains above half a million, or 71 persons to the square mile, which is the *maximum* of the density of American population on any extended surface.* In these three States, there is a fair proportion of town and country, and a more equal distribution of the labour of society between commerce, manufactures, and agriculture, than in any other section of the Union. Almost every man in New England lives on his own ground, and the lands are universally held in fee simple, descending to the children in equal shares. Every freeman is eligible to any office. The spirit of independence naturally re-

* This is somewhat less than that of the kingdom of Denmark, and exceeding that of Spain. As compared with that of the two English counties, it is as 1 to 4.

sulting from this state of things, constitutes a distinguishing trait in the character of the people.

"We have in New England," says Dr. Dwight, "no such class of men as, on the Eastern side of the Atlantic, are denominated peasantry. The number of those who are mere labourers, is almost nothing, except in a few of the populous towns; and almost all these are collected from the shiftless, the idle, and the vicious. A great part of them are foreigners. Here, every apprentice originally intends to establish, and, with scarcely an exception, actually establishes himself in business. Every seaman designs to become, and a great proportion of them really become, mates and masters of vessels. Every young man hired to work upon a farm, aims steadily to acquire a farm for himself; and hardly one fails of the acquisition. All men are masters here of themselves; and such is the combined effect of education and society, that he who fails of success in one kind of business, may, almost of course, betake himself with advantage to another."

Comparing the general character of the population with that of Old England, the learned Writer says:—"We are behind you in learning, science, and a multitude of mechanical and manufacturing arts; in agriculture, in architecture, in commerce, and in wealth; in the fine arts, in liberality, and in various other advantages of improved society. At the same time, we are more affable, more easy of access, and universally more social and more ready to oblige. We are also more orderly, quiet, and peaceful; are governed with less difficulty, and by milder measures. Our common people are far better educated than yours, both in the school and in the church; and for this very good reason; that they are all at school, and almost all at

church. All of them can read, and write, and keep accounts.* Almost all of them do read, and many of them much. At the same time, our state of society prompts men to become acquainted with many things besides their own business. *That*, they understand, generally, less perfectly than the English. But they understand many things of which the same classes in England know little or nothing. An English artisan, or farmer, bends, and is obliged to bend, the whole force of his mind to the attainment of perfection in his proper employment; and this he accomplishes in a degree rarely reached by the citizens of any other country. A New-Englander is under no such necessity, and finds many inducements to turn his thoughts towards many other objects. In this manner, he becomes, to a considerable extent, actually acquainted with those objects, and acquires an expansion of mind and a rationality of character, not often found in any other country.

"The quantity of ardent spirits consumed chiefly

* "The State of Massachusetts contains nearly 600,000 souls, all of whom (of proper age) with the exception of about 400, can read and write. It is probable that the latter number is composed chiefly of foreigners, blacks from other States, and those who laboured under natural disabilities."—Cooper's Notions, vol. i. p. 123. "A conviction of the importance of public instruction," says Mr. Webster, in his oration on the second centenary of the landing of the pilgrim fathers, "was one of the earliest sentiments of our ancestors. Assembled on this spot, one hundred and fifty-three years ago, the legislature of this colony declared: 'Forasmuch as the maintenance of good literature doth tend to the advancement of the weal and flourishing state of Societies and Republics, this Court doth therefore order, that, in whatever township in this Government consisting of fifty families or upwards, any meet man shall be obtained to teach a grammar-school, such township shall allow at least 12*l.*, to be raised by rate on all the inhabitants.'.....That which is elsewhere left to chance or charity, we secure by law. For the purpose of public instruction, we hold every man subject to taxation in proportion to his property." In Connecticut, the schools are supported by a distinct fund,

by the middle and lower classes of people, is scandalous to the national character, although much less in its amount than that drunk by the same number of people in Great Britain.*

"The sabbath is observed in New England with a greater degree of sobriety and strictness, than in any part of the world. As we have often been severely censured on this very account, the truth of this observation may of course be admitted. Public worship is regularly attended twice every sabbath by a very great part of our people, and is every where attended with decorum and reverence. Our laws in Massachusetts and Connecticut forbid travelling on the sabbath; the whole day being considered as sequestered by God to himself, and consecrated to the duties of religion....By the Christians of this country, the strict observance of the sabbath is esteemed a privilege, and not a burthen; and to be released from it, a diminution, not an increase of the blessings given to the Jewish Church."†

"The morality of the New-Englanders may be fairly estimated from the following facts. There have been fewer capital crimes committed in New England since its settlement, than in any other country on the globe, (Scotland, perhaps, excepted,) in proportion to the number of its inhabitants. Half or two-thirds of these inhabitants sleep, at the present time, without barring or locking their doors. Not more than five duels have been fought here since the

* The principal drink of the inhabitants of New England, Dr. Dwight says, is cider. "Porter is drunk by fashionable people, and, in small quantities, ale." Wine and punch are "extensively used."

† Dwight, vol. iv. pp. 334, 5; 343; 349. In Connecticut, the observance of the Lord's day is from sunset on Saturday to the following sunset.

landing of the Plymouth colony. During the revolutionary war, although party spirit rose to the highest pitch, and although New England contained at that time about one million of people, but one man suffered death by the hand of violence, and one more by the decision of a court of justice."*

The unimpeachable veracity and extensive information of the learned American from whom these statements proceed, entitle them to far more attention than the hasty opinions of passing travellers. They accord substantially, however, with the most respectable testimonies of witnesses who could not be biassed by national partialities; and they supply important data for estimating the real tendency and efficiency of the civil and religious institutions of the country.

Captain Basil Hall bears testimony to the distinguishing frankness and good temper of the Americans generally. "During the whole course of my journey," he says, "I never saw an American out of temper;" and notwithstanding that he made no scruple to attack on all occasions their favourite opinions, and to depreciate their institutions, he is unable to recall a single instance in which any thing captious or personally uncivil was ever said to him. At Boston, he visited the Navy-yard, where, "with that absence of all idle concealments" which he found every where in America, the engineer explained to him all his plans, and discussed various nautical topics, "to the entire oblivion of national rivalries."† At Brighton, a village

* Dwight, vol. i. pp. 142, 3. The learned Writer adds, that during the preceding fourteen years, he had travelled not far from 12,000 miles, chiefly in New England and New York, and had never seen two men engaged in fighting.

† A high compliment is paid to the American naval officers by this Traveller, at the expense of the rest of the community. "They are the only persons," he remarks, "whose whole lives are

near Boston, this Traveller witnessed the great annual cattle-show of the State of Massachusetts, which is held there in the month of October; on which occasion, he was exceedingly shocked at one trait of American barbarism,—displayed, not in the treatment of the animals, but in the exclusion of the fair sex! The scene is too characteristic to be passed over.

"Besides a ploughing match with twenty teams of oxen, there were various trials of strength by cattle drawing loaded carts up a steep hill. The numerous pens where the bullocks and sheep were enclosed, afforded also a high treat, from the variety of the breeds, and the high condition of the animals exposed. Lastly, we were shewn the rooms in which the specimens of domestic manufactures were displayed: most of these goods, which appeared excellent in quality, gave indication of native industry well worthy of encouragement. In spite of all these objects of interest, I felt ill at ease, and was struck to the heart with what seemed to me the cruel spectacle of such a numerous assemblage of people on such a fine sunny day, in as pretty a little valley as ever was seen, close to a romantic village, and within four miles of a great and populous city like Boston; and yet, amidst all this crowd, there were no women! Literally and truly, among several thousand persons, I counted, during the whole day, only nine females. I wandered round and round the grassy knolls in search of some signs of life

passed in permanent habits of subordination. In fact, they are almost the only men by whom the practical value of those inequalities in rank which the rest of the American world deride, are admitted to be important.... I have reason to believe, from what I saw and heard, that the American discipline, especially as applied to officers, is more stern than in the British navy. Democracy, with its sturdy equality, will hardly do *afloat*."—B. Hall, vol. ii, pp. 146—8.

and merriment,—some of those joyous bursts of mirth which I had been wont to hear in other lands on similar occasions. But my eye could discover nothing to rest upon but groupes of idle men, smoking cigars, and gaping about, with their hands in their pockets, or looking listlessly at the penned up cattle, or following one another in quiet, orderly crowds up the hill, after the loaded carts, glad, apparently, of the smallest excitement to carry them out of themselves. But not a woman was to be seen. Neither were there any groupes of lads and lasses romping on the grass; no parties of noisy youths playing at foot-ball for the amusement of the village maidens; no scampering and screaming of the children among the trees; for, alas! the little things appeared nearly as solemn and soberly disposed as their elders.

"But in all the numerous booths placed over the ground, parties were hard at work with the whiskey or gin bottle. In some, companies of ten or a dozen people might be seen working away at hot joints and meat pies;—all very ordinary sights, I grant, at a fair in any country; but the peculiarity which struck me, was the absence of talking or laughing, or any hilarity of look or gesture. I never beheld any thing in my whole life, though I have been at many funerals, nearly so ponderous or so melancholy, as this gloomy, lumbering, weary sort of merry-making. I felt my spirits crushed down, and as it were humiliated, when, suddenly the sound of a fiddle struck my ear, literally the very first notes of music I had heard, out of a drawing-room, in the whole country. Of course, I 'ran instantly to the spot, and what was there?—Four men dancing a reel!" *

* B. Hall, vol. ii. pp. 150—152. This Traveller's conclusion, that the American women do not enjoy their proper station in

In every part of the country, our Traveller was struck with this strong line of demarcation between the sexes, which he ascribes of course to the democratic institutions of the country. The people are, he thinks, too busy with politics, to devote much of their time to the domestic fire-side; and the women cannot be made sufficiently to understand what is going on out of doors, to take a continued interest in what engrosses their husbands. Add to which, they have but little time for recreation, owing to "the increased household duties inevitably imposed upon the mistress of a family by the total want of good servants in America; an evil which no fortune can remedy. Good nurses, men servants, cooks, or any description of female attendants are rarely to be found; and if found, no money will bribe them to stay long in a house, or to behave respectfully when there." All over America, this Traveller admits, "the women are treated with much kindness by the men." He "never saw or heard of any rudeness, or had any reason to suspect that incivility towards females was ever practised, or would be tolerated, even in those parts of the country which have enjoyed the least advantages in the way of civilization and refinement." But this kindness and attention, he considers as quite compatible with "the absence of an habitual and mutual understanding between the sexes," such as should enable the women in America to exert that social influence and control which they exercise in "more fortunately arranged communities."

It is unfortunate, that an attempt to describe the manners and customs of this country, should involve

society, will probably be deemed not a very legitimate inference from the fact, that it does not accord with their notions of delicacy to attend cattle shows.

the perplexing task of correcting, at every step, the false impressions, or reconciling the opposite representations of prejudiced observers. The general fact is unquestionable, that, in the United States, the women associate less promiscuously with the other sex, and live more secluded, than in this country; but there is reason to believe, that their actual condition and substantial influence are very inaccurately estimated by this Traveller. At all events, the opposite view of the subject presented by a native writer, merits attention, even if it may be suspected of a partial colouring.

"To me," says the Author of "Notions of the Americans," "woman appears to fill, in America, the very station for which she is designed by nature. In the lowest conditions of life, she is treated with the tenderness and respect that is due to the beings whom we believe to be the repositories of the better principles of our nature. Retired within the sacred precincts of her own abode, she is preserved from the destroying taint of excessive intercourse with the world. She makes no bargains beyond those which supply her own little personal wants, and her heart is not early corrupted by the baneful and unfeminine vice of selfishness. She is often the friend and adviser of her husband, but never his chapman. She must be sought in the haunts of her domestic privacy, and not amid the wranglings, deceptions, and heart-burnings of keen and sordid traffic. So general is this fact, that I have remarked a vast proportion of that class who frequent the markets or vend trifles in the streets of New York, (occupations that are not unsuited to the feebleness of the sex,) are either foreigners or females descended from certain insulated colonies of the Dutch, which still retain many of the habits of their ancestors amid

the improvements that are throwing them among the forgotten usages of another century.*.....I saw every where the utmost possible care to preserve the females from undue or unwomanly employments. If there was a burthen, it was in the arms or on the shoulders of the man. Even labours that seem properly to belong to the household, were often performed by the latter; and I never heard the voice of the wife calling on the husband for assistance, that it was not answered by a ready, manly, and cheerful compliance. The neatness of the cottage, the farm-house, and the inn; the clean, tidy, healthful, and vigorous look of the children; united to attest the usefulness of the system. What renders all this more striking is the circumstance, that not only is labour in so great demand, but, contrary to the state of things in all the rest of Christendom, the women materially exceed the men in numbers. This seeming departure from what is almost an established law of nature, is owing to the emigration westward." †

As regards the social influence of women, there is no reason to believe that it is not as great in America as in England.‡ But there exists, no doubt, a con-

* "The employments of the women of New England are wholly domestic. The business which is abroad, is all performed by men even in the humblest spheres of life."—Dwight, vol. i. p. 460.

† Cooper's Notions, vol. i. pp. 140—142.—From the census of 1820, there appears to have been at that time in New England, rather more than thirteen females to twelve males above the age of sixteen.

‡ Captain B. Hall's authority as an observer in such a case, the Edinburgh Reviewers remark, "is considerably shaken by what seems to us an extravagant exaggeration of the kind of influence exercised by the sex in England; when he announces the existence there of a 'necessity that all Englishmen, especially the highly gifted and ambitious, should carry with them the sympathy of the female portion of the class to which they belong.'" In fact, our Traveller's observations on this subject, partake more of the gal-

siderable difference in their habits and in public manners. The American women are characterized generally by a greater degree of reserve and coldness of manner, than even is imputed by foreigners to the English. The language of gallantry, Mr. Cooper says, is never tolerated. "A married woman would consider it as an insult, and a girl would be apt to laugh in her adorer's face." The married women are rarely seen foremost in the scenes of gayety; but, between young persons of both sexes, great frankness of intercourse is permitted, without the least danger of its running into impropriety. Describing the ladies of New York, a French writer says: "The women follow here in their dress the French fashions, but are entirely American in their manners; that is to say, they devote almost their whole existence to the management of their families and the education of their children. They live in general very retired; and although the greater number of them are able to furnish the resources of an agreeable and lively conversation, they nevertheless occupy but little room in assemblies, where the young girls alone seem to have the right to reign. The latter, it is true, derive from nature and education, all the means of pleasing. The unlimited liberty which they enjoy without ever abusing it, imparts to their manners a grace, a freedom, and a modest carelessness which are not always found in our saloons, where, under the name of reserve, we impose on our young girls so irksome a formality. If the American wives are remarkable for their strict fidelity to the conjugal ties, the young women are not less so for their constancy to their engagements."*

lantry of the sailor, than of the refinement of true breeding; and much that he predicates of England, is true only of certain parts of it and certain classes.

* La Fayette en Amérique, tom. i. p. 259.

It is probable that the austere principles of the Puritan emigrants, may have left some traces of their influence in the graver manners of the New Englanders. In other parts of the United States, women attend races, balls, and "fourth of July celebrations," without any restriction. The sedentary habits of the women of New England, are adverted to by Dr. Dwight as unfavourable to their health and personal appearance. These are attributable, however, to neither puritanism nor democracy, but "seem to be considered as intimately connected with the gentility of the female character." Walking, he says, is very little practised, and riding on horseback is "almost out of the question." This neglect of sufficient exercise, is adduced as one cause why the American women lose their beauty and the brilliancy of youth at an earlier period than the English.* The climate has probably some share in producing this result. But above all, the early age at which marriages almost universally take place, must be considered as having a material influence, both physical and moral, on the health, habits, and manners of the women.

"The manners of the American women strike me," says a female Writer, "as peculiarly marked by sweetness, artlessness, and liveliness. There is about them, at least in my eyes, a certain untaught grace and gayety of the heart, equally removed from the studied English coldness and indifference, and the not less studied French vivacity and mannerism. They enter very early into society; far too early, indeed, to be consistent with a becoming attention to the cultivation of their minds. I am, however, acquainted with striking exceptions to this general practice. The society collected in large evening assemblies, is almost

* Dwight, vol. iv. p. 462.

exclusively composed of the unmarried young. A crowded room is in this way a pretty scene for a quiet observer to look into for half an hour; but, if he has survived the buoyant spirits of first youth, he will then find it better to walk home again.....The youth of both sexes here enjoy a freedom of intercourse unknown in the older and more formal nations of Europe. They dance, sing, walk, and 'run in sleighs' together, by sunshine and moonshine, without the occurrence, or even the apprehension of any impropriety. In this bountiful country, marriages are seldom dreaded as imprudent, and therefore, no care is taken to prevent the contracting of early engagements. It is curious to see how soon these laughing maidens are metamorphosed into fond wives and attentive mothers, and these giddy youths into industrious citizens and thinking politicians."*

The American youth of both sexes are, for the most part, married before they are two and twenty; and it is not unusual, we are told, to see a girl of eighteen a wife and mother. Obvious and substantial as are the advantages attending early marriages, as regards the morals and happiness of a people, where they can be contracted without criminal improvidence, they are attended with serious drawbacks when they take place before either the physical constitution or the energies of the character can have reached maturity. And the general complexion of society must be robbed of some portion of its gayety, by thus shortening the period of youth, and by the early withdrawment of the gay and lovely from the more public circles.

The climate of New England is distinguished by the general purity of the air, and the sudden and

* Wright, pp. 32—35.

extreme variations in the temperature. The heat of an American summer, even in this high latitude, is excessive.* In the month of July, at Boston, Mr. Duncan found the thermometer at mid-day ranging from 80° to 90° Fahr.; and one day, it stood at 81° at half past six A.M.; rose to 93° at noon; to 96° 30′ at half past two; was at 94° at five P.M.; and at ten P.M., stood at 82°. The winters are much more severe than in Europe under the same parallels. The most remarkable peculiarity, however, is the violent transitions occasioned by the north-west winds. The thermometer will, at certain seasons, indicate a change of more than 30° in less than twenty-four hours, and Dr. Dwight states, that he has known it sink 48° within that period.† These winds have been attributed to the Great Lakes in the Interior; but the learned Writer remarks, that they do not blow from that quarter, and that the country in the immediate neighbourhood of the lakes, enjoys a milder climate than those tracts which lie further eastward in the same latitudes. He is of opinion, that the only way in which their peculiar properties can be accounted for, is by supposing, that they descend from the upper regions of the atmosphere, where they form a superior current of colder and purer air than the under current of the atmosphere on the surface of the earth.‡ The

* It is a remarkable circumstance common to both continents, that the western shores enjoy a maritime climate decidedly milder than that of the interior; whereas the eastern shores of both Asia and America are but little affected by their proximity to the ocean. The climate of New England greatly resembles that of Pekin.

† "In the Carolinas and Georgia, a variation of 20° in twenty-four hours is common. In Charleston, on the 17th of March, 1819, the thermometer fell 33° in twelve hours; in 1751, 46° in sixteen hours."—Hodgson, vol. ii. p. 285.

‡ For the facts and reasonings by which this hypothesis is supported, see Dwight, vol. i. pp. 39—45.

influence of these winds on vegetation, is specific and remarkable. Wood burns, during their prevalence, more rapidly and vividly, with a crackling flame; and in the mouth of March, during which they blow with little intermission, all kinds of wood shrink and become dry in a greater degree than in the most intense heat of the summer sun. The atmosphere of New England is generally very pure, and the sky peculiarly bright. On comparing the meteorological journals kept there with those of Europe, it appears, that more days of clear sunshine occur there, than in any country of the eastern continent, Russia excepted; notwithstanding that a larger quantity of rain falls there, chiefly from thunder-showers. These violent alternations of temperature must obviously be very trying to the constitution even of the natives, and are doubtless a principal cause of the prevalence of pulmonary complaints.* The average proportion of deaths to the population, does not appear to be higher in New England, than in Europe; but there is this remarkable difference; that whereas the chances of attaining to the age of puberty are apparently more favourable in New England, the number of deaths between that age and forty, is in a much higher proportion.† In the middle and western States, but

* Of the diseases of New England, the most extensively fatal, Dr. Dwight says, is pulmonary consumption. The natural causes are, the severity, and especially the frequent sudden changes of the weather. The artificial ones are intemperance, prevailing to a considerable extent among people of the lowest class, and unhappily not altogether confined to them; a sedentary life; and the mode of dress. A "new disease," called the spotted fever, and the spurious peripneumony have occasionally committed great ravages in New England and other parts.—See Dwight, vol. i. pp. 60, 38.

† Dr. Dwight asserts, that whereas in most parts of Europe the chance of living to five years of age is as one to two, in New Eng-

especially in the southern, human life is, on the average, decidedly shorter. But instances of remarkable longevity are upon record.*

To an Englishman, the extremes and sudden variations of the atmosphere are not less disagreeable than the moisture of our insular climate is to foreigners.† Mr. Hodgson bears testimony to the extreme clearness and transparency of the atmosphere in New England, which enhances in a peculiar degree the beauty of the scenery. "Indeed," he adds, "a common landscape is often rendered beautiful by the extreme distinctness with which every outline is defined, or the vivid colouring with which, at sunset, the air itself seems suffused. Compared with an English atmosphere in its effects on scenery, it always reminded me of the difference between plate and common glass. I do not know whether the purity of the

land, the chance is one to two of living to seventeen. In Europe, the number of individuals under sixteen years of age, is reckoned to be one-third of the population; and those above forty-five, one-fourth. In the United States, the number under sixteen, is one-half; and the number above forty-five, scarcely an eighth; but, in Connecticut, in 1800, those under sixteen, were not quite one-half; and those above forty-five, rather more than a sixth.—Dwight, vol. i. p. 58.

* At Northampton in Massachusetts, of those who died within a given period, one in four survived the age of seventy; and at Concord, in the same State, of 222 who died within thirteen years, 97 had exceeded that age. Dr. Dwight gives a list of individuals, natives of different parts of the Union, who attained the ages of 100, 104, 107, and upwards.—Dwight, vol. i. p. 64.

† "Were our atmosphere equally moist with yours," says Dr. Dwight, "the most intense heats of our sky would scarcely be tolerable. Our climate is, alternately, severely cold and severely hot. The damp, the wet, and the mud of his own country, the Englishman is accustomed to from his infancy, and therefore thinks nothing of them; although the same weather, when it exists here, is more disagreeable to us than our heat and cold."—Dwight, vol. i. p. 55.; vol. iv. p. 338.

atmosphere does not add still more to the beauty of a moonlight scene. A winter moonlight night in America, when the ground is covered with snow, is really like enchantment. I am not, however, enamoured of the climate; or, at least, I have deliberately decided in favour of our own,—the vicissitudes here being very sudden, and the extremes formidable. But there are, and very frequently, days so beautiful, that I feel as if I would pay almost any price for the enjoyment they bring." *

Among the natural advantages of New England are to be reckoned, its numerous harbours and inlets, fronted, for the most part, with islands; its finely varied surface; and the abundant supply of good water in the shape of springs and wells, brooks and mill-streams, lakes and rivers. The principal rivers are, the Connecticut, the Hooestennuc, and the Thames, which flow into Long Island Sound; the Merrimac, which falls into the Atlantic at Newburyport; the Piscataqua, the Saco, the Amerisceggin (or Androscoggin), the Kennebec, the Penobscot, and the Shoodac or St. Croix, all of which fall into the sea on the eastern coast. The most beautiful feature of the country is the Valley of the Connecticut, which intersects New England from north to south, extending through almost four degrees of latitude. This beautiful river, which takes its rise in the highlands that separate New Hampshire from Lower Canada, flowing southward, divides New Hampshire on the west from Vermont, and then passing through Massachusetts and the State to which it gives name, falls into the Sound, not far from its entrance. Beauty of landscape, Dr. Dwight says, is an eminent characteristic of this valley. From Hereford mountain to Saybrook, near

* Hodgson, vol. ii. pp. 281—3.

its mouth, it is almost a continued succession of delightful scenery; and he expresses his persuasion, that no other tract of equal extent in the United States, can, in this respect, be compared with it.* The river is navigable, for vessels drawing ten feet water, to Middletown, thirty-six miles; and, for those drawing eight feet, fourteen miles further, to Hartford, which enjoys, alternately with Newhaven, the honours of a provincial or State capital.

Captain Basil Hall proceeded from Boston to Providence, the capital of Rhode Island; and thence, over a rugged, hilly, disagreeable road, to Hartford in Connecticut. Here, he visited three important establishments, all of first-rate excellence in their respective lines; the State Prison (upon the Auburn plan), the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb, and the Institution for the Insane, where the moral treatment and the system of gentleness are carried even still further than in England. "The institutions of Hartford," says this Traveller, "which indeed are not to be excelled anywhere, not only do high honour to this part of the Union, but are every way creditable to the nation generally." From Hartford, he proceeded to Newhaven; but, for a description of this town and the general aspect of the country, we must avail ourselves of the more graphic pages of Mr. Duncan.

NEWHAVEN.

"THERE is nothing in Britain," says this Traveller, "that bears any resemblance to a New England town, and it is not easy to convey an idea of its singular neatness. The houses are generally of wood, painted white, and decorated with Venetian blinds of a bril-

* A minute topographical description of the Valley is given by Dr. Dwight in his second volume.

liant green. The solid frame-work of the walls is covered externally with thin planks, called by Americans, clapboards, which overlap each other from the eaves downward, and serve effectually to exclude rain. The roof is covered with shingles, which are thin slips of wood put on like slates, and painted of a dark blue. The buildings are, in general, about two stories in height; the door is decorated with a neat portico; and very frequently a projecting piazza, most grateful in hot weather, with benches under it, extends along the whole front of the house. Mouldings and minute decorations of various kinds are carried round the principal projections. A garden is not unfrequent behind, and a neat wooden railing in front, inclosing a grass-plot and a few trees. Such houses would soon look rusty and weather-beaten were they in our climate; but they enjoy here a purer atmosphere, and the smoke of coal fire is unknown. The painting is renewed once a-year, which serves to preserve the wood for a long time. The churches, or meeting-houses, as they are more generally called, are, in the smaller towns, also of wood, and, with the addition of a steeple and a gilt weather-cock, resemble very much the other buildings. In the large towns, they are of brick or stone, but retain generally the green Venetian blinds upon the windows. The streets are wide, and run off, at right angles to each other, from a large open square covered with green turf, in the centre of the town: the churches, town-house, and an inn or two, not unfrequently front this green. Gravel walks skirt many of the streets, and occasionally rows of limes or poplars. The agreeable succession of gardens, grass-plots, trees, foot-walks, and buildings, gives an air of rural quietness to the town; and the open space which frequently inter-

venes between one house and another, prevents much of the danger which would otherwise arise from fire. Everything betokens an unusual share of homely simplicity and comfort, and the absence at once of great riches and of great poverty.

"New Haven possesses most of the distinctive peculiarities which I have now noticed, but combines with them much of the compactness, durability, and bustle which we usually consider inseparable from a town. The churches and a great many of the dwelling houses are of brick, a few even of stone,* and two or three of the streets are very closely built. The numerous buildings also of Yale College, all of brick, and constructed with regularity and neatness, complete its claims to superiority.

"The country round New Haven is very picturesque. Behind the town, at a distance of about two miles, is an amphitheatre of rugged hills, not unlike some of our Scottish scenery; in front is an inlet from Long Island Sound, affording a safe and commodious harbour; to the right and left, a richly cultivated country, relieved by patches of forest; and in wide expanse before it, the blue waves of the sea rolling in

* The original churches in Newhaven are described by Dr. Dwight, as "barely decent structures;" but in 1812, all the congregations voted, that they would take down their churches and build new ones. Accordingly, two of them commenced the work in 1813, and a third in 1814. These three are all placed on the western side of Temple-street, which is 100 feet wide, facing an open square. "The Presbyterian churches are of Grecian architecture. The Episcopal church is a Gothic building, the only correct specimen, it is believed, in the United States. Few structures devoted to the same purpose on this side the Atlantic, are equally handsome."—Dwight, vol. i. p. 154. In one of the congregational or Presbyterian churches, Mr. Duncan says, an organ has been introduced, but with a special stipulation that no voluntary shall be allowed to break in upon the solemnity of worship.

magnificence. Two bare precipices, called East and West Rock, 400 feet high and about two miles apart, form part of the semi-circular range. They are prominent features in the landscape; and events in the annals of our native country with which they are associated, impart to them that traditional charm which is so often wanting in American scenery. In the fastnesses of these rocks, some of the regicides of Charles I. found shelter from their pursuers, when the agents of his profligate son hunted them for their lives." *

Of the individuals referred to, President Dwight has communicated some highly interesting particulars. About three miles N. E. from Northampton in the Connecticut Valley, and 90 miles due W. of Boston, is the little town of Hadley. "In this town," says the learned Writer, "resided for fifteen or sixteen years, the celebrated regicides, Goffe and Whalley. They came hither in the year 1654, and lived in the house of the Reverend Mr. Russell, the minister. Whalley died in his house. Some years since, the house was pulled down by Mr. Gayland, the proprietor, when the bones of Whalley were found buried just without the cellar wall, in a kind of tomb formed of mason-work, and covered with flags of hewn stone. After his decease, Goffe quitted Hadley, and went into Connecticut, and afterwards, according to tradition, to the neighbourhood of New York. Here he is said to have lived some time, and, the better to disguise

* Duncan, vol. i. pp. 94—96.—It is generally believed, Captain B. Hall says, that their place of security was a dark cavern, formed by the overhanging rocks, a mile or two to the eastward of some basaltic cliffs, which, in their geological character, height, and picturesque appearance, exactly resemble Salisbury Crags, near Edinburgh, except in being clad with a forest of young oak, intermixed with the cactus. The retreat of the fugitives is still called "the Judge's Cave."—B. Hall, vol. ii. p. 202.

himself, to have carried vegetables at times to market. It is said, that having been discovered here, he retired secretly to the colony of Rhode Island, and there lived with a son of Whalley, the remainder of his life. The following story has been traditionally conveyed down among the inhabitants of Hadley.

"In the course of Philip's war,* which involved almost all the Indian tribes in New England, and, among others, those in the neighbourhood of this town, the inhabitants thought it proper to observe the 1st of September, 1675, as a day of fasting and prayer. While they were in the church, and employed in their worship, they were surprised by a band of savages. The people instantly betook themselves to their arms, which, according to the custom of the times, they had carried with them to the church, and rushing out, attacked their invaders. The panic under which they began the conflict, was, however, so great, and their number was so disproportioned to that of their enemies, that they fought doubtfully at first, and in a short time began evidently to give way. At this moment, an ancient man, with hoary locks, of a most venerable and dignified aspect, and in a dress widely differing from that of the inhabitants, appeared suddenly at their head, and with a firm voice and an example of undaunted resolution, re-animated their courage, led them again to the conflict, and totally routed the savages. When the battle was ended, the stranger disappeared, and no one knew whence he had come, or whither he had gone. The relief was so timely, so sudden, so unexpected, so providential; the appearance and retreat of him who had

* The tragical death of this high-minded but unfortunate chief, Philip of Pokanoket, forms the subject of an affecting paper in Mr. Irving's Sketch Book.

furnished it were so unaccountable; his person was so dignified and commanding, his resolution so superior, and his interference so decisive, that the inhabitants, without any uncommon exercise of credulity, readily believed him to be an angel sent by Heaven for their preservation. Nor was this opinion seriously controverted, until it was discovered, years afterwards, that Goffe and Whalley had been lodged in the house of Mr. Russell. Then it was known that their deliverer was Goffe; Whalley having become superannuated some time before the event took place. There is an obscure and very doubtful tradition, that Goffe also was buried here." *

Colonel Dixwell, another of the King's Judges, we learn from other authority, found shelter also in America. "He visited his fellow exiles in their concealment, and being himself unknown, settled and married at Newhaven under the name of James Davids. By that name he signed his will, but there he adds it to his own. His tomb-stone is shewn at Newhaven with only the initials 'I. D. Esq. deceased March 18th, in the 82d year of his age, 1688.' Another stone, with the initials, 'E. W. Esq.' is traditionally supposed to mark the grave of Whalley:—if it be so, his bones must have been removed there by Dixwell; an affecting act of pious friendship." †

"I have seen both the grave-stones alluded to," says Mr. Duncan: "they still stand in the old burying-ground behind one of the churches. The inscription on the first is in rude characters, and is thus arranged:

I. D. Esqr.
Deceased March ye
18 in ye 82d year of
his age, 1688.

* Dwight, vol. i. pp. 317, 318. † Quar. Rev., vol. ii. p. 324.

The other stone, which has been supposed to commemorate Whalley, must have been erected over some other person whose name and history have been lost; for the date, which has generally been read 1688, is in reality, 1658. The mistake has arisen from a slight injury which the stone has received, and which has imparted to the figure 5 something of the shape of an 8, although it is still quite possible to decipher its original form. None of these relics will long survive. The ancient burying-ground is no longer used; the fence round it has gone to decay; and the moss-grown grave-stones are rapidly disappearing under the dilapidating attacks of idlers, who are daily defacing these frail memorials of the dust which sleeps below.*

"The new cemetery which has sprung from the ashes of the old one, in simplicity of arrangement and elegance of monumental decoration, leaves at a great distance all others that I have anywhere seen. It is in shape an oblong square, divided by a regular succession of avenues, crossing each other at right angles, and skirted by rows of Lombardy poplars. The divisions which are thus formed, are subdivided into spaces sufficient for family burying-places, which are surrounded with a neat wooden railing, painted white. There is scarcely a grave which has not a monument of one kind or other; and with the exception of those transferred from the old burying-ground, they are almost universally of white or green marble. Some of those of white marble were executed in Italy. The green marble is found in abundance about two miles off, and

* The whole of the old grave-stones, with the exception of the two above referred to, were, in July 1821, removed to the new cemetery. The ground has been levelled and sown with grass, and a marble slab affixed on the wall of the church, alone records the use to which it was formerly appropriated.

is thought by some to bear a close resemblance to the verd antique. The monuments consist of obelisks, tables, and upright slabs at the head and foot of the grave. The obelisks are ranged in the centre of the principal subdivisions, in parallel rows, and at right angles to each other. The inscriptions, which are cut on the white marble, are generally painted black; those on the green are gilt, and have a very rich effect.

"While the monuments in the old burying-ground seem devoted to ruin, those in the new one, although accessible to every passenger, are treated with the most scrupulous respect. A neat fence surrounds the cemetery; but openings are left at regular intervals, from which numerous foot-walks cross the ground. The soil is composed of a light sand, and shoots from the poplars are springing up so numerously, that they threaten to over-run it. Except the slight wooden railing, there is no kind of fence round the graves; they are altogether free from those unsightly cages of cast iron by which our burying-grounds in Glasgow are disfigured, and the enclosures are not defaced by those quaint emblems of mortality and grief, which so often, with us, betray the bad taste of the proprietors. A becoming respect is shewn to the memory of the departed; and an air of impressive solemnity pervades the whole enclosure, which is not counteracted by any of those lugubrious, and not unfrequently ludicrous allegorical devices, and misapplied quotations from Scripture, which meet us at every step in our more ancient repositories of the dead. I have visited every shrine in Westminster Abbey, and have heard the marble-hearted verger dole out, in monotonous cadence, the dreary catalogue of names which are entombed and commemorated there. The damp of the long-drawn aisles chilled me to the heart;

and I trod over the ashes of monarchs, barons, and crusading knights, whose sculptured figures, scattered around, were covered with the mutilations and dust of many generations; yet, I doubt whether sympathy with my kindred dust were as strongly excited there, as in the burying-ground at Newhaven." *

The population of Newhaven in 1820, was 8326 souls; and there were seven places of public worship; the College Chapel, three Congregational, one Episcopalian (formed in 1755), one Methodist (1807), and one Baptist chapel. The state of society in an American town of some standing, may be judged of from the following list, taken in the year 1811, of the different classes into which the population of Newhaven was distributed:—

Houses engaged in foreign commerce	29	Butchers	17
Stores of dry goods	41	Bakers	5
Grocery stores	42	Tallow-chandlers	5
Ship-chandlery, do.	4	Brass-founders	2
Wholesale hardware, do.	2	Braziers	3
——— dry goods, do.	3	Blacksmiths	29
——— glass and china.	1	Bell-founder	1
Furriers', do.	1	Tanners	9
Apothecaries', do.	10	Carriage-makers	9
Traders in lumber	6	Goldsmiths	7
——— paper-hangings	1	Watchmakers	4
Shoe stores	6	Harness-makers	4
—— and boot-makers.	30	Cabinet-makers	5
Hat manufacturers	7	Carpenters and joiners	50
—— stores	5	Comb-makers	3
Book stores	4	Windsor-chair-makers	4
Rope-walks	3	Masons	15
Sail-lofts	2	Tailors	26
Ship-yard	1	Coopers	14
		Stone-cutters	3

* Duncan, vol. i. pp. 100—103. This cemetery, which Captain B. Hall speaks of as "one of the prettiest burying-places" he ever saw, originally comprised an area of ten acres, but is now extended to twenty. It owes its origin to the public spirit of the Honourable J. Hillhouse, who purchased the ground in 1796.

Curriers	7	Book binders	2
Block-makers	2	Inns	12
Barbers	5	Schools	16
Tinners	3	Clergymen	6
Wheelwright	1	Lawyers	16
Nailer	1	Physicians	9
Leather-dresser	1	Surgeon	1
Paper-makers	2	Newspapers published	2*
Printing offices	5		

"The New England character," Mr. Duncan remarks, "is very favourably exhibited in Newhaven, where the simplicity and sincerity of the ancient Puritans may still be seen strongly marked in their descendants. Plain and frugal in their domestic habits, they exhibit little of that artificial polish which, like varnish, frequently disguises very worthless materials; and a stranger is not mortified by professions without services, and show without substance.... .There is a grammar-school in Newhaven, endowed from a legacy by one of the governors of the State, named Hopkins, in which youths are prepared for college, and which enjoys a respectable reputation. There are also two other seminaries of a kind superior to the district-schools.† Of the minor schools, the teachers of about

* Dwight, vol. i. p. 156. A similar list of the occupations in a new settlement, with which this may be compared, is given at page 265 of this volume. One of the clergymen was bishop of the Episcopal church of Connecticut; and one, far advanced in life, was without a cure. Most of the lawyers in the county, Dr. Dwight remarks, reside at Newhaven; and the physicians practise extensively in the surrounding country. Shoes, saddles, and harness, were manufactured for exportation.

† The district schools of Connecticut are supported out of a fund created by the sale of lands belonging to this State, to that of Pennsylvania. This fund now yields an income of about 18,000*l.* sterling, which is distributed among a population of about 285,000 persons;

three-fourths are females, according to the ancient English custom. Even the poor blacks participate in the prevalent taste for education, for there are two schools at Newhaven appropriated to them. Many of them, I am assured, are able to read, write, and keep accounts, and are, in their own sphere of life, useful and respectable members of society. In building Long Wharf, two black men were contractors for executing a considerable part of the work, where the water is sixteen feet deep."*

The chief ornament and attraction of Newhaven remains to be noticed,—its college, the rival of Harvard University in literary respectability, and honourably distinguished from it by the orthodoxy of its religious character. The buildings of Yale College make a conspicuous appearance when entering the town from the eastward; and the effect is considerably heightened by three churches which stand at a little distance in front, in a parallel line. The ground between the college and the churches, is neatly divided and enclosed, and ornamented with trees. The college buildings are eight in number. The front line consists of four plain, but uniform structures of brick, four stories high, containing apartments for the students; the intervals being occupied by a chapel with a spire,

presenting the singular circumstance of a larger sum being paid out of the public treasury for the education of the people, than is received by it in the shape of taxes of every kind! In most districts, however, the funds are not sufficient to support the schools for more than half or two-thirds of the year. In many of them, the school is shut during the remainder of the year; in others, the inhabitants assess themselves to support it during the interval. "I believe it is next to impossible," says Mr. Duncan, "to discover in the State a white native who cannot read and write."—Duncan, vol. i. pp. 109, 110.

* Duncan, vol. i. pp. 108, 112.

a lyceum with a belfry, and a space for a correspondent edifice: two other buildings are behind.*

Yale College was originally established at Saybrook, in the year 1700, and was incorporated by the colonial legislature in the following year. The project of establishing a college in Connecticut, appears to have been seriously entertained fifty years before; but it was checked, Dr. Dwight informs us, by well-founded remonstrances from the people of Massachusetts, who justly urged, that the whole population of New England was scarcely sufficient to support one institution of this nature, and that the establishment of a second would endanger the prosperity of both. These objections put a stop to the design for the time; it was not, however, lost sight of. In 1718, the infant Institution was removed by the Trustees to Newhaven. It was originally intended simply for the education of young men for the ministry; but, as it gathered strength from individual liberality and public patronage, the range of its plan of study was gradually extended, until it now embraces the more essential parts of a complete literary, scientific, and medical education.

The college received its name in commemoration of the beneficence of the Honourable Elihu Yale, a son of one of the first settlers,† who went to England in early

* The original colleges were only three in number, named, Connecticut Hall, Union Hall, and Berkeley Hall: a fourth was added in 1821.

† His father, Thomas Yale, Esq., was descended of an ancient and respectable family in Wales, which for many generations possessed the manor of Plas Grannow, near Wrexham. He came from England with the first colonists of Newhaven. In this town his son Elihu was born, April 5, 1648. He went to England at ten years of age; to India, at thirty, where he resided about twenty years; and died at Wrexham, July 8, 1721.—Dwight, vol. i. p. 169.

life, and thence to India, where he became governor of Madras; and on his return to England, he was elected governor of the East India Company. From this gentleman, the College received donations at various times between 1714 and 1718, to the amount of 500*l.* sterling; and a short time before his death, he directed another benefaction to the same amount to be transmitted, but it was never received. Another of its early benefactors was the celebrated Dean Berkeley, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne, who came to America in the year 1732, for the purpose of establishing a college in the Island of Bermuda; a project to which he nobly sacrificed considerable property, as well as time and labour. His efforts being frustrated by the failure of the promised support from Government, he presented to this Institution a farm which he had purchased in Rhode Island,* and afterwards transmitted to it from England a very valuable collection of books,—"the finest that ever came together at one time into America." Sir Isaac Newton and many other distinguished men presented their works to the library.

Although founded under the sanction of the colonial legislature, and partially endowed by it, the College was for a long time indebted for its support chiefly to individual patronage: the whole amount bestowed by the colonial legislature during the first ninety years of its existence, did not much exceed 4500*l.* sterling. But when the Federal Government was consolidated, a grant was made, in 1792, to Yale College, out of

* This farm was in the neighbourhood of Newport, near the south-western extremity of Rhode Island, which, previously to the American Revolution, ranked as the fourth commercial town in the British Colonies, and contained 9000 inhabitants. Here Bishop Berkeley for some time resided.

a fund created by uncollected arrears of war-taxes, by which ultimately 60,000 dollars (13,500*l.*) were realised; and to this day, nearly the whole of the funded income arises from this source. The affairs of the College are under the superintendence of a Board of Trustees, consisting of the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of the State, six of the senators, and eleven clergymen. The faculty consists of a President, nine professors, and six tutors. The course, as at Harvard University, extends through four years.

"In Yale College," says Mr. Duncan, "the advantages of the English and the Scottish systems of education seem to be in a great measure combined. The scope for original discussion and elegance of illustration which lecturing affords, is connected with the more laborious and effective discipline of tutors and examination. The whole of the classes are subjected to a rigorous scrutiny twice in each year. The stimulating system of prizes, is partially in use. Bishop Berkeley established a prize fund, which yields annually 150 dollars: this is given in premiums of 50 dollars (11*l.* 5*s.*) each, to the students in different classes who pass the best examination in Latin and Greek. A few others of inferior amount are given for specimens of Latin and English composition, and for public declamation. These premiums are bestowed privately. The Medical School which is in connexion with Yale College, is of recent institution, but already bears an honourable reputation. The expense of education is rather less than at Harvard. I believe that few students can keep their expenditure much under 100*l.* a year; and some of the more extravagant frequently expend twice as much. The President has an annual salary of about 450*l.* sterling; the Professors, from 270*l.* to 340*l.* In the medical department, the

Professor receives no other salary than the fees of the students, with the exception of one, who has an annual stipend of 90*l*. The professors of chemistry and mathematics, besides their salaries as academical professors, have half of the fees received from medical students and strangers who attend their classes." The College library contains nearly 8000 volumes. Connected with the philosophical department is a most commodious and well furnished laboratory. The cabinet of minerals is by far the finest in America, and there are few in Europe that surpass it.* In November 1820, the number of students in Yale College was, resident graduates, 31; academical students, 319; medical students, 62: total, 412.†

As Harvard University has its literary journal, the North American Review, of which the reputed Editor is (or was) Professor Everett; so, Yale College sends forth, under the very able auspices of Professor Silliman, the American Journal of Science. From their

* This superb collection, which is partly private property, was formed by combining two European cabinets; that of M. Gigot D'Orcy of Paris, one of the farmers-general under Louis XVI., who was guillotined during the sway of Robespierre, and that of Count Razamuski, a Russian nobleman sometime resident at Lausanne. To this collection, containing about 18,000 well selected specimens, are added between five and six thousand more, the property of the College and of Professor Silliman.

† Duncan, vol. i. pp. 127—151. A very detailed account of the discipline and course of study at Yale College, drawn from official sources, will be found in this work, followed by a comparison between the American and the Scottish systems of university education, instituted in a spirit of enlightened candour by the able and accomplished Writer. A copious history of the college is given by Dr. Dwight, (vol. i. pp. 167—181,) who presided over it with distinguished ability from 1795 till his death in 1817. His theological lectures, reprinted in this country in 5 vols. 8vo. (1819), deservedly rank as a standard publication. To his wisdom, firmness, and ability, Yale College is mainly indebted for its respectability and orthodox character.

very different nature, these journals can hardly be considered as rival publications: both are highly creditable to the ability and attainments of their respective conductors.

Princeton, in New Jersey, (about 43 miles N. E. from Philadelphia, and 53 from New York,) is the seat of a third college, which has had the honour of sending out some of the most distinguished orators and statesmen that America has produced. It was founded in 1738, and gradually attained to a highly repectable rank as a literary institution; particularly during the presidency of the venerable Dr. Witherspoon, who was invited from Scotland to occupy that honourable situation.* The college contained in 1818, 150 students. Were the institution established upon a more liberal scale, Mr. Duncan remarks, "it is probable, from its local advantages, that its students would soon outnumber those of any other American college. Situate midway between New York and Philadelphia, its proximity to both, gives it a decided advantage over both Harvard and Yale. To the immense territory south and west of Philadelphia, it as yet the nearest academical institution of any considerable reputation, and will certainly, if other things are equal, obtain a preference to those that are two or three hundred miles further off. The wealthiest families in the Union, and

* "It is remarkable," says Dr. Morse, "that all the presidents of this college, except Dr. Witherspoon, were removed by death very soon after their election into office." The Rev. Jonathan Dickinson, elected 1746, died 1747. The Rev. Aaron Burr, elected 1748, died 1757. The Rev. Jonathan Edwards, elected 1758, died the same year. He was succeeded by the Rev. Samuel Davies, the author of some of the best sermons in the language, who died in 1760. The Rev. Dr. Finley, who succeeded him in 1761, died in 1766. Dr. Witherspoon was elected in 1767, and held the office upwards of twenty years.

those who scatter money most lavishly, belong to the southern part of it; and if a University can be supported any where on a liberal scale, they are able to do it." *

A theological academy was, in 1811, founded at Princeton, by the Presbyterian Church of the United States, in pursuance of an act of the General Assembly. The funds for its establishment were derived partly from congregational collections, and partly from private subscriptions. The students amounted, in 1818, to about eighty. The tuition is altogether gratuitous. From the proximity of this institution to the college, it was anticipated, that results mutually beneficial would accrue; and their combined advantages will be a strong inducement to many young men to select Princeton as their place of study.

At Andover, in Massachusetts, there is a similar institution, but on a more munificent scale, founded in 1818, in connexion with the New England Congregational Church. "It had its origin," Mr. Duncan informs us, "in the liberality of three or four wealthy individuals, who not only bestowed funds sufficient for the commencement of the academy, but, as it was observed to rise in usefulness and reputation, gradually enlarged the amount of their munificent contributions, till it has become possessed of several commodious buildings, and of four endowed professorships, worth, it is said, from 300*l.* to 400*l.* sterling a year. The branches for which they are appointed, are, biblical literature, sacred rhetoric, ecclesiastical

* Duncan, vol. i. p. 171. The system and discipline of Princeton College are much the same as at Yale College, except that the different departments of instruction are divided among fewer professors and tutors.

history, and systematic theology: with these they combine the other departments of a theological education, and the establishment is probably as practically useful as if the professorships were more numerous. The chairs are said to be reputably filled; one of them indeed by a gentleman of high celebrity throughout the whole Union. Besides these advantages, Andover possesses about forty scholarships, which are, however, less in individual amount than the two at Princeton."* In 1821—2, the number of students in this academy amounted to 132. The present Professor of Sacred Literature, the Rev. Moses Stuart, has laid Biblical students under considerable obligations by several works which have been reprinted in this country.

Cornwall, in Connecticut, is the seat of another theological seminary, which claims an honourable mention: it is called the Foreign Mission School, and is devoted to the instruction of young natives of foreign countries, with the view of qualifying them to return home as missionaries or teachers. It was founded in 1809, and contained in 1822, eighteen pupils; namely, 6 Sandwich Islanders, 1 New Zealander, 1 Malay, 1 Chinese, 1 Cherokee, 1 Oneida, 1 Tuscarora, 1 Caughnawaga, and 2 Stockbridge Indians, with 3 natives of the United States, intending to be foreign missionaries. In March 1823, two young Greeks reached America from Malta, one fifteen, and the other eleven years of age, who had come over for the sole purpose of enjoying the benefit of this school.† Such an institution reflects the highest

* Duncan, vol. i. p. 179. In 1822, the private benefactions to this theological academy, since its foundation, had amounted very nearly to 100,000*l.* sterling.

† Duncan, vol. i. pp. 179—181.

honour on the philanthropy and enlightened policy of its projectors and supporters.

We must here take leave of New England, and at the same time, of the learned President of Yale College, whose accurate and valuable, though tedious volumes contain the fullest topographical description of this interesting section of the United States.* In Connecticut, we have the most perfect specimen, perhaps, of a pure democracy, in alliance with the representative principle, tempered by the steady habits and religious character of the population, and by the influence of the clergy, that has ever been realized. The officers of the State are all elective; "yet, the incumbents," Dr. Dwight remarks, "except those who belong to the house of representatives, hold them with a stability unparalleled under any monarchy in Europe." The father, son, and grandson of the family of Wyllys held the office of secretary, in succession, more than a century, and the grandson left it by resignation. The Judges, though annually elected by the legislature, have held their offices, with scarcely an exception, through life. The governors of the State are annually chosen by the people; yet, from 1665 to 1817, there occur but nineteen changes, some of which

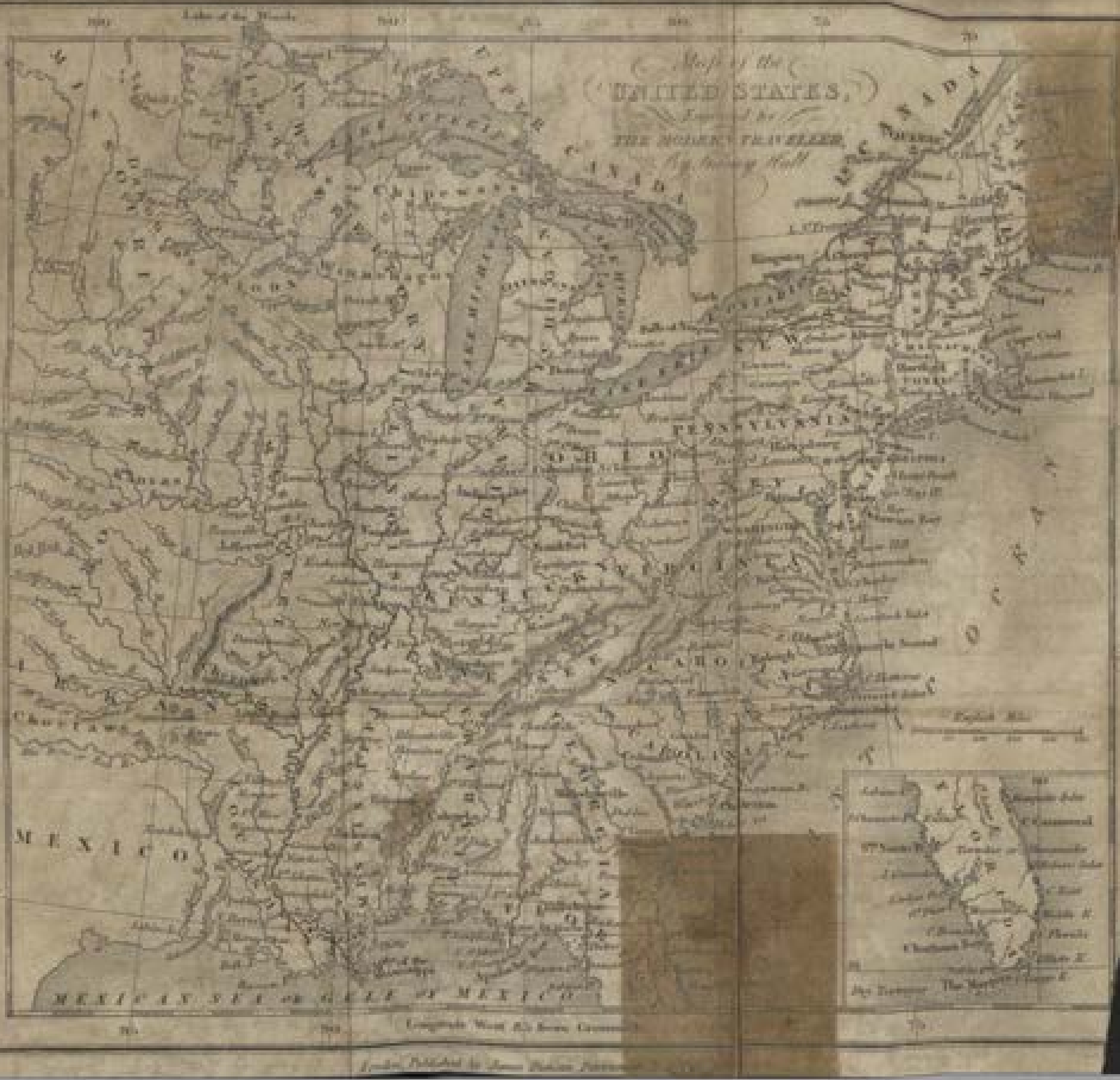
* An abridgement of these Travels, in which the topographical and historical information should be given in a compressed form, omitting the numerous repetitions and trivial details, and substituting for the desultory epistolary form, a proper arrangement,—would be of far more value than the work in its present shape. An amended publication of this description, is due to the memory of the learned Author, and to the public. Within our prescribed limits, it has been impossible to include even an abstract of the multifarious information scattered through 2000 closely printed pages.

were re-elections of an individual who had previously served the office. One highly respected member of the legislature resigned his seat at the council-board, after he had sat there more than fifty years. "There is no country," continues this truly patriotic and enlightened Anglo-American, "where privileged orders do not exist, in which magistrates have been generally held in so high respect." This is the consequence of their long continuance in public office. Under these circumstances, he remarks, the strength of personal attachment comes in aid of the other bonds of society and the other means of supporting Government, which, in the hands of those who have long enjoyed the respect and confidence of their fellow citizens, is felt to be the government of friends; and the attachment to the men is naturally associated with the measures. "The whole force of this affection does not, I confess," adds the learned Writer, "exist even here. For its entire efficacy, we must look to a monarchy, an army, or a navy. The ruler, being a single object, concentrates the whole regard of the mind, and, if an amiable and worthy man, faithfully and wisely discharging the duties of his office, may exert an influence over those whom he governs, next to magical. Of the benefits to which this powerful principle gives birth, free governments ought in every safe way to avail themselves. A doctrine, a constitution, or even an abstract term, may serve as a watch-word of party, a torch of enthusiasm, or an idol of occasional ardour. But there is no permanent earthly object of affection, except man; and without such affection, there is reason to fear, that no free government can long exist in safety and peace." *

*_Dwight, vol. i. pp. 228—231, 256, 7.

One such object of national affection, the American people have had, in their first and only ruler, who united the nation whom he swayed by the moral force of his character. Washington was loved
he has had no successor.

END OF VOL. I.


Map of the
UNITED STATES,
Engraved by
THE MODERN TRAVELLER
Lake of the Woods
UPPER CANADA
CANADA
Chipewyan
PENNSYLVANIA
OHIO
KENTUCKY
VIRGINIA
CAROLINA
Chottawa
MEXICO
MEXICAN SEA or GULF of MEXICO
English Mile
Longitude West R.s from Greenwich
London, Published by James Duncan Paternoster

THE

MODERN TRAVELLER.

A

DESCRIPTION,

GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL,

OF THE

VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE

IN THIRTY VOLUMES.

By JOSIAH CONDER.

VOLUME THE TWENTY-FOURTH.

LONDON:

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MDCCCXXX.

truly and properly American. Being less exclusively commercial than most of the other large cities of the Union, it is less distinguished by the hospitality of its inhabitants, and is a less agreeable and cheerful residence to a stranger; * but it is, on the other hand, justly celebrated for the quietness, piety, and morality of its inhabitants. The higher classes are said to be better informed and more refined in their manners, than those of New York, and entertain fewer national prejudices. If less ardent and sprightly, they are also less versatile and factious than those of Boston. "The lower ranks," says Mr. Howison, "appear to have a remarkable respect for religion and propriety of conduct; and I believe that crimes and violations of the law are more rare in Philadelphia, than in any other city of equal population in the world." †

No two cities within a hundred miles of each other, remarks the Traveller just cited, can differ more than New York and Philadelphia. "The latter has far less appearance of bustle in it, than the former; and the people one sees in its streets, are even more sedate and respectable in their looks, than the same class of persons in New York. Philadelphia contains no street that equals Broadway in splendour and variety, but it possesses some superior in regularity and elegance. Chestnut-street, which is the finest and most fashionable part of the city, comprehends many divisions that will bear a comparison with the best parts of the New Town of Edinburgh; and the interior of the houses is proportionably tasteful and commodious.

* So Mr. Duncan and Mr. Howison tell us; but Captain Basil Hall says; "the greatest pleasure of the inhabitants appears to lie *in giving a hearty and most hospitable reception to strangers,"*— *"properly introduced."*

† Howison, p. 353.

The High-street is the great place of business; and in it is a market which, I suppose, for the quantity and variety of articles it affords, is not exceeded by any in the world, being about half a mile in length.*

The position of Philadelphia, although not equal to that of New York, is well chosen, and unites many natural advantages. The city stands upon an isthmus about two miles wide, between the Delaware and the Schuylkill, five miles above their confluence, and 126 miles from the sea. Its port is excellent, although liable to the inconvenience of being occasionally shut for a few weeks in the winter by the ice, notwithstanding that it lies under the parallel of 39° 57′ N. This interruption of its communication with the sea, occurs less frequently, however, than formerly, and lasts for a shorter time; and as the surrounding country becomes cleared of its forests, the severity of the winter, there is reason to believe, will be, to a still further degree, mitigated.

The course of the two rivers at the city, is very nearly N. and S.; but, almost immediately above, they diverge, the Delaware bending to the N. E., and the Schuylkill to the N.W.; thus materially facilitating the commercial communication with the interior of

* Howison, p. 349. This was for a long time the only market in Philadelphia; there are now seven or eight. Dr. Dwight, speaking of the failure of an attempt to establish a new market at New-haven, owing to the persevering opposition of several respectable citizens, says: "There is something very remarkable in the hostility of New England people to a regular market. Those who buy, and those who sell, manifest this opposition alike; nor has the imperfection and precariousness of the supplies brought in carts to their doors, reconciled the former class, nor the superior convenience and certainty of selling at the highest price, persuaded the latter, to the adoption of a system so obviously advantageous to both."—Dwight, vol. i. p. 163.

the State and with New Jersey. Both rivers are navigable up to the city by the largest merchantmen. The Delaware is here about a mile in width: the tide rises and falls about six feet, and vessels of 1200 tons can come up to the wharfs. It is navigable by large sloops and steam-boats to Trenton, about 30 miles above. The Schuylkill, although, above the city, comparatively shallow and disturbed by rapids, was always navigable by small vessels and rafts to a considerable distance; and through the spirited exertions of a company formed in 1815, the navigation has been so greatly improved and artificially extended, that boats loaded with produce ascend to the coal-mines of Mount Carbon, beyond the Blue Mountains, a distance of 110 miles, 64 of which are canal, overcoming a fall of 588 feet, by means of 28 dams and 120 locks. A branch undertaken by the Union Canal Company, connects the Susquehanna with the Schuylkill at Reading.

A still more important undertaking is that of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company. This canal, which had long been a favourite project with the citizens of Philadelphia, was first seriously taken up in 1823. Commencing on the Delaware about 40 miles below Philadelphia, it crosses the peninsula in a direction nearly W., and enters the tide waters of the Elk river, a tributary to the Chesapeake. The length of the canal is thirteen miles and a half; its breadth is 60 feet at top, 40 feet at bottom; its depth, 10 feet, with a rise of only eight feet above high tide to its summit level. The height of deep cutting is 90 feet, through which there is a walling of large stone, 12 feet high, for an extent of four miles. The citizens *of Philadelphia boast that it presents the greatest excavation ever attempted in any country.* The estimated cost was to be about 1,200,000 dollars; but two

millions of dollars have already been expended on the undertaking, owing to the unexpected difficulties which it has been found necessary to surmount.* Its eastern termination is guarded by Fort Delaware, and will be protected by a second fort directly on its banks. At its entrance into the Delaware is a spacious harbour, 20 feet deep at low water, capable of containing 200 vessels of a large class, and affording a safe shelter against the dangers of the bay at all seasons. "Nor is the magnificence of the work," say Messrs. Carey and Lea, "disproportioned to its importance. It is the great link which connects the north and the south; which opens to the rich interior of Pennsylvania and New York, a direct, safe, and profitable intercourse with all the southern States; and which gives to those States new markets for the sale, and new ports for the shipment of their staple productions."† Together with the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, towards the accomplishment of which a million of dollars has been recently voted by Congress, and the Dismal Swamp Canal, by which a communication

* The Ninth General Report of the Directors of this Company, dated June 2, 1828, details some of these difficulties and mishaps. The workmen, in excavating, had to contend perpetually with quicksands and slips of earth, owing to which, considerably more earth had been taken from the line of canal, than was originally contained within its limits; and a prodigious quantity of masonry had been found requisite to ensure the solidity of the banks, which in several instances "indicated a decided tendency to sink." It was hoped, that the entire canal, the eastern section of which to the summit bridge was finished, would be navigable in the autumn of 1829.

† Philadelphia in 1824, p. 159. The Writer adds: "*More useful too*, if possible, *in war* than in peace, it will facilitate the operations of our armies," &c. In the "Ninth Report," we have a similar reference to its contingent advantages, "should these United States be at any time involved in the calamities of war with a foreign maritime nation." These martial notions are probably *ad captandum*.

will be established with the Carolinas, it will complete a great chain of internal navigation of singular extent and importance.

The first appearance of the city, stretching along the bank of the Delaware "in magnificent extent," Mr. Howison thought, "very imposing." Ships of every description are seen at anchor in the river, and give the city a commercial and busy aspect. Mr. Duncan (who visited it in 1818) says: "The appearance of the city from the river is by no means imposing; rather the opposite. The ground is generally level, and the mass of buildings present a dull, heavy uniformity. Most of those along the bank are by no means elegant, and only a solitary steeple rises above the dense horizon." Thus travellers differ; less widely, however, in meaning than in words; for, while there is nothing imposing, in the sense of deceptive, in the first view of the city, nothing picturesque in its site, nor magnificent in its architectural character, it is very conceivable, that its "unbroken aggregate of buildings," with all the signs of mercantile wealth and bustle, must derive a sort of grandeur from its very extent and from the ideas connected with the moving scene.

"The aspect of the city, however," continues Mr. Duncan, "improves amazingly when you enter the streets, which are wide, straight, and clean, and, with only one exception, cross each other at right angles. The houses are in general of painted brick; but some of the more modern have a flight of marble steps in front; and the lintels of the doors and windows, and even the side walk in front, are of the same beautiful materials." *

* The banks of the Schuylkill furnish a plentiful supply of the

H. Adlard. Sc.

PHILADELPHIA,

FROM KENSINGTON

Published by [illegible]

"When Penn laid out the ground for his city,* he intended that it should occupy a parallelogram one mile in width, between the two rivers, and that the buildings should be kept within the parallel lines till the intervening space was filled. But the inhabitants found that the bank of the Delaware was a more desirable situation than that of the Schuylkill; and, in consequence, buildings have stretched along the former river, above and below the assigned boundary, till the city is here about four miles long, while the streets are not compactly built much further than half way across to the other river. On both banks of the Schuylkill, however, a considerable number of buildings have been erected. The populous suburb on the Delaware, to the south of the original boundary, is called Southwark; that to the north, the Northern Liberties, and closer to the river, Kensington.†

* Dean Prideaux says, that Penn had in view as his model, the celebrated of Babylon; and it would seem from the first orders that he gave to his commissioners, that he thought it practicable to emulate the size as well as the regularity of the Chaldean capital. Instead, however, of a town of twelve and a half miles square, which the original plan would have occupied, one of less than two square miles, or about 1200 acres, was laid out; which was again contracted, and by the charter of 1701, the city was declared to be bounded by the two rivers Delaware and Schuylkill, or hidden river.—Mease's Picture of Philadelphia.

† "The venerable elm under which, according to tradition, Penn negotiated his celebrated treaty with the Indians, stood at Kensington; and the decayed trunk, after being spared by the British army in the Revolutionary war, and weathering many a hard gale, was at last levelled a few years ago by a hurricane. Portions of it are now eagerly sought after by relic-hunters, to be converted, like the Cruickstone Yew and the rafters of Alloway Kirk, into snuff-boxes and other toys. I lately discovered in an old Baltimore newspaper, what is said to be a copy of Penn's treaty; it is in the form of an indenture, and the following are the articles which it specifies as having been given to the Indians, in exchange for the ground between the two rivers, 'as far as a man can ride in two days

"Market street, 100 feet wide, stretches through the centre of the city, from the one river to the other; it is crossed, rather nearer the Schuylkill than midway, by Broad-street, 113 feet wide, and the other streets are at right angles to one or other of these. The cross streets are from 50 to 60 feet wide. Those running parallel to the rivers are, with a quaker-like simplicity, (which, however, affords a stranger important facilities in finding his way,) named North and South, Front, Second, Third, Fourth, and so on, as they recede from each river. Those parallel to Market-street are, with more elegance, named after the various kinds of timber with which the ground was formerly covered; Vine, Sassafras, Mulberry, Chestnut, Walnut, Spruce, Pine, and Cedar.* Water-street, between Front-street and the Delaware, which should have been called *Mud-lane*, and the wharfs which project into the stream, are deviations from the original plan of the city. Dock-street, the only crooked one in the city, was originally the bed of a sluggish stream, which generated noxious air, and was a few years ago arched over.

with a horse: ' 20 guns, 20 fathoms matchcoat, 20 fathoms stroud-water, 20 blankets, 20 kittles, 20 pounds powder, 100 bars lead, 40 tomahawks, 100 knives, 40 pair stockings, 1 barrel beer, 20 pounds red lead, 100 fathoms wampum, 30 glass bottles, 30 pewter spoons, 100 awl-blades, 300 tobacco-pipes, 100 hands tobacco, 20 tobacco tongs, 20 steels, 300 flints, 30 pairs scissors, 30 combs, 60 looking-glasses, 200 needles, 1 skipple salt, 30 pounds sugar, 5 gallons molasses, 20 tobacco-boxes, 100 Jews' harps, 20 hoes, 30 gimblets, 30 wooden screw boxes, 100 strings of beads." This curious document does not appear in Clarkson's Life of Penn.

* The local distich,

"Chestnut, walnut, spruce, and pine,
Market, arch, and race, and vine,"

every stranger, Captain Basil Hall says, will do well to get by heart, to guide him through the city.

"Not many wooden houses are now to be seen in the streets; the greater part were extirpated by fires, which, on different occasions, spread dreadful havoc; and since 1796, their erection has been prohibited. The side walks are wider and less encumbered than those of New York. Many of them are skirted with Lombardy poplars. In hot weather, numerous awnings are stretched along in front of the stores, the foot-walks are cooled by frequent ablutions with water, and the atmosphere has a freshness and purity very uncommon in so large a city.

"Market-street, which, to correspond to its situation, should have been the most elegant in the city, is disfigured by a long, covered piazza in the centre, of the plainest possible appearance, under which the venders of meat, fish, poultry, vegetables, fruit, earthen and wooden ware, expose their commodities for sale; and on either side are carts and wheelbarrows loaded with additional supplies. Upon the whole, however, the streets are much superior to the mass of those in New York, although individually, not one of them can be compared with Broadway, nor is there a walk or a prospect equal to what the Battery affords.

"Some of the public buildings do honour alike to the liberality of the citizens, and to the classical taste of the architects by whom they were designed. The banking-house of Mr. Girard presents an elegant front almost entirely of white marble. A lofty Corinthian portico, of fluted columns, rises from a flight of steps to the full height of the building, and corresponding pilasters are extended on both sides. The Bank of Pennsylvania is a still more perfect structure, and makes a nearer approach to classical models than any that I have ever seen. The whole building,

including even the roof, is of white marble. Its form is a parallelogram 125 feet long, and 51 feet broad: at each end is a flight of ten steps supporting a chaste Ionic portico of six columns, with an entablature and pediment. The entablature is carried round the building, but the sides are otherwise plain. Under the porticoes, the Grecian character has been carefully preserved, and in neither is there any opening but a single door in the centre.

"This magnificent edifice is said to have been designed from a temple at Athens; and the very remarkable correctness of its principal features, combined with the appropriate and beautiful material of which it is composed, produce a most pleasing effect on the spectator's mind, and forcibly impress him with the sad inferiority of modern decoration, to the simple elegance of Grecian models. The situation which this noble edifice occupies, is low and confined, and materially injures its effect." *

The Bank of the United States is a still more elegant structure, built "on the plan of the Parthenon at Athens, so far as it could be consistently with the different purposes for which it is designed, and dispensing of course with the flanking columns and every appendage of mere decoration." The front is a portico, the full height of the building, consisting of eight Doric columns, twenty-seven feet in height, and four feet and a half in diameter, rising from a flight of steps, and supporting a corresponding entablature and

* Duncan, vol. i. pp. 187—191. The design of the Bank of Pennsylvania is taken from the temple of the Muses on the Ilyssus. The first stone was laid in April 1799, and the whole was finished in 1801. It is reckoned the purest specimen of Grecian architecture in the country, with the exception of the Bank of the United States.

pediment, all of the Pennsylvanian white marble. The interior arrangements are thus described.

"The door of entrance opens into a large vestibule with circular ends, embracing the transfer and loan offices on the right and left, together with a commodious lobby leading to the banking-room. The vestibule ceiling is a prolonged panelled dome, divided into three compartments by bands, enriched with the guilloches springing from a projecting impost, containing a sunken frette. The pavement is inlaid with American and Italian marble throughout. The banking-room occupies the centre of the building, being 48 feet wide, and 81 feet in length. A double range of six fluted marble columns, 22 inches in diameter, forms a screen or gallery for the clerks' desks, which are placed within the intercolumniations. These columns are of the Ionic order, with a full entablature and blocking course, on which the great central and lateral arches are supported. The central arch, being semi-cylindrical, is 28 feet in diameter, and 81 feet in length. The ceiling is 35 feet from the floor to the crown of the arch. An Isthmian wreath, carved in one entire block of Pennsylvanian marble, surrounds the clock face, which occupies the space of the first panel over the entablature in the centre, the design of which is copied from the reverse of an antique gem, found at Corinth, and described by Stuart. The tellers' counters are of marble, forming panelled pedestals across each end of the banking-room. The stockholders' room is a parallelogram of 50 feet by 28, having a groin-arched ceiling. The banking-room is amply warmed by two cast-iron furnaces, lined with brick, being simply erected within an air-chamber, through which the external atmosphere passes, and becomes heated by the furnace. It then rises through

the arch into a circular cast-iron pedestal, perforated on the sides, out of which it is suffered to escape into the room. The whole body of the building is arched in a bomb-proof manner, from the cellar to the roof, which is covered with copper. All the groin arches are girdled at the springing line with iron straps, passing round within the body of the division walls." *

There is a third Bank, the oldest in the United States, called the Bank of North America; the establishment of which, in 1781, aided by the exertions of its originator, Mr. Morris, is believed to have been the means of saving the public treasury from bankruptcy. The banking-house, however, is only a plain brick building, recently rough-cast, on the northern side of Chestnut-street. A fourth, the Bank of Pennsylvania, is described as "a neat and correct specimen of the Gothic style of architecture." There is also a Masonic Hall, in the same style. These buildings, Mr. Duncan says, "are necessarily on a small scale, and the fatal incongruity of red brick walls with white marble buttresses and pinnacles, must strike every one who has seen an ancient Gothic building." † To remedy this, the Gothic Bank has been recently rough-cast and coloured in imitation of marble.

There are between eighty and ninety places of worship in Philadelphia. Most of these are neat, but plain edifices. It is only within a few years that a

* Carey and Lea's Philadelphia in 1824, pp. 78, 9. The foundation stone of this beautiful edifice was laid in April 1819, and it was finished in 1824.

† "The Masonic Hall," says Lieutenant Hall, "is an awkward combination of brick and marble in the Gothic style; that is, plentifully tricked and frounced with niches, pinnacles, and battlements, and a spire 80 feet high. The Philadelphia Bank is in the same ridiculous taste, bating the absurdity of the spire."—*F. Hall*, pp. 217, 18.

taste for architectural decoration has been introduced. One of the Baptist churches is mentioned by Lieutenant Hall as having some claim to elegance of design. "It has a rotunda surmounted with a dome, which is lighted by a lantern 20 feet in diameter; there is a projection to the street in the form of wings, separated by an Ionic colonnade, which forms the entrance, and is crowned with two cupolas; the whole is of brick; the diameter of the rotunda is 90 feet. The walls are 50 feet from the ground, and are surmounted with three steps before the swell of the dome, which rises at an angle of 45°. The building is calculated to hold 2500 persons.* The first Presbyterian church, in Washington Square, built in 1822, is said to be on the model of the Ionic temple on the Ilyssus: it is of brick, coated with mortar, painted in imitation of marble. The roof is surmounted with a cupola, in which is a bell.† St. Andrew's Church, in Eighth Street, is also a Grecian edifice: "the front is intended to be a copy of the portico of the Temple of Bacchus at Teos; the interior is of a correspondent character, and highly decorated." This church, which is 130 feet long by 65, was consecrated for the episcopal worship in May 1823.‡ St. Stephen's, in Tenth Street, consecrated in the same year, is described as one of the most perfect specimens of Gothic architecture in the country. Christ's Church, in Second Street, rebuilt in 1727, has a steeple 190 feet high, which was for a long time the only one of which Philadelphia could boast, with a ring of eight bells.

A second Jewish synagogue has been recently erected, 40 feet in front, 70 feet in depth, and two stories in

* F. Hall, p. 217. † Philadelphia in 1824, p. 49. ‡ *Ibid.*

height, "built in the Egyptian style, of stone from the Falls of the Schuylkill. The principal entrance is through an elevated door-way formed with inclined jambs, supporting a large coved cornice, in which is sculptured the globe and wings. The interior embraces two semi-circular blocks of seats, displaying to the north and south of the ark and altar. The dome is supported with Egyptian columns copied from the temple at Tentyra, and is formed by semi-circular archivolts, joining a richly panelled segment extending over the ark and altar. In the centre of the dome is a lantern which gives light to the altar. The ark is situated in the east side, immediately opposite the altar, and is neatly decorated with pilasters, supporting a second cornice, enriched with the globe and wings, together with a marble tablet, containing the Ten Commandments in Hebrew. It is approached by a flight of steps between cheek-blocks, which support two handsome tripods, crowned with lamps. The galleries are semi-circular, extending round the northern and southern sides of the building, and are supported by the columns which extend to the dome." * One scarcely knows at which circumstance to admire the most, that a Jewish synagogue should be erected on the model of a heathen temple, or that this whimsical combination of incongruous styles and emblems, sacred and profane, Egyptian columns and the airy dome, should be met with in the City of Penn.

The original character of Philadelphia, however, not merely as regards its architecture, but in all other respects, has undergone, and is still undergoing, a strange metamorphosis. "In a religious point of view," says Mr. Duncan, "Philadelphia, though strongly

* Philadelphia in 1824, p. 55.

characterized by the peculiarities of its Quaker origin, is not so much so as I had previously imagined. The Friends are now prodigiously outnumbered by those of other persuasions; and many who retain the name of the sect, have laid aside some of the peculiarities by which the more rigid are distinguished. This is particularly the case with those of younger years. In dress, there seems to be a kind of hesitating approximation to conformity with modern taste; and there are some individuals who, though careful, in writing, to retain the well known formula in date, address, and signature, have no objections, in conversation, to concede the usual courtesies of polite intercourse. Passive obedience and non-resistance have been generally esteemed essential to Quaker principles; but a considerable party in this city separated from the main body, during the Revolutionary war, in consequence of maintaining the propriety of fighting for the national independence. They still continue to be a distinct class, justifying an appeal to the sword in defence of national rights." * They are known under the appellation of Free Quakers.

* Duncan, vol. i. p. 204. Of the principles of the majority of the sect, this Writer adds, he had been able to learn very little. He had met with individuals who maintained very decidedly the essential doctrines of Christianity, while the sentiments of others approached very nearly to Deism. The resurrection of the body, he was told by "a Friend of the old school," who conducted him to the burying-ground, formed no part of their religious belief. A schism has at length taken place in the Quaker body, occasioned by the open promulgation of anti-christian doctrines by Elias Hicks and his partisans. At a meeting held at Westbury, in April 1829, Hicks was publicly disowned from being a member of the Society of Friends; and at the yearly meeting of the Friends in London, in May last, all connection was publicly disclaimed with those who held Socinian doctrines. In Pennsylvania, New York, Baltimore, Ohio, and Indiana, there exists considerable division of sentiment. In Ohio, the Hicksites numbered at the last yearly meeting, 1423,

Some idea of the proportional numbers of the various nations and religious denominations comprised in the motley population of this city, may be formed from a list of the places of worship. In the year 1749, Philadelphia contained 2076 houses, about 11,600 inhabitants,* and eleven places of worship; viz. 2 Presbyterian, 2 Quaker, 1 Episcopalian, 1 Swedish, 1 Baptist, 1 German Lutheran, 1 German Calvinist, 1 Moravian, and 1 Roman Catholic. In 1790, when the number of houses had increased to 6651, and the inhabitants to 42,520,† the places of worship were twenty-six in number, including 6 Presbyterian churches, 5 Quaker, (one of them for Free Quakers,) 3 Episcopalian, 3 Roman Catholic, a second German Lutheran, a second Baptist (Universal), a Methodist, a Jews' Synagogue, and the other places of worship, Swedish and German, already enumerated. In 1820, the population of the city was 63,802; that of the suburbs and county, 73,295: together, 137,097. Of these, 7331 within the city, and 3398 in the suburbs, were persons

about one-seventh of the whole; but it is believed that the greater proportion of the members continue to adhere to the primitive doctrines of Friends. In New England, Virginia, and North Carolina, no schism has taken place.—Congreg. Mag., Oct. 1829, p. 561.

* Of these, according to Morse, about 600 were blacks. In four years afterwards, on an enumeration made by Dr. Franklin and eight other citizens, the dwelling-houses had reached 2300, containing 14,563 inhabitants. In seven years more, the houses numbered 2960. In 1769, they were 4474; in 1776, 5460; in 1783, 6000.

† According to Carey and Lea's Philadelphia; but this census included the suburbs, which, in subsequent censuses, were reckoned as part of the county. According to Mease, the population of the city in 1790, was 28,522, including 193 slaves and 1411 free persons not taxed; that of the Northern Liberties, 8,337; of Southwark, Passyunk, and Morgamensing, 8,137: total, 44,996. In 1810, the total population of the city and county had risen to 111,210, of whom 9607 were blacks.

of colour; but slavery had been, in the mean time, happily extinguished.* In 1824, the places of worship in the city and suburbs, were as follow :—

Presbyterian	13	Brought up	66
Do. Scots, or Associate Ch.	1	Moravian	1
Do. Covenanters, or Reformed Presbyterian	1	Reformed Dutch	3
Do. African	2	Swedish Lutheran	1
Protestant Episcopal	11	Mennonist	1
Do. African	1	Universalist	2
Methodist	8	Unitarian	1
Do. African	5	Swedenborgian	2
Baptist	6	Mount Zion	1
Do. African	2	Bible Christians	1
Friends or Quakers	5	Jews	2
Free Quakers	1	Evangelical Society	4
Roman Catholic	4	Prison Chapel and Asylums	4
German Lutheran	4		89
,, Reformed	2		

Ten of these places of worship, it will be seen, were occupied by persons of colour, whom American etiquette excludes from the churches occupied by Europeans. Those belonging to the Evangelical Society, are small buildings erected in different parts of the suburbs. A fifth Roman Catholic chapel was in contemplation. The greatest increase, it will be seen, had taken place in the numbers of the Methodists, the Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, and the Baptists, while the Quakers and the other sects had remained nearly stationary.

Of 500 congregations which existed in the State of

* There were living in the families of white persons as servants,

	Males.	*Females.*	*Total.*
in the city	846	1739	2585
in the suburbs	182	343	525
	1028	2082	3110

Those who kept house, or lived in families of their own colour, were 7619, of whom 1970 were returned as taxable, and 229 owned real estate.

Pennsylvania in 1816, it was calculated, that only 97, or about one-fifth, belonged to the Quaker denomination; there were at the same period, 86 of Presbyterians; 60 of Baptists; 26 of Episcopalians; 96 of German Calvinists, and 74 of German Lutherans. The Friends and Episcopalians, Dr. Morse says, are chiefly of English extraction, and composed in 1789, about one-third of the inhabitants. They live principally in the city of Philadelphia, and in the counties of Philadelphia, Chester, Bucks, and Montgomery. The Presbyterians consist for the most part of the descendants of emigrants from the north of Ireland: they are particularly numerous in the western and frontier counties. The Baptists are chiefly the descendants of emigrants from Wales. About one-half of the population of the State was at that time supposed to be either of English or of Yankee origin; one-fourth, at least, German; one-eighth, Irish; and the remainder, Scots, Welsh, Swedes, and Dutch, and persons of colour.

Philadelphia is honourably distinguished by the number of its literary and philanthropic institutions. Among those of the latter description, the New Penitentiary and the Pennsylvania Hospital claim particular notice.

The Penitentiary recently erected at Pittsburgh, is of considerable extent, and not destitute, Captain Basil Hall says, of architectural beauty; but the construction, he deems defective, and the plan objectionable. "In the centre of the yard is erected what is called an observatory; and on seven lines diverging from this building, are to be built double ranges of cells, each 12 *feet by 8, and 16 feet high, lighted by a small hole in the top.* Connected with these apartments on the outside, is a small exercising yard, through which the

cell is entered. The keeper, however, can see the prisoner through a small orifice opening from the cell into the passage. This opening, which may be closed at pleasure, it is intended, shall generally be kept shut, though it affords the only mode of seeing the prisoner, except when the door into the small court is opened. When in the exercising yard, he cannot be seen at all. The central building is miscalled the Observatory, since none of the movements of the prisoners can be discovered from it, in consequence of the intervention of the side walls; and thus, effectual inspection seems out of the question. When in their cells, they have no means of communicating with one another, it is true; and if the orifices into the passage are closed, they are shut out so completely from the world, that they have no means of calling to the keeper, even in the event of sickness.

"The Auburn plan, it may be useful to remember, consists in the strictest solitary confinement at night; in hard labour, but in rigid silence, by day, and always in company, though under constant superintendence; in solitary meals, under lock and key; in regulated marchings to and from their workshops; in subjecting the prisoners to stripes for infractions of the prison rules; and in their never being placed in absolute solitary confinement, except as a punishment of a temporary nature; in having prayers morning and evening, said regularly by a resident clergyman, with whom alone the prisoners are allowed to converse, and that only on Sundays.

"The Philadelphia plan is widely different from this. It is intended, that the prisoners shall be subjected, during the day as well as night, to separate confinement, either in solitary idleness, or in solitary labour; along with which they are to be allowed no

more exercise than what they may themselves choose to take in their little courts. The keeper is the only person, besides the clergyman, who is ever to see them, and a Bible is to be placed in each cell. By these means, it is expected that, while many of the prisoners will be reformed, a salutary terror will be spread over the evil spirits of the State, and crime will thus be doubly prevented." *

This prison is designed to hold only 250 prisoners, though estimated to cost 500,000 dollars. How far the superior efficiency of its reformatory discipline will repay this cost, remains to be ascertained. There can be no doubt that the old system loudly called for reform. The once celebrated Philadelphia prison, which had set so honourable an example of important improvements in prison discipline, had long been in the most deplorable condition. Having been rendered the receptacle for all the convicts, and, until of late, of all the untried prisoners and vagrants belonging to the State of Pennsylvania, the overpowering numbers had rendered nugatory every attempt to preserve that scale of classification, and those plans of seclusion and hard labour, which formerly contributed to maintain the high character of the prison. Owing, too, to the indiscriminate exercise of the power of pardon, the terror of punishment had been essentially impaired. Added to which, it has been represented, that the protection from the weather, the warmth, and the food which the pri-

* B. Hall, vol. ii. pp. 346—348. In the Seventh Report of the London Prison Discipline Society, some further objections to the plan of this prison are stated. In particular, it is observed: "The description of the prison received by the Committee, makes no mention of a chapel, which does not appear to be provided in the plan; neither are there any separate apartments for the moral and religious instruction of the prisoners: this is, indeed, a lamentable omission in the design."—App. p. 332.]

son afforded, rendered it a place of comparative comfort, and held out a temptation to the commission of crime. * Solitary confinement, unmitigated by employment either for body or mind, is the most prominent feature in the discipline which has been advocated by some American writers; not as an occasional punishment, but as the ordinary treatment of prisoners; and this system, it is understood, is to be submitted to experiment in the new Penitentiary. Against the general adoption of such a treatment of prisoners, the objections are very serious and weighty. In the first place, although the injurious effects of solitary imprisonment, as leading to insanity and suicide, may have been greatly over-stated, it must be admitted, that this mode of punishment may be carried to too great an extent; and the consequences of the abuse are so truly dreadful, as to render its general use scarcely compatible with prudence or humanity. It may be pushed to the extent of positive torture, and, in such cases, can be justified only on the same grounds as the exploded engines of terror by which it was sought to subdue the offender, and to invest punishment with salutary horrors. The system of penal severities has had its full trial, on the largest scale, and under every variety of circumstance; and of the inefficacy of terror to subdue or reform the offender, the annals of crime afford the clearest proof. It is admitted, that the dread of punishment powerfully operates to deter from the commission of crime; and for this purpose, punishment ought to be exemplary. But it is also capable of the clearest proof, that the certainty of detection and punishment tends much more directly to produce this salutary effect, than the

* See Mease's Observations (Philadelphia, 1828), p. 21.

degree of suffering inflicted. Sanguinary laws often defeat their own end, by multiplying the chances of escape or pardon; whereas a steady and effective administration of milder laws, with a vigorous police, has been found to operate far more surely in repressing the increase, and preventing the commission of crime. There can be no doubt that solitary confinement is of dreadful efficacy to tame the wildest, and subdue the most obdurate offender; but so little is it adapted, by itself, to reform the culprit, that that object seems to be almost lost sight of by its advocates; and the prisoner, of whatever character, is regarded as the object of penal vengeance, rather than of reformatory discipline. Labour, it is contended, is either no punishment to the convict, or, at most, one which he does not dread. This must of course depend entirely on the kind and degree of labour, and on the convict's previous habits. But, in this argument, the moral effect of labour is put quite out of sight, as well as the mischievous tendency of "compulsory idleness."* Finally, it deserves inquiry, whether those individuals whom the comforts of a prison would be likely to seduce to the commission of crime, must not be objects of compassion, rather than of rigorous penal

* The reader who is desirous of seeing the question fully argued on both sides, may be referred to Dr. Mease's Observations on the Penitentiary System, already cited, which contains an able but unsatisfactory defence of the system of solitary confinement; and for an opposite view of the subject, to the North Amer. Review, October 1821; to Roscoe on Penal Jurisprudence; and to Mr. Fowell Buxton's Inquiry into our Prison Discipline, London, 1818. See also Seventh Report of Prison Discipline Society, pp. 8, 110. Basil Hall, vol. i. pp. 51—79; vol. ii. pp. 349—355. This Traveller saw a poor boy caged up in a solitary cell, where he had been immured in misery, without a Bible or any kind of book, for nine weeks; his sole offence, having run away twice from the master to whom he was apprenticed!

severities; and whether their degraded and distressed condition does not reflect disgrace and criminality upon the State itself, or the community in which they are found.

It is satisfactory to know, that the Philadelphia prison is the only one in America, in which the plan of absolute solitude has been even thought of. The public feeling, Captain Basil Hall says, is decidedly opposed to this mode of treatment. Upon the whole, the Auburn system, which has been adopted under such admirable management, and with results so satisfactory, in the New York Penitentiary at Sing-sing, appears to combine more advantages with fewer defects than any other hitherto proposed.

Among the causes which have led to the increase of crime in the United States, (although it does not appear that its increase has greatly exceeded in proportion that of the population,) two are so conspicuous as to have attracted the particular attention of the American public. The first is, the degraded character of the people of colour, to which the Committee of the Boston Prison Discipline Society specifically advert as calling for legislative interference. It is, we are told, a fact, that about one-fourth of the total expense incurred in the United States for the support of criminal institutions, is occasioned by such convicts; "a fact which speaks volumes in proof of the connexion of slavery with debasement and of ignorance with vice." * The other cause (termed in a Report of the New York Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, "the cause of causes") is intemperance, chiefly in the use of ardent spirits. To this wide-spreading and growing mischief, the sober-minded part of the population

* Seventh Report of Prison Discipline Society, p. 113.

are fully alive. A Society "for the promotion of Temperance," was established at Boston in January 1826; which has been followed by the formation of a similar society at Andover, and probably, by this time, in various other places. The subject was also brought under the immediate notice of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, at Philadelphia, in 1828. From the documents issued by these bodies, it appears, that the number of lives annually destroyed by this vice in the United States, is estimated at upwards of 30,000, and "the number of persons who are diseased, distressed, and impoverished by it, at more than 200,000. The average number of paupers annually received into the alms-house at Philadelphia, in the years 1823 to 1826, was 4706. The alms-house at New York and the Penitentiary connected with it, have about 2000 inmates constantly. "Nearly all these people are addicted to intemperance." * Of 623 adults admitted into the Baltimore alms-house in the year ending April 1826, 554 were positively ascertained to have been reduced to pauperism by drunkenness.

How enormous a consumption of ardent spirits there is in the United States, may easily be conceived, when it is considered, that diluted spirits is the national drink, at least in the greater part of the States.† The chief inducements of the lower class to drink, are, the extremes of the climate, the heat of

* Captain Basil Hall, vol. ii. p. 87. The total number of paupers in the United States, is estimated at 200,000, whose support costs annually ten millions of dollars.

† Dr. Dwight, we have seen, denies the accuracy of this observation so far as regards New England, New York, and part of New Jersey, "*except* the recent settlements:" the common drink in those States, he says, is cider. Since he wrote his work, however, the evil has probably spread.

the summer and the severity of the winter, and the low price of domestic spirits, whisky and apple or peach brandy. Yet, open drunkenness is not a common vice; and Captain Basil Hall was alike astonished, he says, in passing through the country, at "the extent of intemperance, and the limited amount of absolute intoxication." The nature of the stimulus taken, supplies an obvious explanation. "What I did see," he adds, "at every corner into which I travelled, north, south, east, or west, was the universal practice of sipping a little at a time, but frequently. In many places, it was the custom to take a dram before breakfast; and in some parts of the country, another was taken immediately after that meal; and so on at intervals, which varied from half an hour to a couple of hours the whole day." "The evil is manifested in almost every walk of life; it contaminates all it touches; and at last, finds its consummation in the alms-house, the penitentiary, or the insane institution:" * The nervous disorders, pulmonary complaints, and premature debility of constitution so prevalent in the Atlantic States, are, no doubt, in part induced by the early and intemperate use of deleterious stimulants. Nor are the effects upon the health more deplorable than their baleful and fatal operation upon the moral feeling and character. The

* Basil Hall, vol. ii. pp. 91; 84. It may be, as Cadwallader (Mr. Cooper's *alias*) asserts, that the vice of intoxication or absolute drunkenness, prevails chiefly among recent emigrants. The Irish and the English, he says, when transplanted into "the abundance of America," are the most indiscreet in abusing their *advantages*.—Notions, &c., vol. *i.* p. 191. What is charged upon the Americans, by their own countrymen, is the propensity to the vice of sottishness. The man is always drinking, yet never drunk, although seldom quite sober. Captain Basil Hall finds the origin of dram-drinking, and its counterpart, in democracy, which is, with him, the root of all evil.

insidious and secret nature of the selfish indulgence, enables the unhappy victim of the passion not unfrequently to elude the suspicion of others, until it has attained a strength and malignity which no moral considerations have been found adequate to combat or arrest. The convivial drunkard may possibly be reclaimed; the sot scarcely ever. He is committing at once a physical and moral suicide, gradual but certain in its issue.

Yet, it would be a very incorrect conclusion, it has been remarked, were an English gentleman to infer from these statements, that, in visiting the United States, he would have to mingle extensively with a class of dram-drinkers. It is true, he would often see the "eternal bar" which has perched itself even on some of the most picturesque spots in the country;* and the mingled smell of whisky and tobacco would occasionally salute his nose. But to charge the better classes generally with these pernicious habits, would be to fall into an error common to the Americans, in judging of English habits from newspaper accounts of the vices and freaks of a few in the fashionable world.

The subject has led us away from Philadelphia, but we must now hasten to resume and complete our description of the city. The Pennsylvania Hospital, founded in 1750, serves at once the several purposes of a Lunatic Asylum, an Infirmary, a Lying-in Hospital, and a Foundling Hospital. It originated chiefly in the exertions of Dr. Franklin and Dr. Thomas Bond. "The building," says Mr. Duncan, "is large, and although of brick, not inelegant; it stands in the centre

* For example, near the prettiest parts of the Trenton Falls, and on each side of the Cauterskill cataract; and that no one should mistake the nature of these odious erections, the letters BAR are written up most conspicuously.—Basil Hall, vol. i. p. 125.

of one of the square divisions formed by the crossing of four streets, and the whole of the surrounding space is the property of the institution. In front is a circular grass-plot, in the centre of which is a statue of William Penn, with the 'charter of privileges' in his hand: it strikingly resembles his portrait in West's well-known painting of his treaty with the Indians.

"This institution, although partially charitable, is not altogether so. No patients are admitted gratuitously, except those of the poorest classes: all others pay a regulated board, which varies from about 15s. to 45s. sterling a week. There are, however, a number of out-door patients, who are attended and supplied with medicines gratuitously, at their own houses. Clinical lectures are regularly delivered to students of anatomy, and the fees are devoted to the support of an Anatomical Museum and Library, to which the students have access. The museum contains many valuable preparations, models, casts, and drawings; the library consists of about 3000 volumes, and both it and the museum are rapidly increasing. The institution is now possessed of another permanent source of revenue, in West's splendid painting of 'Christ healing the sick in the temple,' presented by the venerable President of the Royal Academy, who was a native of Pennsylvania, as a pledge of his regard for the benevolent institutions of his native country. A small building has been erected for exhibiting this picture, and a quarter of a dollar is required for admission."*

The Pennsylvania Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb, established in 1820, deserves honourable mention. "Like most of the charitable institutions in Ame-

* The exhibition of this painting has brought in, on the average, about 1600 dollars per annum.

rica," says Captain B. Hall, "it is admirably managed. The building is not only handsome in its external appearance, but skilfully and commodiously arranged within. The silence and order of a deaf and dumb establishment give it a sort of enchanted appearance, which is very pleasing when things are so ordered as to make the inmates happy. This excellent asylum is amply sustained by voluntary subscriptions, judiciously aided by 8000 dollars a year from the State Government." There is a second institution of the same description, on a smaller scale, which originated in a dispute between the Directors of the Pennsylvania Institution and Mr. Seixas, the first teacher. Among the other benevolent Institutions are several asylums for orphans, widows, and indigent single women; various associations for the relief or employment of the poor; a Magdalen Society; three or four dispensaries; and a large and splendid naval asylum,—"a sort of Greenwich Hospital." Among the Institutions more directly religious are, a Bible Society, with various subordinate Bible Associations; nine or ten Missionary Societies, including the Board of Missions of the General Assembly; Tract and Prayer-book Societies; a Society for meliorating the condition of the Jews; an Auxiliary Colonization Society; an African Society; a Peace Society; and various others; indicating a great deal of active practical charity and public spirit.

Peale's Museum, originally a private collection, but now under the direction of public trustees, is rising into importance. The grand attraction, Mr. Duncan tells us, is the gigantic skeleton of the mastodon or mammoth. "A human being shrinks into insignificance beside the bony fabric of this enormous antediluvian. The skeleton of the mammoth resembles

very much that of the elephant, carrying, like it, two great tusks in front. The principal difference is found in the grinders; which in the elephant are flat on the top, with the enamel penetrating the whole material, but, in the mammoth, rise into ridges, or processes, as anatomists term them, somewhat as in those of the sheep, with the enamel in the form of an outer crust or case, enveloping, but not penetrating the bone. Some naturalists have supposed from this peculiarity, that the mammoth was a carnivorous animal; but a scientific gentleman remarks to me, that this was impossible, as it has, like the elephant, no front teeth, and its neck is too short, and its tusks too long, to have admitted of its holding and devouring its prey as carnivorous animals do. He thinks it probable, that it lived upon shrubs and the smaller branches of trees, for crushing which, the grinders seem to be well adapted. It only occurs to me in reply to this remark, that the enormous trunk of the mammoth may have served to catch and crush the smaller animals, and convey them into the mouth. Conjecture, however, in such cases, is both unavailing and unimportant; it is sufficient that we have in the existence of these bones unanswerable demonstration, that in earlier times an animal has existed, much more enormous in bulk, than the largest that is now known to tread the surface of the globe. This skeleton, which is, I believe, not so large as some others that have been found, is 11 feet high over the shoulders, and measures 31 feet from the extremity of the tusks to the end of the tail, following the curve. It was found in 1801, in a marl-pit in the State of New York; others have been found near the *licks*, or salt springs, in the State of Ohio. The skeleton is nearly entire, except in the cartilaginous parts, which are supplied by cork.

"An Academy of the Fine Arts was founded here in 1805. It was shortly after incorporated by the legislature, and a building was erected with suitable apartments for study and exhibition rooms. One of the apartments contains a few specimens of antique sculpture, and casts of most of the celebrated statues. Among the modern specimens is a bust of Washington by Canova, and one of West by Chantrey. The painting room is more richly stored, and can boast, if the catalogue is correct, of several paintings by the old masters; among these are three by Titian, one by Raphael, one by Correggio, which is said to have been executed for Charles III. of Spain, and was purchased for 340*l.*, three by Rubens, one by Dominichino, one by Teniers, one by Vandyke, one by Paul Veronese, one by Rembrandt, four by Murillo, and three by Salvator Rosa. These are but a few of the old paintings, and, amongst a crowd of moderns, are some of great merit by native artists, the chief of whom appear to be Allston and Lesslie. From Allston's pencil, is a beautiful picture of the dead man raised to life by touching the bones of the prophet Elisha; and by Lesslie is a painting which I thought excellent, exhibiting William of Deloraine unhorsed and wounded by Lord Cranstoun. His goblin attendant has seated himself on the warrior's helmet, and opened the mysterious book to devour its contents; while an airy phantom, like the spirit of the storm, stretching downwards behind him, extends his arm to prostrate the over-curious imp by the side of the bleeding moss-trooper."

Philadelphia possesses a valuable public library, which owes its origin to the literary taste and public spirit of Franklin, now containing about 24,000 volumes; and another, containing not far short of

5000. There is also an Athenæum, established in 1814, on a smaller scale than that at Boston, but well supplied with British periodical publications, generally within six weeks after their publication. The Friends have a separate library, consisting of about 8000 volumes, principally on theological subjects, and many of them rare. There is also a Law Library, and a Mercantile Library. The library of the Academy of Natural Sciences, is said to contain the most valuable and extensive collection of works on Natural History in the United States. Altogether, there were, in 1824, no fewer than sixteen public libraries in Philadelphia, containing in all upwards of 65,000 volumes.

In a literary point of view, Philadelphia cannot, we are told, as yet compete with Boston; but, in the activity of its press, it is decidedly in advance of any other American city. It is only within a few years, however, that the business of republishing so large a proportion of the English books of value, has been undertaken.* In 1786, four booksellers thought an edition of the New Testament for schools, a work of risk, not to be determined upon till after long deliberation. Four years after, one of these booksellers (Mr. Dobson, a Scotchman) took courage to undertake a republication of the Encyclopædia Britannica. When the first half-volume was published, he had but 246 subscribers. They increased, however, so rapidly, that 2000 copies were thrown off of the second volume; the first was soon reprinted; and in a short time, he

* "Rapidity of publication is as well understood in America as any where. I copy the following from a New York newspaper which has recently reached me (May, 1823):—

"*Despatch in Printing.*—The new novel, Peveril of the Peak, was received from England in New York, on Monday, at ten A.M., and was printed, published, and sold on Tuesday, within twenty-eight hours after the same was received. Another English copy of

soon found it difficult to procure the requisite number of printers and engravers to carry forward the work with sufficient rapidity. Since then, Rees's Cyclopædia, Brewster's Edinburgh Encyclopædia, Nicholson's Encyclopædia. Pinkerton's Voyages and Travels, Gill's Bible, Scott's Bible (two editions), East's Reports, Vesey's Reports, the British Poets (fifty volumes), and several other heavy works, have been reprinted at Philadelphia; together with various editions of Shakspeare, Hume and Smollett, &c. Among the native publications have appeared, Wilson's Ornithology, 9 vols. imperial 4to.; Barton's American Botany, 5 vols. 4to.; and Marshall's Life of Washington. For the copyright of the latter work, the sum of 60,000 dollars was paid. The first *standing* quarto English Bible was set up by Matthew Carey, in Philadelphia, in 1804; and it is still the only standing Bible of separate types. Above two hundred thousand impressions of this Bible have been published. There are now in Philadelphia, two stereotype quarto Bibles, and one of separate types, constantly standing; and between the years 1800 and 1824, there had been thrown off, exclusive of those printed for the Bible Societies, above five hundred thousand quarto and school Bibles. On the 1st of July, 1824, there were in Philadelphia, 55 printing-offices, containing 112 presses, and supporting about

the same work was received per the Custom House, New York, at 12 o'clock on Wednesday; at 1 o'clock forwarded to Philadelphia by the mail. In Philadelphia, it was printed on Thursday, and on Friday, 2000 copies were put in boards by 6 o'clock in the morning. The English copy of Moore's Loves of the Angels was taken out of the Custom House in New York on a Monday in February last, at 11 o'clock A.M.; was immediately sent to Philadelphia; and 250 copies of the work printed, were received at New York on Thursday following by 9 o'clock A.M., and the same copies were sold and circulated that afternoon."—Duncan, vol. i. pp. 263, 4, *note*

2500 workmen; of these, about 20 presses were employed in printing newspapers,* and the remaining 92 chiefly in reprinting English works.

Philadelphia has produced the finest and most accurate specimens of typography that have yet appeared in America; and there is a decided superiority in most of the works printed here, to those executed at either Boston or New York. Here are two letter-foundries and several printing-press makers. The Columbian press, invented by Mr. Clymer, a native of Philadelphia, has been extensively adopted in this country, where the inventor has obtained a British patent.

The first literary journal published in Philadelphia, was the "General Magazine and Historical Chronicle," undertaken by Benjamin Franklin, in 1741: it existed only six months. The next attempt was made by Matthew Carey, who commenced, in 1787, the "American Museum," and carried it on through twelve volumes; but the insufficient patronage which the work obtained, then compelled the editor to abandon it. "The Portfolio," commenced in 1801, is still published in monthly numbers. The "Analectic Magazine," commenced in 1813, was for some time conducted by Mr. Washington Irving; and some of the papers in the Sketch Book originally appeared in its pages. Numerous other literary journals have sprung up within the last twenty-five years, but their

* In 1824, there were eleven daily and seven weekly papers, and one published three times a week. The number of impressions published in the course of the year by all these papers, amounted to an aggregate of 3,080,000, consuming about 8000 reams of paper. The American Daily Advertiser, first printed weekly by John Dunlop in 1771, and made a daily paper in 1784, is the oldest newspaper now published in the United States. The first, however, was published at Philadelphia in 1719.

existence has been for the most part ephemeral. The principal periodicals now issued from the Philadelphia press, are, the Philadelphia Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences; the American Medical Recorder; and the Journal of Foreign Medical Science and Literature; all three quarterly; and as monthly publications, the Portfolio, the American Monthly Magazine, the Museum of Foreign Literature and Science, the Christian Advocate, and the Reformer.

Philadelphia is the seat of a celebrated college. This institution, begun under the auspices of Dr. Franklin, was originally only an academy and charity-school. Material alterations having been made, at different periods, in its internal management, it was at length incorporated by the State Legislature, first, (in 1755), as the College of Philadelphia; and afterwards (in 1779), on a more extended scale, as the University of Pennsylvania. Although respectable in other departments, this seminary is most highly celebrated as a medical school; in which respect, Mr. Duncan says, Philadelphia is regarded as the Edinburgh of the United States. The building now occupied by the college, was originally destined for the residence of the President of the United States: General Washington having, however, declined the offer of the mansion, it was purchased, in 1798, by the Trustees of the University.

The American Philosophical Society, so well known to the learned in Europe by its valuable Transactions, was also founded chiefly by the exertions of Dr. Franklin. It still maintains its high character. Its library is very valuable, comprising the most complete collection extant of the Memoirs and Transactions of the various learned Institutions in the Old World, (kept

up to the date of the latest publication,) and an extensive collection of historical documents relating to the United States. "Besides the Philosophical Society," Captain B. Hall remarks, "there are various other learned bodies in Philadelphia, of which I shall merely say, that I have seen few similar institutions elsewhere, managed with a more earnest desire to pursue knowledge for its own sake. The inhabitants of Philadelphia, indeed, appear to have more leisure on their hands, than those of any other city in the Union; and accordingly, scientific and literary pursuits are there cultivated with much steadiness and success. This circumstance imparts a peculiar character to the style of thought and of conversation in that city, sufficiently obvious to distinguish the inhabitants from those of most other parts of America." The wealthy *conversaziones* called the Wistar parties, (from their founder the late Dr. Wistar, President of the Philosophical Society,) consisting of most of the men of letters and science or general information in the city, are maintained with much spirit, and, to a stranger properly introduced, form a most agreeable feature of the society of Philadelphia.

This Traveller paid a visit to the tomb of "the American Socrates." In the obscure corner of an obscure burying-ground, well nigh hid in the rubbish, is a large marble slab, laid flat on the ground, with this simple inscription:—

Benjamin and Deborah } Franklin
1790.

"One circumstance about the spot is very striking. No regular path has been made to the grave, which lies considerably out of the road; but the frequent

tread of visiters having pressed down the rank grass which grows in such places, the way to the tombstone is readily found without any guide." *

The room in which the Declaration of Independence was signed, is still standing: "But all the rich panelling, cornices, and ornamental work have been pulled down, and in their place, tame plastering and raw carpentry have been stuck up on the occasion of some recent festival. The Turks who pounded the frieze of the Parthenon," is the caustic comment of this Traveller, "had an object in view; but I never could hear that the Americans had an equally good excuse for dismembering their Hall of Independence."

Philadelphia, though it may still be considered as the centre of the social world in America, has not only ceased to be the seat of the Supreme Government, but even of the State Legislature. In the United States, governments seem to be as migratory as the people. That of Pennsylvania was first transferred to Lancaster, sixty-two miles to the westward; but, as this town was thrown out of the centre of the fast-spreading circle of population, an act of the Assembly directed the removal of the provincial capital still further back, to Harrisburgh, on the eastern bank of the Susquehanna, 97 miles W. N. W. of Philadelphia. This town is said to be laid out on the same plan as the city of Penn, and "promises, in the grandeur of its public buildings, to outstrip the parent city."† But in America, the convention of a State legislature is a circumstance unattended with any attractive pomp or

* B. Hall, vol. ii. p. 372, 3. "Franklin wrote a humorous epitaph for himself; but his good taste and good sense shewed him, how unsuitable to his living character it would have been, to jest in such a place.

† F. Wright, p. 74.

splendour,—a matter of dry business or of unpleasant turmoil; and the nominal capital is often a mere village or a sort of watering place. Philadelphia is still the *focus* of intelligence, as well as of wealth and business, in this part of the Union; and before we take leave of this ex-metropolis, it may be expected, that we should advert to the representations of Travellers on the subject of American manners.

According to the decision of the vivacious Marquis de Chastellux, echoed by Lieutenant Hall, and adopted, on his *authority*, by *M. Malte Brun*, *society* "is yet *in its infancy in America*;" that *is to* say, it *has not* attained the graces and refinement which are to be found in the highest circles in European capitals. "In Philadelphia," says the English Traveller, "public amusements are nothing, and the fine arts are little considered, because every man is sufficiently occupied with his own business.* For the same reason, questions of mere speculation in literature or philosophy, would be looked upon as a waste of time. In morality, every thing is precise; in religion, all is dogma. It may seem strange, that a people so generally well informed as the Americans, should be so little sensible to literary enjoyments: not less curious is it, that the freest people upon earth should be strait-laced in morality and dogmatical in religion. A moment's consideration will solve this seeming inconsistency. The

* "When music and the fine arts come to prosper in Philadelphia," says De Chastellux; "when society once becomes easy and gay, and they learn to accept of pleasure when it presents itself without a formal invitation, then may foreigners enjoy all the advantages peculiar to their manners and government, without envying any thing in Europe." This sentiment is natural as coming from a Parisian.

Americans read for improvement, and to make a practical application of their knowledge: they collect honey for the hive, not to lavish its sweetness in social intercourse. Hence, the form is less considered than the matter; but it is the form which is principally the subject of taste. There is besides, a principle of economy running through every department of society in the States: it is a saving of time to import books, rather than to write them; hence, there is no class of authors, no literary emulation. Criticism loses its interest, when confined to the productions of foreigners; they may be read for profit or amusement, but they cannot be discussed, either in their faults or beauties, with the feeling inspired by the writings of compatriots,* whose reputation every member of society feels as connected with his own, and their glory as part of his patrimony. Again, piquancy in conversation supposes a certain *persiflage*, a latitude in opinion which allows every thing to be said on every subject, provided it be said well. This kind of freedom, which appertains, perhaps, to a corruption of existing institutions, is singularly inapplicable to a country in which all moral duties are positive, and whatever is positive, admits of neither speculation nor discussion.....Politics are, indeed, a subject of high interest, whether in action or in speculation; but, for this very reason, they are scarcely a fit topic for social relaxation: they are a part of every man's business, and are discussed as such. A pleasure, too, which excludes the female half of society, scarcely belongs to the class of social enjoyments: yet, the interest it excites, will probably long render the Americans careless of the lighter beauties of conversational pleasure.

* This Writer's expressions, like his notions, are often strikingly French, and wear sometimes the air of translation.

"The American, silent and reflecting, occupies himself very little with the effect of what he says. *Briller dans la Société*, is, to him, an unmeaning phrase. His politeness, therefore, is no reflection of his feelings,* but an artificial form he has borrowed to hide a vacuum: and what should have induced a sensible people to borrow a trapping so unsuited to their character? The vanity, probably, to rival the nations of Europe in manners as well as in arts and power. The French led the *ton* in fashions; and accident gave French fashions a double advantage in America.....Female accomplishments are in the same predicament with male politeness: they are cultivated on a principle of vanity, to imitate the ladies of Europe; but they seldom enrich the understanding, or give elegance to the manners. Like the men, the ladies fall into the mistake of confounding fashions with manners, and think they import Parisian graces with Parisian bonnets. Nay, this is little; they have improved the commodity: the American ladies, as I have heard an American lady modestly observe, 'unite French grace with English modesty.' Happy combination, did it not neutralize the whole compound!

"Let us view them in their perihelion, at a ball or an assembly. Chairs are arranged in a close semi-

* This remark is meant to apply to the manners only of the American; the "varnish" of politeness. "A Frenchman is as anxious to please as he appears, because his vanity is gratified by success; his politeness is the *natural* expression of this anxiety, and pleases as something natural." Not a particle of American politeness, De Chastellux tells us, is the result of sentiment. "Politeness here, is like religion in Italy, every thing in practice, but without any principle." Yet, the substantial good-nature of the Americans is unquestionable. "The Americans have in general," says Lieutenant Hall, "a friendship of manner which could not fail to please, would they let the stream take its natural course, without torturing it into artificial *jets d'eau*."

circle; the ladies file into the room, and silently take their seats beside each other, the men occupying the chord of the segment, vis-a-vis to their fair foes (for such their cautious distance and rare communication would indicate them to be): the men in this situation discuss trade and politics; the ladies, fashions and domestic incidents, with all the quiet and gravity becoming the solemnity of the meeting: tea and coffee are handed about, and in due process of time, cakes, and lemonade, &c. Should there be no dancing, the forces draw off, after having for several hours thus reconnoitred each other. When they dance, the men step forward, and, more by gesture than word, indicate their wishes to their fair partners. Cotillons then commence, with a gravity and perseverance almost pitiable. 'Dancing,' says the Marquis de Chastellux, 'is said to be at once the emblem of gayety and of love: here, it seems to be the emblem of legislation and marriage.' The animation displayed by the feet, never finds its way into the countenance, to light up the eye, or deepen the rose on the cheek.

"I have thus far touched on the deficiencies of American women; let me speak their praise. Their good qualities are of a sterling kind. Good wives, good mothers, prudent housekeepers, they may bid defiance to the satirist, until they quit the hallowed circle of domestic virtues, to flutter heavily on the light airs of vanity: through their affectation only, are they vulnerable." *

These observations, founded on the experience of a single traveller, and obviously tinctured with his own peculiar views and predilections, cannot be deemed entitled to implicit reception. In the eyes of many

* F. Hall, pp. 227—234.

persons, some of the characteristics of American society here imputed to them as faults, may appear closely related to virtues. Lieutenant Hall travelled, it must also be recollected, fourteen years ago; since which time, fashions and manners may have undergone material changes. Yet, the general fidelity of the picture he has drawn, is amply supported by other and more recent testimony. Mr. Adam Hodgson, who travelled through almost the whole of the Union a few years later, has stated with much candour and discrimination the impressions he received of the American character in his extensive tour; and his remarks upon the different classes, are peculiarly interesting.

"If, in opposition to their republican principles, we divide the Americans into classes, the first class will comprehend what are termed the Revolutionary Heroes, who hold a sort of patent of nobility, undisputed by the bitterest enemies to aristocracy. Their numbers, indeed, are few; but they have too many peculiar features to be comprised in the description of any other class of their countrymen. Many of them were educated in England; and even those who never travelled, had generally the advantage of the best English society, either colonial or military. They were formed in the English school; were embued with English associations; and, however active they were in resisting the encroachments of the mother country, they are, many of them at least, delighted to trace their descent to English families of rank, and to boast of the pure English blood which flows in their veins. In the families of these patricians, in which I have spent many agreeable hours, I met with nothing to remind me that I was not in the society of that class of our well-educated country gentlemen, who occa-

sionally visit the metropolis, and mingle in fashionable or political life. The *old* gentlemen of this class, are indeed *gentlemen* of the old school; and the young ladies are particularly agreeable, refined, accomplished, intelligent, and well-bred.

"The second class may include the leading political characters of the present day, the more eminent lawyers, the well-educated merchants and agriculturists, and the most respectable of the *novi homines* of every profession. It will thus comprise the mass of the good society of America; the first class, which comprehends the best, being very limited, *sui generis*, and about to expire with the present generation. The manners of this second class are less polished than those of the corresponding class in England, and their education is neither so regular nor so classical; but their intellects are as actively exercised, and their information at least as general, although less scientific and profound. The young ladies of this class are lively, modest, and unreserved; easy in their manners, and rather gay and social in their dispositions: at the same time, they are very observant of the rules of female propriety; and if they ever displease, it is from indifference, rather than from either bashfulness or effrontery. Their appearance is generally genteel and agreeable; their figures are almost universally good, and they dress remarkably well,—in this city (Philadelphia), indeed, more to my taste than in almost any place I recollect. For this, they are indebted, partly to the short passages from Europe, which waft across the Atlantic the latest fashions from London and Paris; partly to their accommodating tariff, which places within their reach the beautiful Canton crapes, and all the most elegant materials for dress which American enterprise can collect in the four quarters of the globe; and partly to

the simplicity of the Quaker costume, which has had a happy and sensible influence on the taste and habits of the community at large.* Their tone of voice, which is generally a little shrill, and their mode of pronouncing a few particular words, are the peculiarities of manner which, I think, would be most remarked upon in the best society in England. Generally speaking, also, the style of female education in America is less favourable to solid acquirements, than with us. † The young ladies here go earlier into society than in England, and enter sooner into married life; they have not, therefore, the same opportunities for maturing their taste, expanding their intellect, and acquiring a rich store of well-arranged and digested knowledge, as those have, who have devoted to improvement the longer interval which climate or custom has, with us, interposed between the nursery and the drawing-room. In the highest class, especially in Carolina, there are many exceptions to this general remark; and among the young ladies of Boston, there appeared to me to be, if less of refinement than in the Carolinians, yet, a very agreeable union of domestic habits and literary taste, and great kindness and simplicity of manners.

"The third class may comprehend all below the second; for, in a country where some would, perhaps,

* "The Philadelphia ladies," Mr. Howison says, "are prettier and more genteel than those of New York; though the Quaker garb, which many of them assume, is unfavourable for the display of their attractions. Many of them have beautiful complexions, and walk very gracefully. The young men are altogether inferior to the New York dandies, both in their persons and style of dress." —Howison, p. 350.

† See page 346 of our first volume. Dr. Dwight complains of the superficial education bestowed upon his fair countrywomen.—See Travels, vol. iv. p. 461.

resent even the idea of a second class, this division is sufficiently minute. This class will include the largest proportion of the American population; and it is distinguished from the corresponding classes of my countrymen, (the little farmers, inn-keepers, shop-keepers, clerks, mechanics, servants, and labourers,) by greater acuteness and intelligence, more regular habits of reading, a wider range of ideas, and a greater freedom from prejudices, provincialism, and vulgarity.* It is distinguished, also, by greater *coldness of manner;* and this is the first of the charges against the nation, generally, on which I shall remark.

"As respects the highest classes, I think this charge is, in a great measure, unfounded: their reception of a stranger, at least, appeared to me as frank and as warm as in England. To that part of the population which I have included in the third class, the charge attaches with strict propriety; and in many cases, their coldness amounts to the English 'cut direct.' At first, it incommoded me excessively, especially in the women in the country, who shewed it the most; and I have sometimes been disposed to ride on, not in the best temper, when, arriving at an inn after a long stage before breakfast, and asking very civilly, 'Can we have breakfast here?' I have received a shrill 'I reckon so,' from a cold female figure, that went on with its employments, without deigning to look at us, or to put any thing in motion to verify its reckoning. In due time, however, the bread was baked, the chicken killed, and both made their appearance, with their constant companions, even in the wildest part of America, ham, eggs, and coffee. The automaton then took its place; and if I had been an automaton also, the charm would have remained unbroken;

* See page 337 of our first volume.

but I do not remember an instance in which the figure did not converse with good humour before I rose. Very often, however, our reception was warm and friendly; and the wife, or daughter, who poured out my coffee, was frank, well bred, obliging, and conversable. The coldness of the men, also, I found to be confined principally to their manner, and to indicate no indisposition to be sociable and accommodating. On the contrary, in a route of more than seven thousand miles, of which I travelled nearly two thousand on horseback, and the rest in steam-boats and stages, I have found the various classes as accommodating and obliging as in England: sometimes, I confess, I have thought more so. Some parts of Georgia and the Carolinas, might suggest a slight qualification of this remark; while East Tennessee and the valley of the Shenandoah might almost claim a warmer eulogy. In the course of my route, I have met with only one instance of personal rudeness, and that too slight to be mentioned, except for the sake of literal accuracy. My servant's impressions correspond to mine. On questioning him at the termination of our route, he said, 'he thought the Americans quite as ready to serve us, and one another, as the English; and that they were continually expressing their surprise to find Englishmen so civil.' Now, our civility was nothing more than would naturally be suggested by a recollection of the institutions of the country through which we were travelling, and a general desire to be pleased with friendly intentions, however manifested. The coldness of manner in the Americans, however, is a great defect, and must prejudice travellers till they understand it a little.

"With regard to the *vanity* which is charged upon them, this foible is admitted by all their sensible men,

who are disgusted with the extravagant pretensions maintained, in inflated language, in their public prints. I have heard some of them jocosely say, that they expect their countrymen will soon begin to assert, that they are not only the most powerful and the most learned, but the oldest nation in the world. In good society, however, I have seldom witnessed this vanity in any remarkable degree: and I really think, I have seen more of it in the Americans I have met with in England, than in the whole range of my observation since I landed in this country. When I have made the concessions to which I thought the Americans fairly entitled, I have not often observed a disposition to push their claims too far; but, on the contrary, a readiness to suggest some point of comparison in which Great Britain has obviously the advantage. And without attempting to defend an acknowledged defect in their character, I must confess, the Americans have some excuse for their vanity. Descended (which of us will dispute it?) from *most illustrious ancestors*, possessing a territory, perhaps, unequalled in extent and value, victorious in the infancy of their history, in a struggle for their independence, and rising with unprecedented rapidity in the scale of nations, they must be more than mortal if they were not elated with their condition. And if sometimes they may appear to draw too heavily on the future, and to regard America as what she is to be, rather than what she is, I must own, that I never yet met with an American who carried his views of her future greatness so far as I should be disposed to do, if she were my country, and if I could be satisfied of the predominating influence of religious principle in her public councils." *

* Hodgson, vol. ii. p. 25—32.

With regard to certain other peculiarities and defects in American manners, Mr. Hodgson remarks, that their inquisitiveness has not been at all exaggerated, but it naturally arises from their migratory habits. "Where are you from, and whither bound?" are not deemed impertinent interrogations at sea; and in the western wilds, our Traveller says, he found himself in like manner making inquiries which he should have thought "free and easy" at home. The almost universal practice of spitting, without regard to time, place, or circumstances, he admits to be a sore nuisance and offence. In the Capitol itself, the dignity of the Senate is let down by this annoying habit; and the splendid carpets of the most beautiful hall in the country, have found no favour in the eyes of these inveterate consumers of the Virginian weed. Although no precedent can justify the offence in a civilized community, Mr. Hodgson very properly remarks, that the practice is by no means so peculiar to the Americans, as some English writers have chosen to represent. In France, in Spain, in Italy, in Germany, in Sweden, among courtiers and royal governors, not less than among republican diplomatists, this intolerable practice is notoriously prevalent. To another sin against good-breeding chargeable upon the Americans, he does not advert; to wit, the lolling back, balanced, on the two hind legs of a chair, with the feet placed on a table or desk, and this in open court or in polite circles; so elevating the heels above the head, and illustrating at once, in the opinion of Captain Basil Hall, the principles and the practice of democracy. But this practice also, unfortunately for this Writer's theory, is not peculiarly American. The English residents in India are in the constant habit of indulging in it;—a proof, it has been remarked,

that it proceeds from the enfeebled circulation consequent on a relaxing climate, rather than from democratic principles.*

Captain Basil Hall "considers America and England as differing more from one another than any two European nations he ever visited;" but he seems to refer less to a difference of manners, than of habits of thinking; and he founds his strange opinion chiefly on the difficulty he had in making himself understood.† To a foreigner, the shades of difference between the English and the Americans, seem to melt into each other. "The English character," says an intelligent Russian Traveller, "may be distinctly seen in all the customs of the inhabitants of that country. The construction of their houses, their dress, food, and even amusements, are the same as in England, excepting those stronger or weaker shades of difference which local circumstances and the nature of a government purely democratical, necessarily impress on the character and habits of the North Americans."‡ The fact is, that the traits of dissimilarity are rendered, to an Englishman, the more palpable and unpleasing, by the closeness of the resemblance. "If our elder

* "The object of the luxury is, to facilitate the return of the blood from the extremities, by placing the feet highest, and so bringing gravity in aid: it produces a peculiar sense of satisfaction, a kind of *bien-être inexprimable*. At a dinner party, when the ladies have retired, it is a common thing for the gentlemen to smoke their *hookahs* with their feet upon the table."—Westminster Review, No. xxii. p. 427.

† Captain Basil Hall, it must be recollected, is not an Englishman; and having passed nearly all his life at sea, his opportunities of becoming acquainted with English manners, have been evidently very limited. Edinburgh and London seem to be his England, as Paris is France to a Parisian.

‡ Sketch of the United States, by a Russian (Baltimore, 1826), See North American Review, No. liii. p. 448.

brother," remarks an American Writer, "regards with scorn all deviations from his own standard of notions, even in those who speak a different tongue, and live under different laws from his own, he suffers a sort of angry surprise when he sets foot on these shores of his own planting. Here, every thing is at once *aliud et idem*,—the same, yet not exactly the same with what he has been accustomed to see at home. Where language, dress, manners, and modes of all sorts are wholly different, comparison is less easy, or their respective merits must be adjusted by the general fitness of things, which always leaves much to be said on both sides. But here, where he sees a prevailing similarity to his own institutions, and where the general imitation on our part seems an acknowledgement of superiority on his, the particular differences, arising out of physical and moral circumstances, are apt to strike him as awkward resemblances, rather than as intended deviations. He is less lenient towards them for much the same reason that he ridicules more unsparingly a Scotchman's or an Irishman's blunders in English, than those of a Spaniard or an Italian. It is pretty obvious, in short, without recurring to more serious causes of difference, why we should meet with less grace at the hands of England, than of countries which, having fewer affinities with ourselves, might seem, at first, less likely to appreciate us fairly.....It may be, that we sometimes put forth exorbitant pretensions, and, while enjoying that general content and competency which seem destined to exist but at one stage in the progress of a community, would claim credit for refinements which are purchased mostly at the price of a too abundant population, of inequality of property, and

of all the unpalatable fruits of these to the less fortunate classes of luxurious States." *

In these candid and truly philosophical remarks, we have the true solution of the apparent paradox; and they will furnish our readers with a key to the various and often contradictory statements and opinions of British Travellers on the subject of American manners.

It has been asserted, that the English language, as spoken by the generality of the inhabitants of the United States, is purer and more correct than in the mother country, where it is disguised by so many provincial dialects. For this fact, it is not difficult to account. Provincial peculiarities spring up in proportion as the inhabitants of a district are isolated from their surrounding neighbours, possess the means of supplying their own wants, and are strangers to letters. They vanish before the amalgamating effects of mutual intercourse and education. In the United States, the uniformity of the conventional medium is secured by the free and constant intercourse that is going forward throughout the Union, and the mercantile and migratory habits of the people; but for its purity, they are indebted to the general system of elementary education. Owing to this circumstance, Mr. Cooper tells us, that "the language, instead of becoming more divided into provincial dialects, is becoming not only more assimilated to itself as a whole, but more assimilated to a standard which sound general principles and the best authorities would justify. The distinctions in speech between New England and New York or Pennsylvania, or any other State, were

* North American Review, No. LV. pp. 441, 2.

far greater twenty years ago, than they are now." * There is much more difference observable in intonation and in the pronunciation of particular words, than in the use of terms unknown to England. The best English is spoken, according to this Writer, by the natives of the Middle States, who are purely the descendants of English parents, not of emigrants from New England. Throughout all New England, and among most of the descendants of Yankee emigrants, the language is spoken with an intonation derived originally from the western counties of England, and with a peculiarity of pronunciation that is most discernible in the manner in which they dwell on the last word of a sentence, or the last syllable of a word, notwithstanding that all the previous members of the sentence are uttered with remarkable rapidity. The people of the Middle States, especially in Maryland, are said to speak "a softer English" than their brethren in New England; but any thing like a general rule in this respect, is precluded by the number of Yankee emigrants distributed over the whole country. New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore have each their peculiar phrases;† and there is, among the women especially, a proneness to dwell on the final syllables. On going further south, you meet with a slower utterance, with other slight provincialisms. In Georgia, you find a positive drawl, which prevails, more or less, in the western and south-western

* "The phrase, 'I wonder if he did,' is very common in New England. It is usually uttered, 'I wonder if he *de-e-e-e-ed*,' with a falling of the voice at the last word to nearly an octave below the rest of the sentence. Sometimes, there is more than one resting point in a sentence of any length."

† The "I guess," which is ever in the mouth of the Yankee, is changed by the New Yorker into "I suspect," while the Virginian phrase is, "I reckon."

States. But upon the whole, the English language is spoken with fewer provincial variations and vulgarisms, probably, by the natives of the United States, than it is by the inhabitants of the different counties of England; and it no where degenerates into a *patois*.*

The country in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia is very beautiful, and there are many pleasant villas and flourishing little towns on the banks of both rivers. The soil upon which the city stands, is of alluvial formation, consisting of clay of various hues and degrees of tenacity, mixed with sand and gravel. Beneath this, at a depth varying from 20 to 40 feet, vegetable remains have been found, as also on the opposite shore of New Jersey; indicating, in connexion with other facts, that this land has been gained from the sea. The original coast is supposed to have been a reef of rocks (composed of gneiss, micaceous schist, &c.), from two to six miles in breadth, rising generally a little higher than the adjoining land, and extending from New York westwardly, by the falls of the Delaware, Schuylkill, Susquehanna, Gunpowder, Patapsco, Potomac, Rappehannoc, James River, and Roanoke; forming a regular curve.† The water in the wells is very impure, being impregnated with a large proportion of saltpetre, common sea-salt, magnesia, and chalk. The city is, however, furnished with a copious supply of pure water, conveyed in pipes from the Fair Mount water-works on the Schuylkill, about two miles from

* Notions of the Americans, vol. ii. pp. 165—176.

† Meaze. See page 223 of our first volume. The clay has, of course, been brought down by the floods, and has been mixed with the sand thrown up by the sea.

the city. Of those magnificent works, the citizens are not a little proud.

At Bordentown, 26 miles above the city, on the west bank of the Delaware, is the seat of the Ex-king of Spain, Joseph Bonaparte, who has assumed the title of Count de Survilliers. It is situated on the brow of a hill, surrounded with a dense forest of pines. Here he lives in the midst of a large circle of friends and dependents, but mingling little with the native society, not speaking the language. He is said to be unassuming when he appears in public, and is rather in favour with the republicans of this region.* Besides the ex-king, there are, a son of Lucien, who is married to the eldest daughter of Joseph, a son of Jerome by his American wife, and two sons of the unfortunate Murat. Charles, the son of Lucien, who is distinguished by his devotion to science, has children born in the country, who are consequently possessed of the rights of natives; and it is probable that, in a few years, the name of Bonaparte will be found in the rolls of the American Congress! At Trenton, four miles above Bordentown, was the seat of General

* Some years ago, the mansion of the Count de Survilliers was accidentally burned down, and some valuable pictures and statues were destroyed. The inhabitants of the neighbouring village having been very active in attempting to save the costly furniture, the Count, shortly after, addressed a card of thanks to them through the medium of the newspapers; in which he assured them, that he regarded the scrupulous honesty and undaunted courage which had characterized their exertions, as proofs that the inhabitants of Bordentown properly appreciated the interest which he had always felt for them. A somewhat saucy reply appeared, in which the Count was given to understand, that the people did not relish being thanked for common honesty; and that in rendering him their assistance, they had been actuated by the common impulses of humanity. But this offence has been well nigh forgotten.

Moreau, while a resident in America; and on the banks of the Schuylkill, the notorious General Vandamme has a fine villa.

Of the interior of Pennsylvania, neither our limits nor our materials will enable us to give a very minute account; but the route of Lieutenant F. Hall (in 1817), from the Niagara frontier to Philadelphia, through the heart of this State, will afford a general idea of the aspect of the country.

FROM LAKE ERIE TO PHILADELPHIA.

THE dreary wilderness which, a few years before, extended from Lake Erie, this Traveller found thickly settled, but the country wore a dull and uniform aspect, being an absolute flat. In a dry autumn, water becomes scarce here in many places. This evil is not uncommon, Lieutenant Hall remarks, in newly settled districts. "Draining follows clearing, and the creeks, no longer fed by the swamps, disincumbered also of fallen trunks of trees and other substances, by which their waters were in a great degree stayed, easily run dry in summer, and soon fail altogether. Allan's Creek, between Batavia and Caledonia, seems, from the banks still remaining at some distance from the present channel, to have been once a considerable river; as was its neighbour, the stream of Caledonia, by the same token." Caledonia, a stage of seventeen miles from Batavia, on the great Albany road,* was, at this time, a small, but flourishing village, with a handsome inn. "Close to the road is a sheet of water, covering seven or eight acres, called the *Great Spring*, from which a clear and rapid

* See p. 267 of our first volume.

stream descends through a pleasing valley into Allan's Creek, before the latter unites with the Genessee River. Its banks are adorned with natural groves and copses, in which the candleberry myrtle is seen in great abundance. A more interesting sight is the quantity of organic remains with which the blocks of limestone scattered through the low ground round it are encrusted, as if with rude sculpture: they are mixed with nodules of granite, and present innumerable forms both of shells and aquatic plants. The shells were frequently attached to stones, and imbedded in sand, evincing their comparatively recent deposition."

At Avon, Lieutenant Hall quitted the main road, and following the right bank of the Genessee, began, soon after crossing the stream of Lake Comesus, to fall in with the spurs of the Alleghany ridges. "The scenery here improves, and the roads proportionably deteriorate. Wild even to savageness, mountain heights branch thickly across the country with no seeming order or direction, like so many gigantic mole-hills. The only level ground is the narrow alluvion of the streams, which the road is, as often as possible, taught to follow. The Genessee river seems to bound the limestone region in this direction. The Alleghany ridges, less rugged and precipitous than granite mountains, are bolder and more irregular than the limestone heights, which have a nearer resemblance to long terraces of masonry. The woods round the Genessee, abound with large, black squirrels, some of which are as big as a small cat: they are destructive to grain, and are therefore keenly pursued by sportsmen, who frequently make parties, and effect the destruction of several thousands at one chase. Their flesh is considered as a delicacy. They migrate at different sea-

sons, and have the credit of ingeniously ferrying themselves over rivers, by using a piece of bark for a raft, and their tail for a sail." *

After leaving Danville, (28 miles from Avon,) the road crosses a creek, winds for three miles up a steep acclivity, and then continues through swampy forests to Canisteo. Close to the little village of Arkport, the Tyoga branch of the Susquehanna rises, in a meadow by the road side. Arkport has received its name from the low, flat boats, called arks, which are built there, and used on the Tyoga and Susquehanna, the head waters of which are not deep enough for other craft, and for this, only during the rainy season. The country is, in this part, very rugged and thinly settled. Villages are separated by a distance of fifteen or twenty miles, with few intermediate cottages. Betwixt Canisteo and Bath, a stage of twenty miles, there were not more than a dozen houses, though improvements were going on. The settlements are, for the most part, on the narrow alluvial tracts of the creeks and rivers; but even there, the soil is of an inferior quality. Our Traveller found the roads deep and miry with heavy falls of rain, although, west of the mountains, there had been but one wet day during the autumn. The clouds which come charged with moisture from the Atlantic, are frequently arrested by these heights, and disgorge their contents without passing into the western country.

Bath is built on the Conhocto Creek, embosomed in wild mountains. The principal houses are built round the three sides of a green, and being most of them new, white, and tastefully finished, had a lively

* "*Olaus Wormius tells us the same story of the Norwegian squirrels, and Linnæus authorizes the belief.*"

appearance, which formed an agreeable contrast with the dark mountain scenery that opens on the fourth side. From this place, a road leads off by the shores of the Crooked Lake, to Jerusalem, "the village of the Elect Lady Jemima Wilkinson, and her sect of Friends." The road pursued by Lieutenant Hall, follows the Conhocto branch of the Tyoga, crossing the creek twice in six miles; and at the end of about 30 miles, leads to New-town or Elmira, pleasantly situated on the edge of the Tyoga. The next stage, of 20 miles, is to Tyoga Point, situated at the confluence of that river with the eastern branch of the Susquehanna, flowing from the Kaatskill mountains. From the heights round the village, the eye commands a majestic view of the two rivers descending in opposite directions between their mountainous banks, and, below their junction, pursuing their united course through a similar tract of wild and picturesque country. The village itself is singularly neat, containing several houses finished with elegance, and a good tavern. The surrounding hills and forests abound with deer and pheasants; nor are wolves and bears uncommon.

The traveller has now entered the State of Pennsylvania, the frontier line (under the parallel of 42°) being crossed between a place called Painted Post* and Tyoga Point. Crossing the Susquehanna, at a ferry, Lieutenant Hall continued his route along the eft bank, through a desert of rocks and forest, to Le Fevre's Inn,—a log-hut amid the wildest regions of the Alleghany, tenanted by a French refugee family

* The painted post, an Indian memorial, whether of triumph or of death, is no longer standing; the name alone remains.

of that name.* Thence, following the course of the river, through Wyalusing, to Punkhannock, a stage of 26 miles; and in another stage of the same distance, he arrived at Wilkesbarre. "The banks of the Susquehanna," says our Traveller, "have no great variety of scenery, though they frequently present grand features. The space between the mountains and the river, is often so narrow, that it barely suffices for one carriage; and in many places, the road, for a mile or two, seems to have been hewn from the rock. Should two carriages meet in one of these passes, it is difficult to imagine by what contrivance they could be extricated: the population of this tract of country is, however, so scanty, that a dilemma of this kind would be a phenomenon in travelling. Occasionally, round the creeks, there is some tolerable land, and two or three pleasant villages; among which, Wyalusing may, perhaps, image

* "During the French Revolution, a number of emigrants, several of them men of rank and property, purchased a tract of land on the Scioto, for the purpose of founding a city of refuge. In this purchase they were misled, either by their own want of information, or by the knavery of their agents; and finding a settlement on the Scioto impracticable, they removed to Chemingo, on the Tyoga. Here, again, they were not more fortunate; the scanty alluvion round the foot of these rocky mountains, is little likely to repay hardier cultivators; and for the third time, this wandering colony transported itself to the right bank of the Susquehanna, betwixt Wysall and Wyalusing, where they astonished the inhabitants by building many-windowed villas, and cutting roads across the mountains to hunt deer and foxes. They named their village Frenchtown. Considering its barren site, it is probable they must shortly have resolved on a fourth pilgrimage, when change of circumstances enabled them to return to France, leaving their airy halls to be tenanted by crows, and wondered at by all the farmers in the neighbourhood. One family, however, remained behind, and crossing the river to avoid starvation, set up this little inn."—*F. Hall, p. 204.*

what Wyoming was; but it cannot be said, that the deer

"Unhunted seeks his woods and wilderness again"—

for I heard a cry of hounds as I stopped to breakfast, and the game was swimming the river. The face of the landscape is no where bare. Mountain and vale are alike clothed with pine and dwarf or scrub oak; the swamp lands are covered with hemlock, and the bottoms of the woods with the rhododendron. I was informed, that land in this part of the country, though naturally very poor, had been so much improved of late, by the use of gypsum, that its value was raised from five to fifteen dollars per acre.

"Wilkesbarre is a neat town, regularly laid out, on the left bank of the Susquehanna. Its locality is determined by the direction of one of the Alleghany ridges, which recedes from the course of the river, a few miles above the town, and curving S.W., encloses a semi-circular plot of land, towards the centre of which it is built. Its neighbourhood abounds in coal. The pits are about a mile N.E. of the town. They lie under strata of a soft clay-slate, containing impressions of fern, oak-leaves, and other vegetables usually found in such situations. The coal has a bright polished appearance; its strata are slightly angular. They contain iron, pyrites, and saltpetre, and are traversed by veins of charcoal. The theory of the formation of coal from decayed timber, is strengthened by a view of the site of these pits..... The town itself has a quiet, rural aspect,' from the frequent separation of its streets and houses, by grass fields and gardens. It contains a neat church, allotted to the alternate use of Episcopalians and Pres-

byterians. The Town Hall was occupied, on the Sunday of my visit, by the Methodists.

"Wilkesbarre is classic ground to an Englishman: it is built on the site of Wyoming. A small mound is pointed out near the river, on which stood the fort; and the incursion of the Indians, when most of the inhabitants fell in an unsuccessful battle, is still remembered. Some few escaped by swimming the river, and fled through the woods for several days, till they reached the nearest settlement;—and this is all the record of Albert and Gertrude. The lover of poetry, who would half realize the fictions of the Muse, on the spot which she has glorified with the creations of her fancy, cannot help regretting that the bard should have assisted in some degree to destroy the illusion, by introducing in his descriptions features of scenery as foreign to Pennsylvania as the sweetly-meditative Gertrude herself; who, had she been as solid a reality as any buxom lass of Wilkesbarre, must have been content to lack the bright plumage of the 'flamingo,' 'the 'palm-trees' shade,' the 'aloes,' and even the roaring waterfall: for the falls near Wilkesbarre are ledges of rock, merely sufficient to break the current. Yet, Wyoming shall outlive the name and splendour of many a bloated, burgess-fattening city, and 'still look green in song.'" *

At Wilkesbarre, the road quits the Susquehanna, and ascending the ridge, (marked in the maps as Mount Ararat,) crosses several heads of the Lehigh, passing through heavy forests and hemlock swamps, very thinly interspersed with settlements. About 17 miles from Wilkesbarre, our Traveller found a neat inn kept by an Englishman. At the end of 12

* F. Hall, pp. 207—210.

miles further, he reached a wretched tavern on the summit of the Pokona mountain, the gradual declivities of which, bare of timber, are more like an English heath, than an American mountain; it is famous among the sportsmen and epicures of Philadelphia for its grouse. Like all the Alleghany ridges, it is steepest on the eastern side. Lieutenant Hall passed "the Blue Ridge" at a stupendous fissure called the Wind Gap, where the mountain seems to have been forcibly broken through, and it is strewed with the ruins of rocks. A similar aperture, some miles to the N.E., called the Water Gap, affords a passage to the Delaware.* The road now descends into a limestone valley lying between the Blue Ridge and the Lehigh Ridge, within the limits of which are the Moravian settlements of Bethlehem and Nazareth. The former, which is the principal settlement of the Brethren in North America, is very pleasantly situated on the river Lehigh, which falls into the Delaware, 53 miles north of Philadelphia: it is frequently visited, during the summer season, by gentry from different parts.† Nazareth, ten miles north of Bethlehem, stands in the centre of a tract of good land, containing about 5000 acres, originally purchased by the Rev. George Whitfield in 1740, and afterwards sold by him to the Brethren. The town was laid out in 1772. About a mile and a half from Nazareth, there is a third settlement, which, though small, exceeds both the others, Lieut. Hall says, "in the calm and pensive beauty of its appearance. The houses, like all within this valley, are built of limestone. They are all upon a

* Mr. Jefferson supposes, from the best information he could obtain, that the river originally passed through the Wind Gap. Notes on Virginia, p. 335. See also Weld, p. 450.

† See Weld, p. 457

similar plan, and have their window-frames, doors, &c. painted of a fawn colour. Before each are planted weeping willows, whose luxuriant shade seems to shut out worldly glare, and throws an air of monastic repose over the whole village." *

The Lehigh mountain is the last of the Alleghany ridges in this direction. The country to the south-eastward is level and fertile, "thickly inhabited by sturdy Germans, in broad hats and purple breeches, whose houses and villages have the antique fashion of a Flemish landscape. German is so generally spoken, that the newspapers and public notices are all in that language. The roads are of a deep miry clay, through which the country waggons with their long, fat teams, plod on seemingly at their ease. The approach to Philadelphia is announced by a good turnpike road; and at German-town, the traveller feels himself within the precincts of a populous and long-established capital." †

Having brought back our readers to this point, we must next transport them from the banks of the Delaware to the shores of the Chesapeake.

BALTIMORE.

BALTIMORE, the largest city in Maryland, though not the seat of Government, has had the most rapid growth of any town of the same size in the Union. In 1787, it contained only 1955 houses, including its port; the number of stores was 152, and of churches, nine, belonging to as many sects; viz. German Cal-

* At Litiz, 8 miles from Lancaster, and 70 miles west of Philadelphia, is another Moravian settlement, begun in the year 1757. The Brethren have also settlements at Hope, in New Jersey, and at Wachovia on Yadkin river, in North Carolina.

† F. Hall, pp. 212—215.

vinists, German Lutheran, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, Baptist, Methodist, Quaker, and New Quaker or Nicolites. In 1789, the number of inhabitants was between 10,000 and 11,000; of whom not more than one in five, Dr. Morse states, attended public worship of any kind, notwithstanding the variety that courted their choice. There were many respectable families, who lived genteelly; but the bulk of the population, recently collected from almost all quarters of the globe, bent on the pursuit of wealth, and varying alike *in* their habits, manners, and creed, were "unsocial, unimproved, and inhospitable." In 1790, the number of inhabitants was 13,503; the amount of shipping, 13,564 tons. In 1800, the population had doubled; in ten years more, it had risen to 46,555, including 10,343 blacks; in 1820, to 62,627, and the tonnage was 68,674. It now ranks as the fourth city in commercial importance in the United States, and the third in population.* Of its appearance in 1813, Mr. Duncan gives the following description.

"Baltimore is built at the top of a small bay in the river Patapsco, near its entrance into the Chesapeake, and consists of two portions, nearly a mile asunder; the upper of which is, properly speaking, the town, and the lower, called Fell's Point, is the harbour. The water comes up to the town, but it is shallow; and in general, none but coasters go past the Point. The bay is formed and protected by a peninsular tongue of land, which stretches downwards into the river; the entrance is narrow, and is completely commanded by a fort,

* In 1789, the towns in the United States ranked, in point of size, in this order: Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Baltimore, Charleston, &c. In point of trade, New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Charleston, Baltimore. New Orleans is now second in point of trade.

which sustained a heavy bombardment during last war.

"The town is built with considerable regularity, upon portions of three hills and their intervening valleys; many of the streets cross each other at right angles, and they are in general spacious and well paved. A large proportion of the buildings are of brick; the more ancient, in consequence of inattention to painting, have rather a gloomy aspect, but the modern ones resemble in every respect those of New York and Philadelphia.

"In public buildings, Baltimore aspires to distinction, but some of the most considerable are as yet only in progress. A massy brick edifice, which is intended for an Exchange, has been roofed in: externally, it is remarkable for its dimensions, rather than its elegance. Two new churches are going forward, the one destined to be a Romish cathedral, the other a Socinian chapel. They stand very near each other, rather above the city, and as yet, a considerable space is open around them.

"The Cathedral is built of dark-coloured stone, in the form of a cross, with a dome over the centre, but the length is not nearly so great as in our ancient churches; the walls and roof are finished, and a shoal of Irish labourers were busied on the interior. It is rather singular, that they have not attempted the Gothic in this building; probably, the great expense of that style may have been the cause of the Roman Doric being preferred. The principal entrances are arched, and a few pilasters carried round the walls are its chief ornament. The size and disposition of the windows, with the crossing of the transept, have been so managed as to throw into the body of the church a strong depth of shadow, the holy gloom of which will

doubtless be esteemed highly conducive to genuine religious emotion, and which at least we must grant to be no way inappropriate in that ritual, of which the burning of candles forms so important a portion.

"The Socinian Chapel, a more lightsome and tasteful fabric, is nearly finished, and although not a large building, is said to have cost upwards of 20,000*l.* sterling. In front is an arched portico, and in the tympanum of the pediment is a *stucco* angel descending from a cloud; the walls are covered externally with composition, lined and painted to resemble stone. The interior is profusely decorated. The pulpit is of polished marble of various colours, with a baptismal font before it of the same material; upon the wall behind are two white marble slabs, resembling the tables of the Law in the ancient pictures of Moses, upon which are inscribed a few texts of Scripture. The ends of the pews are beautifully carved and bronzed in imitation of the antique. The ceiling is covered with rich stuccoed work, and in the gallery is a large organ, the front of which is very tastefully finished in the form of the ancient lyre. The effect of the whole is certainly very splendid; but the more splendid it is, the more must we regret the purpose for which so costly an edifice has been erected.

"Two public monuments have been recently begun; the one to Washington, the other to commemorate the attack on the city during last war, and to record the names of those who fell in its defence. Washington's monument occupies the front of a rising ground a little above the city; the other, the centre of a square within it. The former is a plain column rising from a square base, to be surmounted with a colossal statue. The situation is commanding, and it must form a conspicuous object in the distant prospect. The fabric is

brick within, and white marble without, with a spiral staircase in the centre. No loop-holes having been left for the admission of light, the stair is very dark.*

"The Battle Monument is also of white marble, but much smaller. It consists of a reeded column with a crossed fillet at the top and bottom, erected upon a square base, tapering in the Egyptian style, and rusticated. The shaft is not unlike the Roman fasces, without the axe; one side of the base exhibits a door, which, in a very hot day, suggests the luxurious idea of an ice-house; the other sides contain slabs on which are to be inscribed the names of all those who fell in defence of their 'altars and hearths,' as the helmets of our yeomanry express it. The operations on this erection are for the present suspended; the base has been built, and the materials for the column lie scattered round it, but the carved blocks are still in the packing-frames in which they were brought from Italy. In architectural design, this monument is so perfectly anomalous, that we cannot but regret its premature erection; in a few years, probably, the citizens will learn to regard it with the same feelings which are now excited by the Edinburgh monument to Nelson. Its situation, however, is well chosen; the material is beautiful; and so far as these go, even strangers will regard it as an ornament to the city. The event which it commemorates, will always secure it the affections of the natives.

* This monument is the first of an architectural kind ever erected to the Father of the Country. It was at this time only in progress of erection. Since then, a statue of Washington by Canova has been erected in the State-house of Raleigh; and one by Chantrey has been executed for the town of Boston. The hill commands a beautiful view of the city, the shipping in the basin, and the waters of the Chesapeake.

"Fort M'Hendry, at the end of the peninsula, saved the town from capture during last war, although it was then but ill prepared for an attack: the batteries were in a poor condition; it had no covered ways; and the magazine was not bomb-proof. A shell struck the corner of the magazine in a slanting direction, and shattered the wall: had it penetrated, the capture of the fort would have been inevitable. Since that period, the works have been greatly strengthened, and bomb-proof barracks, covered ways, and magazines have all been erected. The fortification is of a pentagonal form, and consists of an inner and outer line of batteries. The inner line is of brick, and is mounted with the lighter guns; the outer breastwork is of turf, and the guns are of a large size. Between the lines are furnaces for heating shot. The old walls still exhibit the scars of the attack, and several deep hollows in the ground shew where shells had buried themselves.

"Behind the principal fort are two small batteries at a short distance from each other. The British squadron sent out a detachment of boats during the night, hoping to effect a landing behind Fort M'Hendry, which they succeeded in passing unobserved. Not aware that there were other batteries beyond it, the sailors set up a premature shout of triumph, which immediately brought down upon them an unexpected cannonade; several of the boats were sunk, and the rest compelled to return.

"Fell's Point is, like other sea-ports, somewhat dirty; and the yellow fever, when it was prevalent, committed great ravages here, while Baltimore was comparatively healthy. In the harbour at present, is a beautiful sharp-built schooner, evidently intended for warlike purposes, and pretty well known to be

fitted out for the coast of South America; she will carry about a dozen guns. The Baltimore ship-builders particularly excel in the construction of such vessels; and it was their astonishing fleetness of sailing which enabled the privateers to pick up so many of our merchantmen during last war. They are very low in the water, and broad in the beam; the masts are sloped very much backwards, and they sail exceedingly close to the wind. Very few of them were captured by our cruisers, and those generally in consequence of some accident.

"Eastward from the town is yet to be seen the breastwork of turf which was hastily thrown up when General Ross landed to attack it. The rifle of some expert marksman was the means of saving Baltimore on this occasion. It might seem that an individual bullet could be of but little avail as to the result of a battle; it can kill but a man; but when that man is a commanding officer, and such an officer as Ross, the bullet that kills him, is decisive of the day. In the defence of a difficult pass, a wood, or an entrenched post, the American backwoodsmen are unequalled; they can with difficulty be got to stand in open ground, and have no confidence in battalion movements; but give them the stump of a tree, a fence, or a hillock of earth, over which they can level their piece, and the youngest boy among them will ply the work of destruction with a deliberate certainty of aim, which is disastrous in the last degree to the battalions of the enemy. It is not known who killed General Ross; common report attributes the effective shot to some one of a few lads who were posted behind a bush; but one of the most opulent citizens, a Scotchman by birth, who with the rest shouldered his musket on the occasion, tells me, on the authority of the general who

commanded, that no reliance can be placed on that report." *

As to the moral condition of the population, this city would seem to have undergone considerable improvement since the time referred to by Morse. Its aspect in religious matters, Mr. Duncan reports to be, upon the whole, satisfactory. Notwithstanding the magnificence of the Socinian chapel, and the sanguine expectations of its wealthy supporters, that sect, he understood, was not numerous. The Romanists formed a much larger proportion of the population, Maryland being still the head-quarters of Popery in the United States. There are two Episcopal churches: the interior of one is as splendid with Corinthian columns, gilding, and decoration, as the other is remarkable for plainness. There are also two Presbyterian churches, (one in connexion with the Associate Synod,) a small Cameronian congregation, a Baptist church, with (we presume) several Methodist, and the usual complement of *black* churches. The Sabbath is, upon the whole, "decorously observed."

At Baltimore, Captain Basil Hall was introduced, in 1828, to the venerable Charles Carroll, the only survivor of the revolutionary statesmen who signed the Declaration of Independence fifty-three years before.† Although in his ninety-first year, this "excellent veteran" retained all his faculties; his speech, sight, and hearing were still perfect, and his step so vigorous, that not a symptom of decay could be traced

* Duncan, vol. i. pp. 219—229. See p. 185 of our first volume.

† In 1818, of the fifty-six individuals whose signatures are affixed to the Declaration of Independence, there were five who survived, *viz.*, Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia; John Adams, of Massachusetts; Charles Carroll, of Maryland; William Floyd, of New York; and William Ellery, of Rhode Island.

about him. Within his memory, Baltimore, which now contains 70,000 inhabitants, was a village of only seven houses. "Of late years, however," remarks Captain Basil Hall, "it has come nearly to a stand-still,* in consequence of events over which, I much fear, the inhabitants have no control. During the long period of the late European war, this city flourished, like some others in America, under the neutral flag. It was a place of much greater consequence, too, before the New York canal drained off from the interior of the country, much of that export trade which the capital and the industry of the citizens of Baltimore had long turned to such profitable account. The peace, which brought the full weight of continental as well as English resources into the open field of competition, gradually lessened the importance of Baltimore, Boston, and Philadelphia, and of many other places in America, which cannot boast, like New York, of enjoying peculiar local advantages, that promise to flourish and improve under all political changes. The proximate causes of the declension of Baltimore, therefore, are not only the alteration of the times consequent upon the general peace, but the much higher commercial facilities existing at the two great ports of New York and New Orleans.

"There are projects afloat, however, for restoring this lost balance to Philadelphia and Baltimore, and of regaining some portion of the profits derived from supplying the western country with goods, and of drawing off its produce. This, it is hoped, may be accomplished by means of a rail-road from Baltimore

* During the European continental war, when America engrossed nearly the whole carrying trade, a flourishing commerce crowded this harbour with vessels; but Mr. Madison's proclamation of war was the signal of its ruin, and it has never recovered from the blow.

on the Chesapeake, and a canal from Philadelphia on the Delaware, both striking the Ohio, over the Alleghany mountains.

"If the mouth of the Mississippi could be dammed up, or the harbour of New York be demolished, there might be some chance for the resuscitation of the intermediate sea-ports; but, in the meantime, I suspect, both Philadelphia and Baltimore must be contended to enjoy their local, but comparatively limited advantages, without attempting to rival those great emporiums. The natural obstacles which stand in the way of any direct communication between the western country and the coast are so numerous and formidable, that I fully believe, if the proposed canal from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, which stands at the point where the confluence of the Monongahela and the Alleghany forms the commencement of the Ohio river, or the rail-road from Baltimore to Wheeling, on the left bank of the same magnificent stream, could be laid down free of expense, the transit of goods upon them would not do much more than defray the cost of keeping them in repair." *

Of the "very agreeable and intelligent society" to which he was introduced at Baltimore, this Traveller speaks in terms of unwonted praise. Generally speaking, he found them "more reasonable upon all matters relating to their country," than the inhabitants of most of the cities he had visited; better acquainted with the manners of the rest of the world, and less disposed to cram down a stranger's throat their institutions, their town, their bay, their liberty, and their intelligence. Little was to be seen here in the way of sights; but the Jail, the Penitentiary, and

* Basil Hall, vol. ii. pp. 394—396

the Institution for the Insane, "appeared to be strongly marked with the effects of that active desire to contribute to the wants of the wretched, which we meet with in all parts of America, but in no place more conspicuously than in Baltimore." Of these institutions, Mr. Duncan speaks in terms of similar commendation; and he bears his testimony in like manner to the open-hearted warmth of reception which he met with from the kind and hospitable inhabitants.*

"The State of Maryland has always been distinguished by a sedulous attention to the advancement of learning; and for several years, considerable sums have been annually voted by the Legislature for the support of schools and colleges. In all these appropriations, it is an express stipulation, that no distinction shall be made in favour of any religious sect, but that both the management and the benefit of the institution shall be free to persons of every denomination. In 1807, a Medical College was founded here; and in 1812, its charter was extended so as to embrace the other departments of science and literature; it then received the appellation of the University of Maryland. As yet, the medical department is the only one that has been brought into operation. There is also an elder college, called St. Mary's, which, though a Romish establishment, is said to have educated some of the first literary men in the United States: it was not empowered to confer literary degrees till 1805." †

* Every Traveller speaks in similar terms of the peculiar courtesy, hospitality, and extraordinary spirit of enterprise by which the inhabitants of Baltimore are marked; but no one informs us whence its population was so rapidly drawn. When Weld travelled, the Irish settlers were numerous, including many of the principal merchants in the town; and there were a great many French from the West India Islands.

† *Duncan*, vol. i. p. 234.

Roman Catholics are said to be still the most numerous denomination in this State; and next to them, the Episcopalians and the Methodists:* the former had, in 1811, thirty churches.

The climate of the northern part of Maryland, is similar to the southern part of Pennsylvania; but, to the south of Baltimore, there is a considerable change, and the climate is both more humid and considerably warmer. Annapolis, the seat of government, is situated on the southern bank of the Severn, two miles from its mouth, and thirty miles S. of Baltimore: it now contains a population of only about 2000 souls.† Frederickstown, on a branch of the Monocosy Creek, 42 miles W. of Baltimore, has about 5000, and carries on a considerable trade in wheat and flour. Besides these, there are no towns of any importance. "Two articles are said to be peculiar to Maryland; the genuine *white* wheat which grows on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake, and the bright *kite's foot* tobacco, which is produced on some parts of the western shore south of Baltimore." ‡

Maryland is divided from Virginia, on the west and south, by the Potomac, on the banks of which, 103 miles from its mouth, is the Federal District of

* In Carey and Lea's Atlas, it is stated, that the Methodists are probably more numerous than any other denomination.

† "During the colonial regime," Lieutenant Hall says, "Annapolis was the centre of fashion to all America. The governors of Maryland were commonly men of rank and family, who brought with them a taste for social elegance, which seems to have become the appanage of the old families, who, since Annapolis has fallen into decay, have become residents of Baltimore."—Hall, p. 249. Morse (1789) styles it the wealthiest town of its size in America. "The houses, about 260 in number, are generally large and elegant, indicative of great wealth. The Stadt-house is the noblest building of the kind in America."—Morse, p. 358.

‡ Carey and Lea, p. 183,

Columbia, which was ceded by the two States, in 1790, to the General Congress, as the seat of the Central Government. The whole area is 100 square miles: the largest portion is on the Maryland side, where, near the junction of the eastern branch of the river, stands the present Metropolis of the United States.

WASHINGTON.

Of this singular city, (called by the Americans themselves, "the city in the woods," though there is little or no wood near it,) Mr. Duncan gives the following description in 1818.

"The position which was selected for the Federal City, is a point of land embraced by the forking of the river Potowmak, about 120 miles from its junction with the Chesapeake, and about 250 miles from the sea. The principal branch of the river flows down upon the west, and unites with the smaller one from the eastward in front of the city. Ships of war, of the largest size, can float in safety three or four miles above the junction of the streams. It was expected that this situation would have been found particularly favourable to commercial enterprise, and consequently that the population would rapidly increase; hitherto, however, these hopes have not been realized. Georgetown, about a mile above upon the principal branch of the river, monopolizes the inland trade; and Alexandria, seven miles below, intercepts the foreign; while the barrenness of the surrounding country is discouraging to settlers. The prosperity of Washington, therefore, seems to be in a great measure dependent on its advantages as the seat of government; and these, in a new government, economical even to penuriousness in the salaries of its public officers, cannot as yet be very important.

H. Adlard sculp.

THE PRESIDENT'S HOUSE, WASHINGTON.

"Great, however, or trifling as they may be, the city did not till very lately enter upon the full enjoyment of them. Great doubts were entertained whether it was to continue to enjoy the presence of the chief magistrate and supreme legislature; and capitalists felt no inclination to invest their money in property which was not otherwise valuable, and which might therefore be suddenly and irretrievably depreciated. But what the natives were at a loss to decide, the British may be said to have decided for them. The burning of the Capitol and the President's House during last war, has settled the question; and it seems to be now ascertained, to the satisfaction of speculators, that Washington is to continue, at least for a considerable time to come, in the undisturbed enjoyment of her metropolitan privileges. How an event so disastrous should lead to consequences so propitious, may seem to be in some measure a paradox, but it is one of easy explanation. When the rebuilding of these edifices came to be the subject of deliberation in Congress, the question as to the removal of the seat of the Legislature was necessarily discussed; national feeling, however, co-operated powerfully with other considerations to influence the decision; the proposal was at once scouted, and the requisite amount was enthusiastically voted to efface the memorials of British triumph. Preparations were instantly made to rebuild the Capitol and President's House with more than their original splendour; the value of building-ground and of houses took an immediate start; and Washington now exhibits abundant proof of the enterprise and elasticity of the national character.

"The original plan of the city was on a most extensive scale. A parallelogram more than four miles and a half long, and two miles broad, was regularly

divided into streets, avenues, and squares; and should the anticipations of its founders be realized, this will, after all, be but the nucleus of the future metropolis. The streets are laid out towards the cardinal points, crossing each other at right angles; the avenues intersect these diagonally, so as to avoid the tiresome sameness which is observable in Philadelphia, and extensive squares are to be placed at the crossings of these transverse lines. The avenues are from 130 to 160 feet wide; the streets from 80 to 110.

"To lay out the plan of a city, however, is one thing, and to build it, is another. Of all the regularity and system which the engraved plan exhibits, scarcely a trace is discernible upon the ground. Instead of beginning this gigantic undertaking in a central spot, and gradually extending the buildings from a common focus, they appear to have commenced at once in twenty or thirty different places, without the slightest regard to concentration or the comforts of good neighbourhood; and a stranger looking round him for Washington, sees two houses here, and six there, and a dozen yonder, scattered in straggling groupes over the greater part of three or four square miles. Hitherto, the city does not contain above 14,000 inhabitants, but these have taken root in so many different places, that the public crier, a black man whom I have just seen performing the duties of his calling, is obliged to make the circuit on horseback. Pennsylvania Avenue is almost the only place where the line of communication can be traced. This stretches from the Capitol to the President's House, a distance of rather more than a mile, with double rows of gravel walks and poplars, and a good many buildings have been erected on both sides of it, with considerable attention to neatness and continuity. This, however,

is but a small portion of the intended avenue, which, according to the plan, is to stretch out in both directions, till it is eventually about four miles in length.

"A short way from the Capitol, Pennsylvania Avenue is crossed by the Tiber, a little muddy stream, or creek, according to American phraseology, which filters through flags, and rushes into the Potowmak. A wooden bridge is thrown over it, but the stage-driver who brought me from Baltimore, preferred fording the stream, to cool the feet of his horses. Moore, in one of his poetical epistles, dated from the 'Modern Rome,' makes a sarcastic allusion to this classic stream; but, if Weld is correct, the name was given it by some early settler, before the site was chosen for the Federal City, and, therefore, its founders are not answerable for what at first seems a piece of ridiculous affectation.

"As the Capitol and the President's House are both of free-stone, we are rather disappointed to find them covered with white paint. The grain of the stone is, indeed, rather coarse, and a good many hard white pebbles are imbedded in it; yet, the walls would certainly have looked better in their natural colour. The truth is, the buildings were both originally unpainted; but the unceremonious usage which they received from our troops at the capture of the city, so effectually begrimed their visages, that it was found impossible to eradicate the defilement. To demolish and rebuild the walls, would have been a very costly expedient, and as the least of two evils, the painter's brush was resorted to; here and there, however, above some of the windows, the black wreathings of the smoke are still discernible through the white covering.

"Not more than the wings of the Capitol had been completed when the city was captured. They have

risen from their ashes, and are again roofed in; the centre also is beginning to appear above the ground. Each wing is pretty nearly square, and consists of a basement and principal story, surmounted with a low, circular dome, bearing a small lantern. The basement is rusticated, and, alternating with the windows of the principal story, is a row of Corinthian pilasters. The centre is to resemble the wings in its general features, but will project considerably beyond them. The building wants simplicity.

"The House of Representatives will occupy a magnificent hall in the right wing of the building. The Speaker's chair is to be placed near the wall, and the seats and desks of the members will be disposed in semi-circular lines round it, rising as they recede. Beyond the members' seats will be an extensive gallery for spectators. Twenty-two splendid Corinthian columns with corresponding pilasters, are to surround the outline of the semi-circle, and the wall behind the Speaker's chair. Part of these are already erected. The shaft of the columns is of a kind of pudding-stone from the banks of the Potowmak, composed of numerous pebbles of various sizes and colours, and admitting of a good polish. The capitals, which were executed in Italy, are of white marble, and, it is said, cost upwards of a hundred pounds sterling each. The appropriate foliage of this splendid order is most exquisitely elaborated. I am disposed to think, however, that had the columns been altogether of white marble, the effect would have been much more pleasing.*

"The President's House† is a handsome building

* A large proportion of the workmen were from Scotland and Ireland. Their wages were from one to two dollars a day, of which they were able to save about one half.

† Familiarly called by the Americans, "the White House."

of considerable dimensions, occupying the brow of a rising ground near the bank of the river, and commanding a most extensive and beautiful prospect. In the centre of the side towards the river, is a semi-circular projection; and Corinthian pilasters, rising between the windows to the full height of the building, support a balustrade which goes completely round. The principal front, however, is on the other side, where a plain but lofty portico of four columns rises above the entrance door. Among heaps of rubbish round the building, I saw several fragments of the old capitals of the pilasters, which had been cracked by the conflagration, and thoroughly blackened with smoke.

"The walls of the President's House are now restored to their former condition, and carpenters and upholsterers were busied in giving to the interior more than its original splendour. The walls of some of the rooms which have been finished, are covered with very rich French paper, studded with gilt flowers. I saw in one of them, a full length copy in oil of Stuart's portrait of Washington: the original is, or at least was, in the possession of the Marquis of Lansdown, and is the same from which the beautiful engraving by Heath was executed.

"Along with the Capitol and the President's House, the public offices were also destroyed. There were at that time only two, which have been rebuilt, and other two have been added; they are appropriated to the departments of the treasury, state, navy, and war, and stand near the President's House, two on each side.

"Not less than five libraries perished in that ill-fated conflagration, two of which were of considerable value. Many public documents and some curious papers connected with the history of the revolution, were also destroyed. As a recommencement of a

national library, Congress has purchased from Mr. Jefferson the whole of his private collection, containing about ten thousand volumes.

"The navy-yard, about a mile south-east of the Capitol, occupies nearly forty acres of ground, on the margin of a small inlet of the eastern branch of the river. Before visiting it, I had neglected to provide myself with an introduction to the commanding officer, and reached the gate before I recollected that this would be necessary. As the only remaining chance, I walked boldly past the sentinel, hoping to get in unchallenged; ere I had gone many paces, however, the serjeant of the guard hailed me, and having ascertained that I was an interloper, ordered me to turn. I made no remonstrance, but observing at a short distance from the gate a marble monument, I asked and obtained permission to inspect it. I found it to be a monument to the memory of some American naval officers, who fell several years ago in an attack on Tripoli. It consists of a column upon a square base, surmounted with an eagle, and surrounded by allegorical figures as large as life. The shaft of the column bears the beak and stern of three vessels of the antique form, projecting from it at equal distances from each other. The figures are allegorical of History, Fame, Commerce, and America. History is in the act of recording on her tablet the heroic achievements of the departed warriors; Fame has mounted upon the base to crown them with laurel; Mercury, carrying the cornucopiæ, as the representative of Commerce, bewails their untimely fate; and Columbia, a beautiful female decorated with feathers, is pointing two little chubby boys, one of whom carries the Roman fasces, to the commemorative device. On the front of the base is a sculptured basso relievo

representation of the bombardment. The other three sides are occupied with inscriptions; one contains the names of those who fell; another intimates that the monument was erected by their brother officers; and on the third is inscribed:—

'FAME HAS CROWNED THEIR DEEDS,
HISTORY RECORDS THE EVENT,
THE CHILDREN OF COLUMBIA ADMIRE,
AND COMMERCE LAMENTS THEIR FALL.'

This last inscription is, to say the least of it, superfluous, for the art of the sculptor is worth nothing, if it requires such an expositor under it. The monument was executed in Italy, and is very beautiful, but the spectator regrets to observe that the fingers of some of the figures have been broken off. We are not left in doubt as to the perpetrators of this outrage, for a small square tablet bears the mortifying information:—

'MUTILATED
BY BRITONS,
25TH AUGUST, 1814.'

This inscription might also have been spared. It is not at all improbable, that some of our soldiers, in the wantonness of victory, may have been the guilty individuals; for the monuments in Westminster Abbey abundantly manifest the propensity which prevails in the inferior classes of our countrymen to similar acts of vandalism; many of the smaller figures there, have been deprived not only of their fingers, but of their heads; and the real cause of wonder with respect to this one is, not that so much, but that so little mischief was done. The person who ordered the inscription, however, should have reflected that it immediately suggests the question, How came 'Britons' to be here? and it is possible, if the answer to this ques-

tion is followed up by others which naturally occur, that the disgrace of allowing the fingers to be taken off, might eventually appear to be at least as great as that of having done it. A few years hence, nothing could have been seen in Washington to remind a visiter of its having been once in an enemy's hands; but, so long as this monument remains in its present state, the humiliating fact is conspicuously recorded."*

In consequence of the gigantic scale on which Washington has been planned, and the different interests which influence the population, its inhabitants are, in fact, separated into four distinct towns, distant from each other about a mile. Thus we have George-town in the west, containing 9000 souls; the town immediately round the President's House, with perhaps 10,000; that round the Capitol, containing between 2000 and 3000; and the buildings at the navy-yard, which lies on the east branch, still a mile further. The three divisions of the city itself, with here and there a few scattered buildings, may now contain, Mr. Cooper says, about 16,000 souls. Georgetown, though in the district of Columbia, and quite as near to the President's House as is the Capitol, is not properly a part of the city, having a distinct municipal government. Alexandria, a little city of about 9000 inhabitants, is also within the limits of the Federal District, but lies on the opposite side of the Potomac, at a distance of six miles. The whole district may contain about 40,000 souls.†

* Duncan, vol. i. pp. 251—267. Even Mr. Cooper acknowledges, that the inscription referred to is in singularly bad taste; and that the very nature of the injury inflicted on the monument, proves it to have been the act of an individual.

† Cooper's Notions, vol. ii. pp. 12, 16—26. The population of

" The quarter of the President's House is less compact and more populous than either of the others, and forms properly the heart of the city. A few of the streets have the air of a town; though there is, in every part of this place, a striking disproportion in magnitude between the streets and the houses. In order to produce the effect intended, the buildings in the Pennsylvania Avenue, for example, should be of six or seven stories; whereas they are, in fact, some such houses as one sees in an English country-town. Another striking defect in the plan, is also made manifest by the waste of room in this avenue. As the avenues cross the street obliquely, it is plain, the points of intersection must make a vast number of acute angles. There is always, on one side of each street, between that street and the avenue, a gore of land, so narrow that it will never be built on, until real estate shall get to be far more valuable than it is likely soon to become here. Consequently, the distances are unnecessarily increased; and by this means, and its four different quarters, Washington has all the inconvenience of an immense town, with scarcely any of its counterbalancing advantages. Georgetown is a well-built, clean, and rather pretty town. The avenues between this place and the Navy-yard, a distance of nearly five miles, resemble a high road through an open country but little cultivated, on which stand one straggling town and a village, and which terminates in a cluster of houses. The buildings of the towns and villages on the route, are much like those of other small towns, with the exception of the public edifices, which are like those one sees in a city. If you can reconcile all these contradictions,

the city in 1820, was only 13,247; and that of the district, 33,029, including 6377 slaves and 4048 free persons of colour.

you may get a tolerably accurate notion of the capital of the United States." *

This description is evidently not drawn by a Virginian, and it reads very much like satire. Captain Basil Hall cites the quaint simile of a friend at Washington, who remarked, that "the whole affair looks as if some giant had scattered a box of his child's toys at random on the ground." This effect arises from the unusual width of the streets, "where streets there are." Here and there, ranges of buildings are starting up, but by far the greater number of the houses are detached. In fact, Washington is the site of a city, rather than a city; and it may, perhaps, be still considered as doubtful, whether it will ever assume the appearance of one. It would seem that many of the Americans are by no means satisfied with either the situation or the plan and character of their ideal capital, the greater part of which is as yet built in the air; although there are others, Captain Basil Hall tells us, who believe that the time will come, when their capital shall cover the whole area of the district of Columbia, 100 miles square! By others again, Mr. Hodgson says, "St. Louis on the Missouri is supposed to be destined to become the future capital, as it will probably be almost the centre of those States which may be expected one day to compose this gigantic confederation."

Thus it is, that in America all is outline: the filling up of the picture, Mr. Cooper tells us, has but just seriously commenced. "The tide of emigration, which has so long been flowing westward, must," he says, "have its reflux." It remains to be seen, whether an intellectual reflux must not also take place, towards

* Cooper's Notions, vol. ii. pp. 25, 26.

the East, the source of civilization, upon which, as if disdainful of their origin, the Americans have been turning their backs, still in pursuit of an *Hesperides* in the West, their only region of romance being the golden age that is ever in perspective. This strong recoil has naturally followed upon their emancipation from the colonial bondage; and the democratic jealousy which, scarcely brooking the control of its own institutions, has reduced the power of the Executive to little better than the shadow of authority, is the not less natural result of the sudden development of the national energies. All modern colonies, the philosophical Humboldt remarks, have manifested a tendency, more or less decided, for republican forms of government; a tendency "founded principally on the position in which a community is placed, that is suddenly detached from a world more anciently civilized, freed from every external tie, and composed of individuals who recognize no political preponderance in the same caste." * The American, so far as he has a national character, may be described as an Englishman stripped of his history. Unallied to the past, and fiercely intent upon the future, proud of his nation's anticipated greatness, and glorying more in his strength than in his achievements, he is a republican from the very nature of things. He has no master, nor is he allied in the social system, or related in his own feelings, to any thing greater and higher than himself. The noble illegitimacy of his political birth has thrown him upon his own resources, and made him almost forswear his ancestry. In America, nothing has its foundations in the past, and therefore, nothing is stable. All is in transition. Each State is perpetually shifting

* Humboldt's Personal Narrative, vol. vi. p. 313.

its centre. The capitals are travelling westward. The relative position and weight of the different members of the Federal Union are, in like manner, undergoing perpetual modification. The channels of trade are shifting, like the course of a mighty river, where nothing breaks the surrounding level. The political institutions may be compared to the bridges of the country, in which the position of the arch is reversed, and the whole structure is in suspension. Under such circumstances, who can venture to say, how long Washington may enjoy the honours in which it has supplanted Philadelphia, by remaining the nominal centre of the Republic,—the seat of Government, but not of a court; the mere focus of official business, not a metropolis; and uniting the three striking anomalies of a city without houses, a navy-yard without seamen, and a port without commerce?

"In many respects," says Mr. Hodgson, "Washington reminded me very much of a watering-place. Scarcely any of the members reside here, except while Congress is sitting; and then they are in lodgings. The ladies who accompany their fathers or husbands, to see a little of the world, are situated very much as they would be at Harrowgate or Cheltenham; and there are usually many strangers in pursuit of entertainment. It is the residence also of the foreign ministers, and the heads of the departments of Government. All this gives rise to much dissipation. On some of the evenings, there are routs at the houses of one or other of the ministers of the *Corps diplomatique*, and the rest are generally anticipated by two or three invitations. All, however, complain that this routine becomes very dull before the session closes, as they meet almost the same persons every evening, and the sober ones will seldom go out above two or

three times a week. Families who are acquainted with each other, often board together at the large taverns; and the members who are bachelors for the time being, form messes at the private boarding-houses, where they are often in very close, and sometimes in very shabby quarters. I think, quite the majority of the members go to the Capitol in hackney coaches; and as the ground has been covered with snow, I have several times seen a sledge and four, with eight or ten senators from George-town in the neighbourhood.

"I have spent nearly every morning at the Senate or House of Representatives. These beautiful chambers are calculated to make an impression very favourable to the dignity of the deliberative assemblies which occupy them; and the general appearance of the members does not materially impair it. Many of them have the appearance of English country gentlemen; and a considerable proportion of them are lawyers, who carry in their faces those marks of intellectual exertion which seem to plead some apology for having sacrificed little to the Graces. Some of the members from the Western country, indeed, would look a little queer in our House of Commons. The proceedings both of the Senate and the House of Representatives, seem to be conducted with great order and decorum, and with a courtesy and attention to the feelings of 'honourable gentlemen,' which I was not prepared to expect. The style of their best speakers is fluent, forcible, and perspicuous; and in cases where it is not possible that their arguments should be sound, they seldom fail to be specious and acute. My friend, who would, I believe, be considered the first authority on the subject, told me, that he considered their two prominent faults to be, a proneness to engage in dissertation, and to pursue the investigation of a

difficult question, which had been started incidentally in the course of the debate, without ascertaining whether its solution was absolutely necessary to the original discussion. He regards the frequent change of members in the House of Representatives as inimical to the acquisition of that knowledge, or the formation of those habits, so desirable in a deliberative assembly; and deprecates the custom into which they have fallen, of referring every thing to committees, as tending in effect to leave to the decision of a few, many questions which ought to be argued upon general principles, by the House at large. It is usual for ladies to attend when any interesting debate is expected; and the question of the admission of Slavery into the Missouri, which has lately been agitated, attracts all the beauty and fashion to the Senate. On this occasion, through what has been considered the over complaisance of the Vice-President of the United States, who is the chairman of the Senate, ladies have been admitted on the floor; but this is not to be allowed in future."*

Captain Basil Hall passed upwards of a month in Washington, at the beginning of the year 1828. He found the society there very agreeable, and in many respects interesting, from being composed of persons from every part of the Union, and every part of Europe, for the *corps diplomatique* form a considerable party of themselves. Of the Capitol, which he visited every day, he gives the following description:—

"The House of Representatives at Washington, is a splendid hall of a semi-circular form, 96 feet across, and 40 in height. Along its circumference are placed fourteen marble columns, reaching to the vaulted dome, and fancifully tied together under

* Hodgson, vol. i. pp. 8—12.

the cornice by festoons of red damask. The gallery for the public, which is raised about twenty feet above the floor of the House, extends along the whole circuit behind these columns. In the centre below sits the Speaker, from whose chair seven passages radiate to the circumference, whilst the members sit in concentric rows facing the Speaker; the whole arrangement being not unlike in form to that of half of a spider's web. Every member has a snug, stuffed, comfortable arm-chair allotted to him; besides a writing-desk furnished with all the apparatus of paper, pens, and ink, and a drawer underneath, of which he keeps the key.

"This noble room, or more properly amphitheatre, is not well adapted for hearing. Were it actually a theatre, and the audience seated where the members are placed, while the actors addressed them from the corridor or open space behind the Speaker's chair, along the diameter of the semi-circle, I dare say it might do very well; because the Speaker, when addressing the House from the chair, was heard distinctly enough by the members. It was always difficult, however, for any member of the House to make himself heard. I spoke to one of them about this essential defect. He replied, that for once, in America, utility had been sacrificed to beauty; 'which,' said he, good-humouredly enough, 'you must do us the justice to say, is not often the fault of this country.'

"The most perfect decorum prevails at all times in the House; no coughing, no cheering, no hear! hear!—none of those indefinable, but significant sounds which are so irresistibly efficacious in modifying the debates of the House of Commons. Every member of Congress is permitted to speak at any length he pleases, without interruption. I cannot say, however, that there is a correspondent degree of at-

tention paid to what is said; for, independently of the reverberations of sound from the dome, or the waste of it in filling the intercolumniations, there are other sources of disturbance constantly going on, which drown a great part of what is said. Except when some remarkably good speaker has 'possession of the floor,' the members, instead of attending to what is spoken, are busied in conversation, in writing letters, rapping the sand off the wet ink with their knuckles, rustling the countless multitude of newspapers which deluge the House, locking or unlocking their drawers, or moving up and down the avenues which divide the ranges of seats, and kicking before them, at every step, printed reports, letter covers, and other documents strewed on the floor. A couple of active little boys are always seen running to and fro with armfuls of papers, or carrying slips of writing from members to the chair, or from member to member. Whenever any one rises to speak, who, there is reason to infer, from experience, or from internal evidence, will be lengthy, one of these little Mercuries flies off for a glass of water, which he places on the orator's desk.

"A wide passage skirts the base of the columns, between each of which there stands a commodious sofa, on which the members, or such strangers as have the *entrée* granted them by the Speaker, may lounge at their ease. Ladies are not allowed to come on the floor of the house, but only into the gallery. When, however, I chanced to go alone, I always found an excellent place behind the Speaker's chair, along with the Foreign Ambassadors and other strangers. The reporters for the newspapers had a place assigned to them in this quarter of the House.

"The Senate Chamber is similar in form to that of the Hall of Representatives, but of course it is much

H. Adlard sculp.

THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON.

London Published by [illegible] Paternoster [illegible] Oct. 1 1829.

smaller; the diameter of the semi-circle being only 75 feet.

"The Capitol itself is a large and handsome building, though some people think the effect is hurt by three flat domes on the top, hardly in character with the rest of the architecture. I thought the effect of the whole very good. Under the centre dome is a lofty hall, called the Rotundo, the niches of which are ornamented with colossal pictures by Trumbull. Adjacent to this, and connected by a flight of steps, is the library of Congress, a pleasant and well-arranged apartment.

"The stone of which the Capitol is built, is well adapted for such a building, being a coarse-grained freestone, with a slight, but by no means unpleasant tinge of yellow. By some strange perversity of taste, this fine building has been covered over with a coating of paint.* The situation being an elevated one, the effect of the weather, during the hard gales which blow in winter, added to the scorching heats of the summer, has been to wear away this crust at so many places, that the poor wall is exposed in no very seemly condition.

"In attending Congress, nothing struck me so much as the exceeding looseness of their mode of debating, and especially the long-winded, rambling style of the speeches, which, seldom adhering long to the subject under discussion, roved away into topics having no sort of connexion with it. General principles, moral maxims, assertions of honest intentions, declarations of national and individual independence, overwrought raptures at the increasing greatness of the country, contrasted with the decay of Europe, made up a considerable part of all these discourses. Or when the orations had a deeper object, and were di-

* See page 77.

rected, not to the subject in hand, but to the Presidential or some other party question, it was quite impossible for any stranger to follow their windings without some interpretation.

"It naturally occurred to me to ask, whether or not this style of speaking were generally approved of; but I never met with a single person, old or young, Federalist or Democrat, Adams'-man or Jacksonian, who did not condemn the practice in the most unqualified terms, as being the greatest bore on earth; independently of its wasting time, and confounding all good business in a deluge of vapid eloquence, intended not for the House, nor for the country, but chiefly to be printed in pamphlets, for the edification of the constituents of the honourable members, who were never satisfied unless they had such direct proof of their representative having exerted himself.*

* "The Congressional eloquence of America," say the North American Reviewers, "is, we think, in no high respect among ourselves. The debates in Congress appear to us to be spoken disrespectfully of by many of the judicious portion of the community; of that portion who really say less than they feel or think, and whose censures deserve to be listened to.....With us, the least concern of a member of Congress, is, how he stands at Washington. His heart is in Carolina, in Maine, or beyond the Alleghanies. With these distant regions he communicates through the press. The speaking is the smallest part of the business: it is only the occasion, the justification, of publishing a speech in the newspapers, and perhaps in a pamphlet to be sent home to his constituents.....It is now, we believe, generally admitted, that the House of Representatives, at least, convenes in a splendid hall, in which it is difficult to see, speak, or hear, and which is consequently destitute of the three most important properties of a hall of legislature. Scarcely a session passes without the waste of some time or money and ineffectual attempts at a remedy.... The vast space to be filled, tempts to vociferation, to exaggerated gesture, to weary repetition, and a sort of desperate effort on the part of members, to produce by length that effect which they cannot aim at in a shorter discourse, of which every sentence would tell."—N. Amer. Rev. No. lvii, pp. 431—8.

" I found there were absolutely no persons holding the station of what are called, in England, Leaders, on either side of the House. Persons of ability and address do, of course, acquire a certain degree of unsteady influence, even in assemblies so constituted: but this never appears to entitle them to the character of leading men. The bare insinuation of such pretensions, indeed, would inevitably lead to the downfall of the man so designated. It is true, that certain members do take charge of the administration questions, and certain others of opposition questions; but all this is so obviously without concert among themselves, actual or tacit, that nothing can be conceived less systematic, or more completely desultory, disjointed, and unbusiness-like.

" It will now be easily understood, how it happens that so little real work is done by Congress, at least through the medium of debate; or how little solid information can be communicated to the public, by means of the reported discussions. Nine-tenths, or perhaps a greater proportion of all the time of every session of Congress, as far as I could see, read about, or hear of in conversation, is always wasted in these interminable speeches: so that the real business which comes to be crushed into the very end of the session, is, of course, so great, that very often many important bills cannot be got through the regular forms in due season, and consequently must be deferred till next year. If it should happen to be the second year, or last session of Congress, all such measures as have not fortunately succeeded in passing through the requisite forms, lapse as a matter of course, and must be again brought forward, from the beginning, in the new Congress; though many of these

unhappy bills may, and often do, again share the same fate in the next, and so on through many successive Congresses." *

At the time that Captain Basil Hall was at Washington, the approaching Presidential election was the all-engrossing consideration which gave a turn to every debate, and precluded the possibility of getting through any public business. "The question of slaves being property or not, the tariff of duties for the protection of manufactures, the doctrine of State rights, that of internal improvements, and a great many others, all passed in review, and were more or less dwelt upon; every one of these subjects, however, landed in the Presidential question, in a manner which it is impossible to describe, for I know of nothing to compare it with elsewhere. In the meanwhile, very little real business was effected, I mean in open Congress, and before the public. The executive committees of the Legislature, (as they may be called with perfect truth, in spite of the portentous anomaly in government which the term implies,) did what was absolutely necessary for the progress of those parts of the public business which could not possibly be allowed to stand still. But, after all, the very minimum of real work, as far as I could see or hear, was the result.

"The following extract from an American paper, dated Washington, 2d April, 1828, more than two months after the time I am speaking of, will shew that the same system was continued:—

"'Neither house of Congress met on Saturday. Four months have elapsed since the session commenced, and we are not able to state a single measure of any real national importance that has thus far

* B. Hall, vol. iii. pp. 4–8; 27, 8; 32, 3.

been accomplished. In the early part of the session, some of the members talked frequently of shutting out of their proceedings and discussions all topics that might have an electioneering aspect, and of going on as rapidly as possible with the public business, in order that the session might be a short one. This course would certainly have been both wise and profitable, and we can only regret it was not pursued. At present, we see very little prospect, even at this late hour, of a speedy adjournment. Almost every subject is seized hold of for the purposes of party effect; and whatever may be the title of a bill, or the professed object of a resolution, it is almost invariably turned to a controversy relating to the Presidential election. Reports of committees are framed with this view; and, in short, there appears to be little else attended to, than the question, Who shall be the next chief magistrate of the nation? We do not see that there is any remedy for this evil. It would seem, from what has passed before us for two or three years past, that we must expect hereafter to find the political concerns of the country all made subservient to intrigue and electioneering.'" *

Captain Basil Hall attended a select levee held by the President on New Year's day. "We found the scene," he says, "very interesting, as we not only saw and conversed with the President, but made acquaintance with several military and naval officers of distinction, and with many other persons we were

* B. Hall, vol. iii. pp. 65—67. The present Congress, however, is said to differ in one material respect from the preceding. According to the New York papers, it will shew a majority in favour of the Administration, so large, that, on questions of mere party politics, opposition will be hopeless. A strong government party will be a novel feature in the session, and may prove favourable to the despatch of public business.

anxious to meet. The suite of apartments thrown open consisted of two handsomely furnished drawing-rooms, leading to a well-proportioned ball-room, which, however, I was surprised to find entirely unfurnished and bare. Even the walls were left in their unpainted plaster. Here was a degree of republican simplicity beyond what I should have expected, as it seemed out of character with what I saw elsewhere. Upon inquiring into this matter, I learned, that although one Congress had voted a sum of money,—twenty-five thousand dollars, or about five thousand guineas,—for the purpose of fitting up the President's house, the succeeding Congress, which, as usual, contained a large proportion of new members, fresh from the woods, asked what was the use of expending so much of the public money, when people could dance as well, or even better, in the empty room, than in one crowded with furniture. At all events, whatever be the cause, the fact bears testimony to a degree of economy, of which very few Americans that I conversed with did not complain, as being rather too parsimonious, and, all things considered, not a very dignified or discreet exposure, at the chief point of attraction for all foreigners."*

So long as the shallow, illiberal philosophy of Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Paine,† which has interwoven itself into all the institutions of the United

* B. Hall, vol. iii. p. 14.

† Paine, in his Rights of Man, undertakes to demonstrate, that no free people, if they be wise, will ever give more than 3250 dollars a year to their chief magistrate, whether called president or king. Almost the whole system of American politics, it has been remarked, especially what relates to its two distinguishing features, parsimony and popular jealousy, may be traced up to some of Franklin's specious, pithy, but shallow apophthegms, so well adapted to tickle the ear of the populace.

States, maintains its credit, it must not only cripple the Government, and divest it of its proper consideration in the eyes of the people, but its tendency is to prevent the development of high talent, and to vulgarize the national character. The munificence and public spirit displayed in the literary and benevolent institutions of many of the States, are in striking contrast to the illiberal parsimony manifested by the General Legislature towards the public servants of the country.

General Washington, when President, used to hold a levee once a week during the session. At these, Weld informs us, he always appeared in a court dress; and it was expected that the foreign ministers should attend in the same style. "This they constantly do," it is added, "excepting the French minister, who makes a point of going in dishabille, not to say worse of it. Other persons are at liberty to go as they think proper. Mrs. Washington has also a drawing-room once a week. On this occasion, the ladies are seated in great form round the apartment, and tea, coffee, &c. are served." * Many objections, however, were made by the democratic party against these levees, "as being inconsistent with the spirit of a republican government, and destructive of that equality which ought to reign among the citizens of every class!" The President gave no public dinners or other entertainments, except to personages sustaining diplomatic capacities, and to a few families on terms of intimacy with Mrs. Washington. "This, by many persons," says Weld, "is attributed to his saving disposition, but it is more just to ascribe it to his prudence and foresight; for, as the salary of the President is totally inadequate by itself to support an

* Weld, p. 15.

expensive style of life, were he to give numerous and splendid entertainments, the same might be expected from subsequent Presidents, who, if their private fortunes were not considerable, would be unable to live in the same style. In his private capacity at Mount Vernon, every stranger meets with a hospitable reception." * "Few and feeble," remarked the accom-

* Weld, p. 60. This Traveller was present at a levee held by the President on his sixty-fourth birth-day; and his portrait of this illustrious personage will doubtless be interesting to our readers. "Though not an unhealthy man, he seemed considerably older. The innumerable vexations he has met with in his different public capacities, have very sensibly impaired the vigour of his constitution, and given him an aged appearance. There is, however, a very material difference in his looks when seen in private, and when he appears in public, full dressed; in the latter case, the hand of art makes up for the ravages of time, and he seems many years younger. Few persons find themselves for the first time in the presence of General Washington, without being impressed with a certain degree of veneration and awe; nor do these emotions subside on a closer acquaintance. On the contrary, his person and deportment are such as rather tend to augment them. There is something very austere in his countenance; and in his manners he is uncommonly reserved. I have heard some officers who served immediately under his command during the American war, say, that they never saw him smile. No man has ever yet been connected with him by the reciprocal and unconstrained ties of friendship, and but few can boast even of having been on an easy and familiar footing with him. The height of his person is about five feet eleven; his chest is full; and his limbs, though rather slender, well shaped and muscular. His head is small, in which respect he resembles in make a great number of his countrymen. His eyes are of a light grey colour; and, in proportion to the length of his face, his nose is long. Mr. Stewart, the eminent portrait-painter, told me, that there are features in his face totally different from what he ever observed in any other human being; the sockets for the eyes, for instance, are larger, and the upper part of the nose broader. All his features, he observed, were indicative of the strongest and most ungovernable passions; and had he been born in the forests, it was his opinion, that he would have been the fiercest man among the savage tribes. In this, Mr. Stewart has given a proof of his great discernment and intimate knowledge of the

plished Hamilton, "are the interested inducements to accept a place in our administration. Far from being lucrative, there is not one which will not involve pecuniary sacrifice to every *honest* man of pre-eminent talents."*

According to the representations of Mr. Jefferson, contained in his posthumous correspondence, the Federal Constitution was, in the early part of Washington's administration, "galloping fast into a monarchy;" and he takes credit to himself for protecting a French man of the name of Freneau, in the publication of a paper which abounded with the grossest personal attacks upon the President and the supposed "*monocrats*," to which he ascribes a powerful and wholesome influence. Those apprehensions of the absorbing nature of the powers and patronage of a Central Government, which kept several of the States for some time aloof, and which governed the policy of the democratic party, have not yet wholly subsided.† But,

human countenance; for, although General Washington has been extolled for his great moderation and calmness, during the very trying situations in which he has so often been placed, yet, those who have been acquainted with him the longest and most intimately, say, that he is by nature a man of a fierce and irritable disposition; but that, like Socrates, his judgement and great self-command have always made him appear a man of a different cast in the eyes of the world. He speaks with great diffidence, and sometimes hesitates for a word; but it is always to find one particularly well adapted to his meaning. His language is manly and expressive. He is much more open and free in his behaviour at levee than in private, and in the company of ladies still more so, than when solely with men."—Weld, p. 60.

* In Lambert, vol. ii. p. 398.

† In 1798, the States of Virginia and Kentucky framed Resolutions expressive of an idea, that the General Government had evinced a spirit of encroachment, "tending to consolidate the States into one sovereignty." These notable Resolutions were framed by Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison.

whatever may have been the danger half a century ago, the risk that the Government will become stronger than the people, does not," an able Writer remarks, "constitute the actual crisis. There appear no symptoms of any such consolidation of a central or permanent power, nor does any nucleus sufficiently strong or steady for such an accretion to form around it, seem to have ever existed." * According to the representations of both Mr. Cooper and Captain Basil Hall, who are seldom in accordance on any point, ever since the hour of the Revolution, the habits, opinions, laws, and principle of the Americans have been daily becoming more democratic. This has been indicated, indeed, by the growing ascendancy of the anti-federalist party, of which Mr. Jefferson was the avowed head.† Owing

* Edinb. Review, No. xcviii. p. 595. "The disinclination of the individual States to yield competent powers to Congress for the Federal Government," was the language of Washington, "their unreasonable jealousy of that body and of one another, and the disposition which seems to pervade each, of being all-wise and all-powerful within itself, will, if there be not a change in the system, be our downfall as a nation." Speaking of the too great extension of the federal powers, he adds: "I have no fears arising from this source; but I have many and powerful ones indeed, which predict the worst consequences from a half-starved, limping Government, that appears to be always moving upon crutches and tottering at every step."—North Amer. Rev. No. lvii. pp. 259, 60. Yet, the Americans appear to have no idea that the perpetuity of their Republic can be endangered by any thing but the transformation of their President into a king.

† In their manners also, Mr. Cooper tells us, the growing ascendancy of the democratic spirit may be traced. "Twenty years ago, it would have been thought a breach of politeness to address a letter to a member of Congress without prefixing honourable to the name: the better practice now is to omit it." The use of honourable to even the members of the Federal Government, "is not deemed *bon ton*." "The taste of the nation is receding from the custom" of giving any titles.—Notions, vol. ii. p. 59. Massachusetts gives the titles of "his Excellency," and "his Honour,"

to this circumstance, a considerable modification has been imperceptibly effected in the essential character of the Government, although not in its form, the executive power having been more and more encroached upon by the legislative.

The Federal Government of the United States, is, in fact, a copy of the State Governments, consisting of a President, (who answers to the governor of an individual State,) a Senate, and a House of Representatives. The President, who is commander-in-chief of the army and navy, is elected for a term of four years, by delegates appointed for this purpose by the people, and equal in number, for each State, to the members it sends to Congress. The Vice-President, who is *ex officio* president of the Senate, and who succeeds to the presidency *ad interim*, in case of the death or absence of the President, is elected in the same manner, and for the same period. The President was, according to the original constitution, perpetually re-eligible; but the example of Washington, who declined a second re-election, has been considered as almost binding on his successors, so that no President has held the office more than eight years.*

to the Governor and Lieutenant-governor of the State; but none of the other States sanction any titles. "No American can receive a title or a decoration from a foreign court without losing his citizenship."—Notions, vol. ii. p. 63.

* There is every reason to believe, that Washington's retirement from public life was in accordance with his predilections, and strictly voluntary. See page 168 of our first volume. Mr. Lambert intimates, that he declined standing a third time, in order to prevent the possibility of his suffering the humiliation of losing the election. Jefferson's party had gained strength; but it may be questioned, whether this possibility had much influence on his decision. Mr. Adams, Washington's successor, was not re-elected. Mr. Jefferson retired after serving for eight years, professing to

The National Senate was an improvement engrafted, in 1789, on the Confederation, which had consisted of a single Assembly. It is composed of two members from each State, chosen by their Legislatures for six years; a third of the members going out every second year. As the Congress represents the body of the people, the Senate may be said to represent the respective State Governments. It is thought to have had originally the character of a privy-council. Its principal and professed object, however, was the interposition of a second deliberative body, the want of which had been much felt; and since every State has two members in the Senate, it has become that branch of the Legislature to which the smaller States look for the protection of their rights, against the majorities which their population gives to the larger States in the House of Representatives. Their equality is thus constitutionally recognized, if not practically preserved. Owing, however, to the constantly increasing impulse of democratic influence, the Senate is less a check upon the other House, than upon the executive authority of the President; its concurrence being necessary for the ratification of treaties, the appointment of ambassadors, and the nomination to all the principal offices. The ministers who form "the cabinet," are, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the Attorney General, and the Postmaster General, none of whom can be members of the Legislature. The salary of the President is 25,000 dollars a year; that of the Vice-

conform to Washington's example, and to think, that no individual should hold the office for a longer term; but, though fortunate enough to leave a successor of his own principles, it is doubtful whether he would have been re-elected. He had always, however, been hostile to the perpetual re-eligibility of the President.

President, 5000 dollars; that of each of the Secretaries, 6000 dollars; and that of the Postmaster-general, 4000 dollars.*

The House of Representatives consists, at present, of 213 members; their number being fixed, according to a decennial census, at the rate of one representative for every 40,000 inhabitants, excluding the Indians, and counting five slaves as equivalent to three freemen. They are chosen for two years. The elective franchise is, for the most part, exercised by ballot. Universal suffrage has been gradually gaining ground, and is now established nearly throughout the Union. A State is generally divided, for the common objects of government and police, into counties which average 900 square miles, and into townships which average 90. Previously to a poll, three stations are chosen in each township for the convenience of voters; and the different legislative elections being all fixed for the same time and place, "an American in the more populous States," Mr. Cooper says, "can exercise all his constitutional rights at an expense commonly of a ride of four or five miles at the outside, and of three hours of time."† Senators and Representatives receive an allowance of eight dollars a-day for the time they are in attendance on the Session of Congress, and eight dollars travelling charges for every twenty miles they have to travel in going and returning. The thrifty citizens of some of the towns even in Massachusetts, having to pay their representatives out of their own treasuries, frequently, we are informed, decline to send any. In the Sessions of 1825, it was

* Carey and Lea's Atlas. In Warden (who has been followed by Malte Brun) they are stated differently.

† Notions, &c., vol. i. p. 350.

calculated, that 168 towns were not represented. In 1822, when the House of Representatives consisted of 187 members, it was composed of the following classes:*

Lawyers	97
Farmers	54
Physicians	15
Merchants	13
Manufacturers	3
Printers	2
Clergymen	3
	187

"It is not pretended," says Mr. Cooper, "that a member of Congress should be, as a matter of course, a gentleman. On the contrary, he is very commonly a plain, though always respectable yeoman, and not unfrequently a mechanic." † As the law requires the members to be residents in the districts for which they are respectively chosen, the remote frontier districts must send such men as they possess; and the same law, it is remarked, ensures their bringing with them as much local selfishness as their constituents could well desire; besides which, the doctrine prevails, that the will of the constituents ought to be the guide of the representative. Under all these circumstances, no surprise can be excited by the fact, that "Congress is not remarkable for the despatch of public business," whatever may be thought of the position which Mr. Cooper connects with it, that "it is not desirable that it should be so." ‡

The practical disadvantages which are inherent in this representative system, are certainly not of trivial importance. In the first place, it has been remarked,

* Niles's Register in Malte Brun, vol. v. p. 234.
† Notions, &c., vol. ii. p. 28. ‡ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 53.

that the immense elective machinery thus erected over the whole country, must tend to keep society in almost constant agitation, "by the friction, whirl, and dust of its wheels, whenever and wherever the immediate manufacturing of statesmen is going on." Mr. Cooper asserts, that the interest in these contests is destroyed by their familiarity, and that vast numbers of electors are content to be lookers on. But this only shews, that when the electioneering passion is not kept alive by circumstances that produce a popular excitement, the whole affair is apt to weary and pall; and there is danger that, as regards both the electors and the elected, it will fall into the hands of neither the most moderate, nor the most competent or respectable portion of the community. A more serious evil, however, threatens the Republic, as the eventual result of the system of universal suffrage. Mr. Cooper admits, that "when the numbers of those who have nothing, get to be so great as to make their voices of importance, it will be time to think of some serious change." * According to Captain Hall, the approach to this nothing, is already as close among the electors as it can well be brought. The mass of the people, as in all other countries, live from hand to mouth; and though it is easy for a man to keep himself and his family alive by bodily labour, the great majority of the population possess little more than enough for

* Notions, vol. i. p. 356. "The theory of the representation of property says," Mr. Cooper remarks, "that the man who has little, shall not dispose of the money of him who has more." But, "it is the man who has much," he contends, "that is the most prodigal of the public money." And this is thought a sufficient argument in proof of the superiority of the universal suffrage theory! In fact, the main object of American legislation seems to be, first, to prevent the permanent accumulation of individual wealth, and next, to prevent its entailing political influence.

that purpose. What little surplus property exists, is almost all in the hands of those who have themselves acquired it. Those who are elected, are, of course, generally without fortune. "There is no doubt," says Mr. Cooper again, "that the jealousy of those who have little, often induces a false economy, and that money might frequently be saved by bidding higher for talent." This jealousy may hereafter become still more difficult to deal with; and at all events, a theory of representation must rest upon very doubtful principles, which involves these consequences, and is fraught, even remotely, with fatal danger.

Nor is this all. It has been remarked by an able Writer, that, in "an extensive and disjointed empire, where unalterable geographical circumstances produce and perpetuate various incompatibilities of feeling and interest, it is the very abstract perfection of the representative system, that inevitably ensures the ultimate oppression of the smaller portions of the body. As surely as eight are more than three, so sure is it, that a multifarious empire, the government of which is truly and purely representative, will be ruled, not by the more wealthy, nor by the more intelligent, but by the more bulky portion; or, in other words, it will be governed, not by the reason of the whole, but by the relative numbers of the parts. Where the representatives of the people constitute only the check and counterpoise to a supreme authority, these representatives feel themselves much less personally charged with the particular interests of those several portions of the empire by which they are deputed; because it is found, that the balancing and harmonizing of all the parts, upon which the strength and security of the whole depend, may, to a great extent, be safely confided to

the personal interests of the supreme authority. But where the supreme power is actually in the hands of the representatives of the people, and where, therefore, it is the personal concern of no one to care more for the whole than for any of the parts, each feels individually, that it is his first and most pressing business to defend and promote the interests of that portion of the empire with which he is related. Under such a constitution, the representatives assemble in some sort like ambassadors of independent States. At home, as private individuals, they may feel the deepest concern for the great interests of the State; but in Congress, they meet to struggle and scramble each for himself and his clients." * The tendency of the rage for emigration is, to enable the Western States to outnumber, before long, both in the Senate and in the House of Representatives, the Atlantic States. The prosperity of the latter is essentially involved in the commercial policy, with which the agricultural interests of the inland States may not perfectly harmonize. It is not very easy to perceive, what security the smaller sections of the empire will have, under a government composed of a pure representation of numbers, against being sacrificed to the interests of the larger portion, unless it be by seceding from the Union.

On the other hand, these objections apply with far less force to the actual state of things in America,

* Eclectic Review, New Series, vol. xii. p. 29. The Writer illustrates his position by putting the case, that a perfect representation of the British empire, on the plan of the American Union, were assembled in our House of Commons; to wit, 400 members for India, a due proportion for Canada, the West Indies, South Africa, &c., and only a similar proportion for the Home Islands; it is obvious, under such a system, the empire could not hold together fifty years.

than they would do to the American system if extended to any other country; and this for many reasons. In the first place, it must not be forgotten, that but a portion of the actual business of either legislation or administration is entrusted to the Federal Government; chiefly that which relates to the national commerce and foreign relations. Each State is sovereign within its own territory, in all matters of an internal and domestic kind. As regards the working of the great system, this is a most material circumstance. The weakness of the Central Government may be said to arise in part from the strength of the individual States; and there is thus acting upon the community, quite independently of the former, the steady control of a domestic government, less democratic, in fact, than the theory of the Federal Constitution, and possessing a more direct and substantial authority than the Supreme Government. The disastrous consequences which would, in other countries, naturally ensue from the feebleness, incapacity, or unpopularity of the Supreme Administration, would not, by any means to the same extent, occur in the United States, where, at the same time, each State Government, being independent and underived from the Federal Ruler, might maintain undiminished its power and consideration in the eyes of the people. It follows also, that a material change in the constitution of the Federal Government would not necessarily disturb the administration, or weaken the authority of the home legislature and executive.*

* See Dr. Dwight's remarks at p. 197 of our first volume. As both the Congress and the State Legislatures are alike the organs of the people, it may seem that, their interests being identical, the one can hardly be a check upon the other. Yet, in point of fact, the States, as compact bodies, having their local interests, operate

The simplicity of society in America,—the oneness of the entire nation in language and manners,—the reciprocal intercourse between the several States,—the constant emigration from the Eastern States, which gives to them a preponderant influence far beyond their apparent representation,—these and other peculiarities powerfully tend to counteract the evils or dangers which might otherwise arise from the clashing of *sectional* interests and the continual extension of the representative system. "Universal suffrage," Mr. Duncan remarks, "will not exhibit the full extent of its evil tendency for a long time to come; and it is possible that, ere that time, some antidote may be discovered to prevent or alleviate the mischief which we might naturally expect from it." There seems, indeed, little reason to doubt that the antidote will be found; for, since the bad effects of the system must, as soon as they become pressing, produce a change of opinion very generally in the public mind, in a country where popular opinion is paramount, it cannot be long before such a change effects a practical modification of the law, although it may be difficult to deprive the people of their right of suffrage by direct restrictions.

Nor ought it to be overlooked, that the American

very much as a distinct estate in balancing the powers of Congress. M. Malte Brun says: "The laughable quackery of a legislative balance between aristocracy and democracy is unknown in the United States." But this respectable Writer would not have used this language, had he thoroughly understood the subject. Mr. Cooper says: "The true balance of power is here in the hands of legislative bodies." "It may appear paradoxical," he remarks, "but the secret of the actual durability of this Confederation consists in its apparent weakness. So long as the influence of the several States shall be of sufficient importance to satisfy their jealousy, I think it will endure."—Notions, vol. ii. p. 215. Is there no danger that such a crisis may occur?

Constitution is essentially that political system which naturally rose out of the circumstances of the country. Although, in some of its details, it has been shaped by the hands of theorists and empirical philosophists, it is, as regards its main features, the necessary result of that combination of moral and political elements which its framers had to work upon. It has been created, less by individuals, than by events; and was, if not the best, perhaps the best possible, of which the exigencies of the nation would admit. In its spirit, and in many of its provisions, it is modelled upon the British Constitution. To imitate ours more closely, would have been impracticable, if not absurd. In this country, where the power of the commons has grown up under the shadow of a monarchy, and the commercial system has been grafted upon the feudal, the commonwealth, of necessity assumes, a mixed character, combining the elements of monarchy, feudalism, and democracy, and blending the distinct interests of the court, the country, and the city. It is this alliance and amalgamation of apparently discordant materials, that excites the surprise of foreigners. "We find," says an American writer, "institutions existing together, which suppose the truth of directly opposite principles;—a king reigning by the grace of God, and a parliament, claiming and exercising the right of deposing him at pleasure; an established church, with the universal liberty of conscience and worship; equality of rights and hereditary privileges; with a thousand other incongruities." * Such is the paradox which the British Constitution seems to present; and which receives its explanation from the fact, that that Constitution is less a theoretic code,

* "America. By a Citizen of the United States."

than a series of provisions, imbodying the fundamental principles of liberty, but originating in occasion, and blending history with law. Its foundations are deep-laid in past times, which exert a real and substantial influence upon the national feeling. It is a Gothic, not a Doric structure, heterogeneous in the details, but simple and harmonious in the effect. Englishmen are not republicans, because they are not a purely mercantile nation, nor a nation of yesterday. Our aristocracy is the fixed capital of the State, the accumulation of preceding times, reinforced and repaired by continual accessions from the democracy, without which it would, long ere now, have become as dilapidated and rotten as the old feudal nobilities of the Continent: it is composed of the deposite of wealth, the superannuation of talent: it is an alluvial formation. And thus it is, that hereditary privileges in this country, instead of warring against equality of rights, are interwoven with them, or form, as it were, the fringe of the tissue. And as to the throne, that august symbol of magistracy, not the source, but the guarantee of law, the key-stone of the political arch, which, by its own stability and permanence, is the security of that upon which it rests,—it is an integral part, not only of the legal, but of the moral constitution of England.

In America, the President can hardly be called the Chief Magistrate: he is nothing more than a prime minister, the head of one of the great departments of government. The monarchy is put in commission; and in the jealous distribution of its functions and prerogatives, the "pardoning power" is the only kingly attribute that has fallen to his share. If we look for any visible depositary of the attribute of magisterial supremacy, we can find it only in another functionary, in whom is vested something approaching

to a sovereign discretion. The Supreme Court of Justice of the United States, which may be regarded as the Federal *Audienza* or Chancery Court,* has appellate jurisdiction in all cases arising under the Federal Constitution, in all admiralty cases, in controversies between two States, or two citizens of different States, and between a State or the citizens thereof, and a foreign State or its subjects. It is thus, the ultimate tribunal of appeal over the Legislatures both of the States and of the Union; and it has actually refused to give effect, and has thereby virtually annulled, several acts of the State Legislatures, and even of Congress itself. Were the Judges of the Supreme Court chosen for life, instead of "during good behaviour," (which renders them removable by a joint resolution of the two Houses of the Legislature,) they would possess more effective sovereignty than any other functionaries; and more of the majesty of constitutional law would seem to attach to their high office, than to any other. But how far the decision of such an umpire, in case of conflicting legislation upon serious questions, could command submission, remains to be verified.

The actual administration of the civil and criminal law is, however, in the hands of the State judiciaries, who, in eighteen States, hold their commissions during good behaviour, which is virtually for life. The system of law throughout the United States, is the common law of England, modified by acts of the Federal and State Governments, which constitute the written law. The works, however, not only of Coke and Blackstone, but of the most recent English writers and the latest

* "They (the Judges of this Court) have all the equity powers which are necessarily incident to justice, there being no Chancellor of the United States."—Cooper's Notions, vol. ii. p. 210.

Term Reports, are familiarly cited in the courts. In the stability of this branch of the magistracy, its fixed and venerable character, its independence of the popular will, we seem to have the best guarantee of the permanence of the national Institutions, and of the efficiency of the complex scheme of government. It seems the link that still binds young America to Old England by a tie of moral and political relationship,—one by which she still retains her hold on elder times and the mother land.

Indeed, while we have in England many things, in the social constitution, which the Americans have *not*, what they have, is substantially English, both in its derivation and its political character. Their legislative assemblies were modelled upon the popular part of the English Constitution. "The principles of those beautiful republican institutions of which America is justly proud," remarks M. Malte Brun, "are the patrimonial gift of England." The democratic rights they now exercise, were, almost to their full extent, conceded to the colonists by royal charters. Rhode Island, the most democratic State of all, is governed still by Charles II.'s charter of 1663. The State Governments were never much more aristocratical than they are at present. The national institutions, therefore, like the laws, are English; the spirit of the laws is English; the equal protection they extend to every subject, is agreeable to the spirit of the British Constitution; the popular deference to the laws, springing from an interest in the laws, which forms so striking a trait in the American character, is inherited from their English ancestors; and, in the words of Burke, the American spirit is "the spirit that has made this country"—made it what it is; the spirit of English liberty. The

elective machinery, the ballot system, the constitution of Congress, the limited powers of the President,—these and other parts of the Federal polity may, or may not, undergo modifications; they are but the circumstantials and accidents: the essential principle is, the supremacy of the laws, and the equal rights of every subject to their protection. In both countries, public opinion holds paramount sway; the press, in both, is the engine of power, and knowledge is recognised as the palladium of liberty. Lastly, in both, a steady religious sentiment prevalent among the population, is the conservative principle of the national Institutions.*

If the constitution of the Federal Republic is adapted

* For a fuller account of the American Government, the reader may be referred to Warden, vol. iii. ch. 40; and to a Dissertation subjoined to Lieutenant F. Hall's Travels, containing an able exposition and zealous defence of Republican principles; strongly marked, however, by the spirit of a partizan. These authorities are chiefly followed by M. Malte Brun, (vol. v. pp. 228—247,) who inclines to the same favourable view of the American system, without "presuming to discuss its practicability in older countries." The most masterly defence of the Constitution of the United States, is contained in "The Federalist," a collection of political Essays, the joint production of Madison, Jay, and Hamilton. Able articles on the Federal Constitution will be found also in the North American Review, for January 1820, and October 1827. Mr. Cooper is of course the sturdy and thorough-paced defender of the theory and practice of the American Government in all its parts and bearings.—Notions, vol. i. letter xv.; vol. ii. letters ix. x. xii. and xiii. On the other hand, in Bristed's "America and her Resources," will be found the dark side of the picture,—"notions" just the opposite to Mr. Cooper's, respecting the democratic system, and a very disparaging view of the aspect of things generally in the United States; drawn up in the spirit of a censor, under the apparent influence of wounded or disappointed feelings. Captain Basil Hall devotes four chapters of his second volume to a dissertation on the American Government, which has no recommendations in his eyes. We have also availed ourselves of the very able article in No. xcviii. of the Edinburgh Review.

to the present circumstances of the country, it would seem to be a very needless speculation, whether it may prove capable of accommodating itself to a different state of society in the distant perspective of futurity. The only contingent evil which would endanger the perpetuity of the Republic, is war, whether with another power, or between two rival factions within her own bosom. The first, happily, can scarcely occur, except through the wanton misconduct of the Americans themselves, as there are no neighbouring powers to threaten their territory with hostile invasion. The genius of commerce is pacific; and the true policy of a republic built upon commerce, can never be otherwise than pacific. Repose is fatal to a military despotism, which can maintain itself only by aggression; but the nice balance of a popular government is destroyed, when circumstances demand a military leader. The last war, brief as it was, and confined chiefly to a few affairs of posts and frontier skirmishes, shook the Government to its foundations. The weakness or the strength of the Executive might, at such a time, be equally fatal to the Republic; and America would not come out of a successful war, without the very fabric of her constitution being warped and strained by the effort,—without having compromised some portion of her democratic liberty.

The consequences of civil discord would be still more certainly fatal. "Should the Government of America be ever heard to call for laws to put down the factious, and to declare that the anarchial spirit of the times required the application of measures unusually vigorous and contrary to the practice of her better days, however the forms of her constitution may be retained, its principles will have been rooted out." Such is the language of one of the warmest eulogists of the system.

Is the danger of such a crisis too remote and imaginary to afford any cause for anxiety?

"If ever the tranquillity of the nation is to be disturbed," Chancellor Kent remarked, "it will be upon the subject of the choice of a President." The law upon this subject has already undergone repeated changes, (in 1804 and 1816,) with a view to leave the States less discretionary power, and to augment the popular influence; and a further amendment of the system is energetically recommended to the present Congress in the President's Message, in order to make the appeal of the people more direct, and to meet the case of the widening range of competition.* The first five Presidents, who filled the chair for the thirty-six years which elapsed between General Washington's election in 1789, and Mr. Monroe's vacating the chair in 1825, were so closely identified with the history of the Revolution, that they were naturally fixed upon as the most proper persons from whom a selection was to be made to fill the high station. But that race of leaders, "the revolutionary stock of Presidents," having passed

* This important and able document has reached us while these pages were under our hand. "Under the present mode of election," it is remarked, "a minority may often elect a President;" and "it must be very certain, that a President elected by a minority, cannot enjoy the confidence necessary to the successful discharge of his duties." Other changes are recommended, dictated by the same democratic jealousy and distrust of public men, that have uniformly presided over American legislation. In particular, the President recommends a general extension of the law which limits all official appointments for four years, in order to "destroy the idea of property now so generally connected with official station," and to "promote that rotation which constitutes a leading principle in the republican creed," thereby giving healthful action to the system. It would be advisable also, General Jackson suggests, to limit the service of the Chief Magistrate to a single term, of either four *or six* years. Is this last suggestion put forth to sound Congress as to the expediency of *extending* the term?

away,* the field has been thrown open to a far larger class of competitors, none of whose claims, it may be expected, will ever be recognised with a similar unanimity. Every election is likely to be attended with greater excitement and increased risk of collision; and every recurrence of such scenes may be considered as putting afresh to trial the strength of the Constitution. The popular election of a chief magistrate, whether at short intervals or for life, has in every other country been given up in despair. "The question must be regarded as still open, whether America may triumph in having solved the problem that has defeated the ingenuity of other statesmen, and the virtue of other nations." "Our system of government," says President Jackson, "was by its framers deemed an experiment; and they, therefore, consistently provided a mode of remedying its defects." Whether the remedial provisions hitherto introduced have been for the better or the worse, may well, as Chancellor Kent remarks, be doubted, and remains yet to be decided by the lights of experience. In this, as in other respects, then, the Constitution must be regarded as unsettled.†

Under the American system, there can be little want of public men, little scope for high talent, and few inducements to seek the honourable toils of official station. Indeed, the object seems to be as much as possible to supersede the necessity for any species of professional ability, any distinguishing qualification

* By a remarkable coincidence, Adams and Jefferson both expired on the fiftieth anniversary of the National Independence, the one aged 91, the other 84.

† The technical details of the Presidential election will be found in B. Hall, vol. ii. pp. 249—253; but it has not been thought necessary to transcribe his description of the complex and clumsy machinery.

or eminence of character, and to reduce every man's personal weight and influence to a common standard. Official standing and experience would render the individual too considerable, and endanger his obtaining an unfair preponderance; and nothing less than ostracism would await him who should obtain the cognomen of the Just. Eminence of any kind is a sort of inequality of rank, which would break too much the democratic level.* Such seems to be the political philosophy now in vogue. "The Americans themselves generally admit," says Captain B. Hall, "that their system is adverse to the formation of men of commanding talents; but they always add, that, in the present state of affairs, they do better without what we call leading men....There is absolutely no such thing in America, at least that I could hear of, as men who are looked up to. Whenever I asked who were their great men, their high authorities,—reference was invariably made back to the statesmen of the Revolution,—to Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Patrick Henry." †

Those individuals who have in succession filled the office of President, have rarely displayed, in fact, any splendour of ability. Of the immediate successor of Washington, Mr. Adams, a character has been drawn by General Hamilton, which exhibits him as far from qualified for the office of chief magistrate. Patriotism, integrity, and talents of a certain kind, he is admitted to have possessed, but not the talents adapted to the

* This is, almost in so many words, avowed in President Jackson's Message, in the paragraph where he argues against continuing any individual in office longer than four years, because few men are to be trusted, no great ability is wanted for the duties of public offices, and all have an equal right to fill them.

† B. Hall, vol. ii. pp. 275, 303.

administration of government. Extreme vanity, and an "ungovernable indiscretion of temper," were among his failings; and his administration gave satisfaction to neither party.* His successor, Mr. Jefferson, was unquestionably a man of consummate worldly wisdom and great ability, of sincere patriotism and philosophic character. His claim to be considered as either a great statesman or a sound philosopher, however, will not gain general admission. "It is confessed," says Mr. Lambert, "even by the warmest of his admirers, that when he invited Thomas Paine to America, 'with prayers for the success of his useful labours,' he committed a very indiscreet act." Nor was this the only indiscretion which tended to lower his reputation in the eyes of the more virtuous portion of his countrymen;† although he continued to be revered as the father of republicanism, the oracle of the anti-federalists. But, above all, the disclosures made in his posthumous papers as to his utter destitution of religious principles, shed no lustre upon his character. From the friend and associate of Paine and Voltaire, what could indeed be expected, but sentiments of revolting and heartless impiety?‡

Mr. Madison, who was but a youth in the early part of the Revolution, was the pupil of Mr. Jefferson, and of course devoted to his views. Having been Secretary of State during his Presidency, he was deemed by the republican party the most proper person to be his successor. His diplomatic talents are generally acknowledged to have been of no mean

* See Lambert's Travels, vol. ii. p. 389.

† See a biographical notice of Mr. Jefferson in Lambert, vol. ii. pp. 353—369.

‡ See especially Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 216.

stamp; although, in the studied obscurity and intricate verbosity of his style, he appears to have made the late Lord Londonderry his model.

Colonel Monroe, the fifth President, was, like all his predecessors except Mr. Adams, a native of Virginia. He served in the revolutionary contest with reputation; was afterwards appointed minister to the French Republic; and subsequently came in the same capacity to England, where he negotiated, in conjunction with Mr. Pinkney, his colleague, the treaty of amity and commerce which was so unceremoniously rejected by President Jefferson. He is described as possessing a mind neither rich nor brilliant, but capable of the most laborious analysis and the most patient research. Far from being a man of reading or general science, his knowledge was obtained chiefly by reflection and observation; and coolness of judgement was his most prominent intellectual feature.*

The late President, Mr. Quincy Adams, is the son of the second President; a circumstance by which his popularity seems by no means to have been promoted; but he had attached himself to the republican party. As Secretary of State under his predecessor, he had a fair claim to rank among the candidates for the presidency; and he was supported by the States of New England and New York. The other candidates in 1824, were Mr. Crawford, the Secretary to the Trea-

* This is his character as drawn in a little work published at Washington some years ago, and cited by Mr. Hodgson, in which several of the then leading public men are described; among others, Mr. Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State; Mr. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury; Mr. Calhoun, Secretary of War; Mr. Clay, one of the Commissioners at Ghent; Mr. Forsyth, Mr. Rufus King, and Mr. Pinkney. Of the last-mentioned highly gifted individual, a native of Maryland, an interesting memoir will be found in the North American Review, No. liv.

sury; Mr. Calhoun, the Secretary of War; Mr. Clay, Speaker of the House of Representatives, who became Secretary of State; and General Jackson, the present President. Mr. Adams's merits consisted, we are told by Mr. Cooper, of "a long experience in the politics of the country, great familiarity with foreign diplomacy, extensive acquirements, great honesty, and unquestionable patriotism."* Shrewd, cold, and circumspect; ostentatiously plain and democratic in his manners and habiliments; in person, short, thick, and fat; in his habits, regular, moral, and temperate; a tolerable orator, an elegant scholar, and a dexterous politician; the late President may be thought to have exhibited a very characteristic specimen of the first-rate public men of America. It is too soon to speak of his successor.

We now hasten to resume our topographical description, after this long, but, it is hoped, not uninteresting digression. We must not leave the metropolis, without visiting one of the most interesting objects in its neighbourhood, the tomb of the Father of the Country.

The vicinity of Washington is described as extremely beautiful. The surface of the ground in the neighbourhood of the river, in proceeding towards Alexandria, is agreeably diversified with woods, meadows, and undulating slopes; but the soil, wherever it has been broken up, seems to consist chiefly of light sand and gravel. About ten miles below Alexandria, on the banks of the river, is Mount Vernon, the celebrated seat of General Washington; bequeathed by him to the Honourable Bushrod Washington, the General's nephew, and one of the Judges of the Supreme Court.†

* See Cooper's Notions, vol. ii. p. 224. Hodgson, vol. i. p. 72.

† Judge Washington has recently deceased.

The road from the Federal City crosses the main branch of the Potomac, by a wooden bridge nearly a mile in length; and after running along for a short way within view of the river, strikes off into the woods on the right. We must transcribe Mr. Duncan's account of his visit to this interesting spot.

"At the bottom of the avenue to Mount Vernon, the gate was opened to us by an old negro, who had survived the master of his youth, and who now receives from many a visiter, substantial tokens of the universal respect which is entertained for his memory. The avenue is narrow and in bad order; it has indeed more the air of a neglected country road, than of the approach to a gentleman's residence. The mansion-house, an old-fashioned building of two stories, surmounted with a small turret and weathercock, stands on an elevated situation on the western bank of the Potowmak; it is built of wood, but the walls are cut and plastered in imitation of rusticated freestone. The back part of the house is to the river; at the other side are two small wings at right angles to the principal building, and connected by piazzas, which bend towards them, so as to form a kind of irregular crescent. Opposite the hall-door is a circular grass-plot surrounded with a gravel walk, and shaded on both sides by lofty trees: two beautiful chestnuts were pointed out to me, which sprang from nuts planted by the General's own hand. On the two sides are the vegetable and flower gardens, in the latter of which is a green-house.

"The mansion-house was originally built by Washington's uncle, who had served in the British navy under Admiral Vernon, and who commemorated his regard for his commanding officer by the name which he gave to his estate. Some partial alterations were

made on the house by the General; but report says, that he subsequently regretted that he did not entirely rebuild it. It is an old-fashioned, perhaps not a very comfortable residence, according to modern ideas of comfort; but it ought now to be considered sacred, and have the most unremitting care bestowed on its preservation. He will be worse than a Vandal, who presumes to pull it down. In the hall hangs a picture of the Bastile, and in a small glass case above it, is an ancient key, which formerly turned the bolt of one of the dreary locks in that house of sighs. It was sent out to Washington by the Marquis la Fayette, after the destruction of the Bastile, as an inscription affixed, in his hand-writing, records. Over the mantel-piece of one of the parlours, is a small framed miniature of the General, which was cut out of a piece of common earthenware. It is a singular fact, that this is regarded by the family as the most accurate likeness that exists. The general contour of his face is well ascertained, and there is a strong similarity in most of the portraits; yet, those who knew him best, agree that there was a certain expression in his countenance, which is quite wanting even in Stuart's painting, and in the engraving which was executed from it. This very ordinary kind of daub, which was broken out of a common pitcher, and probably executed by some potter's apprentice, is said to possess more of this intellectual characteristic, than any of the other portraits.

"At the back of the house, a lofty piazza stretches along the whole length of the building; and before it, the ground slopes rapidly towards the river, and soon becomes quite precipitous. On the bank is a small tea-house, which affords a most commanding view of the surrounding scenery. The Potowmak widens into

a bay before you, and, bending round the base of Mount Vernon, seems almost to insulate the promontory on which it stands; then sweeping in the opposite direction round the projecting shore of Maryland, and lost for a time behind its vast forests, it re-appears in noble expanse about ten miles below, with the sun-beams flashing from its surface, and rolling its mighty current into the yet more ample bosom of the Chesapeake.

"A little to the right of the tea-house, and nearer to the edge of the bank, is the tomb of Washington. Here, under the peaceful shade of oaks and cedars, lies all that earth contains of *him*, by whose energy and patriotism the United States became a *nation*! No venerable cathedral rears its arches over his remains; no sumptuous mausoleum embalms his memory.

'Si monumentum quæris, circumspice!'

His country is his monument; his country's liberty his only panegyric!

"Washington, in his will, designated the spot in which he wished to be interred, and particularly directed that the body should not afterwards be removed. The cemetery is nothing more than a plain brick vault, almost level with the ground; it is encircled by venerable oaks, and some beautiful red cedars are growing in the mould which covers the roof. Visiters were formerly allowed to see the interior, but some person having had the rudeness to strip part of the cloth from the coffin, all access to it is now forbidden. Subsequently to this prohibition, the servant who had been intrusted with the key, conceived the horrible idea of robbing the vault, with the purpose of carrying off the body to Britain, to exhibit it for money! His intention was happily discovered, and the nefarious outrage prevented. It is difficult, indeed, to imagine how it

could have been carried into effect without immediate detection; but the projector must have been a fool to suppose that such atrocity would have been countenanced in Britain, or that he would have been permitted for a single day to carry on so abominable a trade.

"The State of Virginia applied to the relatives of the General, for permission to remove the body to Richmond, to erect a monument over it; and it is said that, notwithstanding the specific injunctions of the will, the family were persuaded to consent to this proposal. Several years, however, have since elapsed; and as no provision has yet been made for carrying the proposed plan into effect, it is generally believed that no claim will now be founded upon that permission. Congress, it is reported, wish to transfer the body to the seat of Government, and to entomb it under the centre dome of the Capitol. If it be ever removed from its present situation, certainly the Capitol is its only suitable resting-place; no individual State should be allowed to possess a deposit which, if the family relinquishes it, is undoubtedly the property of the nation, and should pass into no other guardianship. Beyond all question, however, the proper place for Washington's ashes is where they are. The secluded spot harmonizes with every idea which we have formed of his character, while the powerful influence of local associations, gives vividness to our conceptions, and intensity to our emotions. In the Capitol, every thing would have an opposite tendency. It is a building which Washington never saw, and which, is no way connected with his personal history; it has once been reduced to ashes; and what would in all probability have been the fate of the body, had the removal taken place before that event? In visiting the tomb of

Nelson, in the vaults of St. Paul's, it is not the wondrous achievements of the hero which chiefly occupy our thoughts; there is nothing in those damp and dismal caverns which is at all in harmony with such recollections. An attendant pilots you, by the yellow glimmering of a tallow candle, through tartarean darkness, to the quarry of granite under which he is buried; and while wandering round it, your thoughts are engrossed with the opening which was made in the floor of the church to lower the coffin through, and of the prodigious labour it must have cost to pile up over it such ponderous masses of stone. Nelson, you scarcely think of; your ideas are all engaged about those who buried him. At Mount Vernon, no such distraction takes place. You look round upon scenery which Washington often contemplated; you tread the turf over which he walked; you see the gardens in which he amused himself; the trees which he planted; the house, the rooms, the chair, which he occupied; and the humble vault which he himself chose for the repose of his dust. Every thing is consistent; the effect is harmonious and powerful. Mount Vernon alone should be Washington's grave.

"On the opposite bank of the Potowmak, and a very little way further up, is a small intrenchment, named Fort Washington, which commands the channel of the river. Had it been vigorously defended when our vessels went up the river to Alexandria, it is believed that it might have arrested their progress. When our troops, however, were on their march to Washington, the officer who commanded it, blew it up and made off. There was no sufficient cause for such a proceeding; yet, it is said that he obeyed to the letter the orders of his superior officer. I was quite gratified to hear from a gentleman of Judge Washing-

ton's family, that when the British ships of war passed Mount Vernon, they honoured the memory of the departed hero by lowering their fore top-sails; and their bands, as another gentleman informed me, played Washington's March. That was indeed a manifestation of most correct and honourable feeling on the part of the commanding officer.

"I have mentioned, that the avenue to Mount Vernon had a neglected appearance; I am sorry to add, that similar neglect pervades other parts of the establishment. The flower-garden and green-house have nearly gone to decay; the tea-house on the bank of the river, is almost in ruins; indeed, its upper story, from which a more extensive view may be obtained, is at present totally inaccessible, for the ladder to it retains but one foot at top and another at bottom. Even the door of the vault is to all appearance so crazy, that I think a kick would go far to knock it to pieces. It is painful to observe such an air of desolation in so interesting a spot; and I would cherish the hope that it will speedily be removed." *

An interesting account is furnished by Lieutenant F. Hall, of an excursion from Washington, by way of the Shenandoah Valley, to Richmond, the capital of the State; which we shall give in his own words, as it includes a description of some remarkable natural curiosities. †

FROM WASHINGTON TO RICHMOND.

"CLOSE to Georgetown, the granite ridge strikes the Potomac. The road winds agreeably under its cliff, till it crosses an old bed of the river, left dry in con-

* Duncan, vol. i. pp. 289—296.

† These are also described by Volney, Jefferson, and Weld.

sequence of a canal which has been cut to turn the rapids. · There is a chain bridge here, from which the broken bed of the river, the falls, scattered masses of rock, and lofty banks, present a wild and pleasing picture. Having pursued my way for about nine miles, I quitted the main road, to visit the Upper, or Matilda Falls.* A field track brought me into a scattered village, built along a canal, cut, like the one above-mentioned, to avoid the falls. Having crossed it, I walked along its edge for about a quarter of a mile, on a broad greensward path, as smooth and regular as a garden terrace. A little wood was on my right, the trees of which were fantastically grouped together by abundance of wild vine and other parasitical plants, trailing and twining through them; the whole conveying no inadequate idea of a stately and fair pleasure-ground of Queen Elizabeth's time. Turning short from the canal, and stepping a few paces through the wood, I found myself on a bold precipice of rocks fronting the falls. I started at a sight so much grander than any thing I had expected. As far as my eye could reach, the Potomac came down from among its woods, dashing and whitening over numberless ridges of rock, and breaking in a wild succession of cascades; till, as if wearied by its own efforts, it swept with silent impetuosity through a contracted channel between perpendicular cliffs, whose dark, bare masses of granite were scantily crested by a few pines and cedars. The perpendicular descent of the falls is reckoned by Volney at 72 feet; but the rapids extend for several miles up the river, and the whole scene has a magnificent wildness, which may be

* These Falls, though described by Volney, are not mentioned by Jefferson.

gazed upon with delight and wonder even after Niagara: so inexhaustibly can Nature vary her features, and be alike gracefully sublime in all.

"The road which ascends the right bank of the Potomac, through Lansville and Leesburg, has the credit, and I think justly, of being about the worst in the Union. The soil towards the mountains is, generally, a stiff clay; and as each waggoner works his own way through the woods, the traveller is continually puzzled between the equal probabilities of a variety of tracks, most of which, indeed, lead to the same point; but, as this is not invariably the case, he must often journey on in doubt, or halt in muddy perplexity until he can procure information. The villages are thinly scattered, but well built of brick; an advantage derived from the soil. Leesburg contains about 1200 inhabitants. The inn at which I stopped, had stabling for above a hundred horses, for the accommodation of farmers, who come together on Court days. These Court days are almost county meetings. Those who have business, attend for business' sake; those who have none, attend to meet their neighbours, who may have business with them, and because it is discreditable to be often absent.

"At Hilsborough, the road passes through a mountain gap, resembling the Wind Gap on a small scale. This ridge is called the Short Mountain, and runs parallel to the Blue Ridge, at the distance of about five miles. It crosses the Potomac below Harper's Ferry.* Immediately after passing it, the road turns to the right, and continues between it and the Blue Mountain, to which it seems an immense outwork,

* Lieutenant Hall supposes it to be a prolongation of the Lehigh ridge, "perhaps communicating with Monticello."

The land rises gradually; nor is it until you have reached the ridge of the descent, and find yourself looking down towards the bed of the Potomac and its opposite shore, that you are aware of the elevation gained. Here commences the savage wildness of the picture. Your road lies down the side of the mountain, strewed with splinters and fragments of rock, which slide from beneath your horse's feet. Immense masses of rock project their bold angles, so as frequently to leave a cranked and difficult passage. Meantime, the mountains stretching up on every side, and partially beheld between the scattered pines, seem contracting round with a deepening breadth of shadow and gloomy grandeur, until you find at their base the united Potomac and Shenandoah, boiling over their incumbered channel. Continuing your way between these waters and the rugged precipices of the Blue Mountain, through which they seem to have burst, you reach the Shenandoah Ferry. It is from the height round the foot of which the village is built, and from a broad, bare platform of rock, known by the name of Jefferson's Rock, that the eye commands the magnificent prospect which Mr. Jefferson has so eloquently and correctly described. 'You stand on a very high point of land. On your right comes up the Shenandoah, having ranged along the foot of the mountain a hundred miles to seek an outlet. On your left, approaches the Potomac, in quest of a passage also. In the moment of their junction, they rush together against the mountain, rend it asunder, and pass off to the sea. The first glance of this scene hurries our senses into the opinion, that in this place, the rivers have been dammed up by the Blue Ridge of mountains, and have (originally) filled the whole valley; that, continuing to rise, they have, at length,

broken over at this spot, and have torn the mountain down from its summit to its base. The piles of rock on each hand, but particularly on the Shenandoah, the evident marks of their disrupture and avulsion from their beds, by the most powerful agents of Nature, corroborate the impression. But the distant finishing which Nature has given to the picture, is of a very different character. It is a true contrast to the foreground. It is as placid and delightful, as that is wild and tremendous. For the mountain being cloven asunder, she presents to our eye through the cleft, a small catch of smooth blue horizon, at an infinite distance in the plain country; inviting you, as it were, from the riot and tumult roaring around, to pass through the breach, and participate of the calm below. Here, the eye ultimately composes itself; and that way, too, the road actually happens to lead. You cross the Potomac above the junction; pass along its side through the base of the mountain for three miles, its terrible precipices hanging in fragments over you; and within about twenty miles, reach Fredericktown and the fine country around. This scene is worth a voyage across the Atlantic: yet here, as in the neighbourhood of the Natural Bridge, are people who have passed their lives within half a dozen miles, and have never been to survey these monuments of a war between rivers and mountains, which must have shaken the earth itself to its centre.'*

* Jefferson's Notes, p. 27.—Mr. Weld represents this description as far too highly coloured. "To find numberless scenes more stupendous, it would be needless to go further than Wales. A river, it is true, is not to be met with in that country, equal in size to the Potomac; but many are to be seen there rushing over their stony beds with much more turbulence and impetuosity than either the Potomac or the Shenandoah. The rocks, the precipices, and the mountains of the Blue Ridge at this place, are diminutive

"Crossing Harper's Ferry, I ascended with some toil the mountain precipice on the left bank of the Potomac. The side it presents to the river, broken and perpendicular,—its disjointed and confused strata, with enormous masses of rock jutting out, and impending above its base, seem to testify the catastrophe by which it has been rent asunder. From its summit is commanded a magnificent prospect of the Shenandoah Valley, bounded on each side by the North and Blue Mountain ridges, like gigantic walls, with the blue peaks of the Fort Mountain, rising at the distance of about fifty miles to the south-west. M. Volney estimates the height of the Blue Ridge, at this spot, at 1150 feet. It is chiefly composed of flint, freestone, and some granite, but the summit of the height above the village is schist. Canals have been cut to turn the rapids of both rivers. Flour is the article chiefly brought down, in long, flat boats, which carry about eighty barrels each. The navigation, as may be supposed, is both difficult and dangerous.

"The Blue Ridge and the North Mountain, having crossed the Potomac, bound a valley about 20 miles wide at its greatest breadth on the Potomac, and narrowing almost to a point beyond the Natural Bridge; a length of about 180 miles. It is watered by the many branches of the Shenandoah, a few of which rise in the North Mountain, but the greater number among the spurs of both ridges, where they nearly meet, in the neighbourhood of Staunton and Waynesborough. The two principal branches, called the

and uninteresting also, compared with those which abound in that country. Indeed, from every part of Mr. Jefferson's description, it appears as if he had beheld the scene, not in its present state, but at the very moment when the disruption happened, and when every thing was in a state of tumult and confusion."—Weld, p. 140.

North and South Rivers, are separated by a ridge, named, from the peculiarity of its form, the Fort Mountain; which divides the valley longitudinally for above 50 miles, and terminates near the village of Port Republic. The basis of the soil is limestone, the strata of which are every where visible,—'ranging,' says Mr. Jefferson, 'as the mountains and sea-coast do, from S.W. to N.E.; the *lamina* of each bed declining from the horizon towards a parallelism with the axis of the earth.' The whole valley is remarkably fertile, particularly in wheat, so that Winchester, as a corn-market, has more than a nominal resemblance to its Hampshire namesake. It has been built about sixty years: the houses are for the most part small, and either of log, plank, brick, or stone, according to their date, or the means of their inhabitants. The number of these was estimated at 2500 by the last census; but there is a considerable proportion of negroes. There are more farm-houses and fewer negro huts in this valley, than in the lowlands; still, the plague-spot is too evident. At every tavern, advertisements are stuck up for runaway slaves. The barbarous phraseology in which they were drawn up, sometimes amused, but the ferocious spirit of revenge they too plainly expressed, more frequently disgusted me.

"The Fort Mountain commences near Stratford. It is named from being inaccessible but by one road; but the top of it is flat, and I was told, there are many hundred acres of very good land on it. The inhabitants of the valley are remarkably clean in their houses. I stopped at a little tavern near the Big Spring, on the floor of which one might have dined; to be sure, it did not seem a place of much resort; but I had subsequently cause to make comparisons

on this point, much to its advantage, particularly at Richmond. The Big Spring gushes from a knoll of limestone behind the tavern, and almost immediately turns a mill, and escapes down a glen, dark with cedars and pines. Some fine views of the mountains present themselves a little above Harrisonburg.

"About a mile from Harrisonburg, there is a road which turns to the left. It crosses the northern and middle forks of the south Shenandoah, and passes round the southern extremity of the Fort Mountain, through a well-settled country, to Fort Republic. From this village, the distance is a mile to the Cave Tavern. A hill, reckoned at 200 feet perpendicular height, rises on the left bank of the southern fork, the ascent of which is so steep, that, as Mr. Jefferson observes, you may pitch a biscuit from its summit into the river. The entrance into the Caves is about two-thirds of the way up. The one Mr. Jefferson has described by the name of Madison's Cave,* is used for the purpose of making saltpetre, and is seldom visited from curiosity; its attraction having been destroyed by the discovery of another cavern of superior extent and grandeur, in the same cliff, a few yards beyond it. Being private property and much frequented by strangers, the entrance is kept closed. The proprietor, an old German, acts as guide, provides lights, &c., and seems to feel much interest in his office, when he attends persons whom he thinks capable of appreciating the scene. The entrance afforded mere crawling room; but, as we receded from the light of day, the vaulting rose; and after descending some rude steps and crags, we began to perambulate a magnificent subterranean palace. Its length is

* It is also described by Weld, pp. 129—132.

reckoned at 800 yards; and taking the curvatures of the numerous apartments, it may be as much. There are about fourteen of them, of various dimensions; some low-browed and studded with pointed and glittering stalactites, like fairy grottoes; others long and spacious, with roofs so lofty, that the summits of the massive congelations, which, pillar-like, descend from them to the ground, are shrouded in obscurity. The largest of these apartments, called Washington's Hall, is 93 yards in length, of a proportionate breadth, and probably 50 feet high. It is impossible to describe the solemn grandeur of this natural cathedral. Clusters of stalactitic columns, many of them ten or twelve feet in circumference, rise in magnificent order along the sides: their colour is of a glistening brown, with frequently a shaft, a pedestal, or an intercolumniation of snowy whiteness. On approaching the upper end, our lights gleamed upon a gigantic stalactite, which, in the dimness, bore some resemblance to a throned statue of alabaster. It is called Washington's statue; but this appellation, like many other misnomers and conceits, (as Solomon's throne, David's sceptre, Adam and Eve in Paradise, which the guide forces on your notice as you proceed,) serves only to create a tiresome distraction of the attention, by introducing ideas peculiarly ill-suited to a scene, in which nature is working alone in power and beauty, regardless of the existence of man and his passions. There is scarcely a turn in the cavern which does not present some curious specimen of her sportive creation; at one time imitating the folds of gorgeous drapery; at another, representing a waterfall which seems to have been suddenly converted into marble: here, she has chiselled out the model of a Gothic

oratory; there, adorned a large sitting-room with flowers and rural implements. The larger columns, being hollow, give out, when forcibly struck, a deep and melodious sound, which, heard in the remoter caverns, has the effect of fine music. What a Pythian dwelling for old superstition!

"The valley narrows towards Lexington, and the face of the country becomes in consequence more wild and uneven, being broken into round and short hills, shooting out from the North and Blue Ridges, and thus presenting a succession of deeply-wooded glens and mountains, very agreeable after the level uniformity of the upper part of the valley. Lexington is a brisk-looking little town, and having a college, is the literary capital of the upper parts of Virginia. Arriving early in the day, I inquired for a saddle-horse to ride over to the Natural Bridge. The landlord of the tavern at which I stopped, immediately set out with me in search of one, and I reached the Bridge Tavern, as it is called, the same evening." *

Of this remarkable natural phenomenon, Mr. Jefferson's description is as follows: "The Natural Bridge is on the ascent of a hill, which seems to have been cloven throughout its length by some great convulsion. The fissure just at the bridge is, by some admeasurements, 270 feet deep; by others, only 205. It is about 45 feet wide at the bottom, and 90 feet at the top. This, of course, determines the length of the bridge, and its height above the water. Its breadth in the middle is about 60 feet, but more at the ends; and the thickness of the mass at the summit of the arch, is about 40 feet.† A part of this thickness is

* F. Hall, pp. 264—284.

† Weld says: "The height of the bridge to the top of the

constituted by a coat of earth, which gives growth to many large trees: the residue, with the hill on both sides, is one solid rock of limestone. The arch approaches the semi-elliptical form; but the larger axis of the ellipsis, which would be the chord of the arch, is many times longer than the transverse. Though the sides of this bridge are provided in some parts with a parapet of fixed rocks, yet, few men have the resolution to walk to them, and look over into the abyss. You involuntarily fall upon your hands and feet, creep to the parapet, and look over it. Looking down from this height about a minute, gave me a violent head-ache. If the view from the top is painful and intolerable, that from below is delightful in an equal extreme. It is impossible for the emotions arising from the sublime to be felt beyond what they are here: so beautiful an arch, so elevated, so light, and springing as it were up to heaven, the rapture of the spectator is really indescribable. The fissure continuing narrow, deep, and straight for a considerable distance above and below the bridge, opens a short, but very pleasing view of the North Mountain on one side, and the Blue Ridge on the other, at the distance, each of them, of about five miles.* The stream passing under the bridge, is called Cedar Creek. It is a water of James River, and sufficient,

parapet, is 213 feet by admeasurement with a line; the thickness of the arch, 40 feet; the span of the arch at top, 90 feet, and the distance between the abutments at bottom, 50 feet.

* Weld says, this statement is quite erroneous. The fissure, instead of continuing straight, "takes a very sudden turn just above the bridge, according to the course of the stream; so that when you stand below and look under the arch, the view is intercepted at the distance of about fifty yards from the bridge." Yet, Mr. Jefferson, who was proprietor of the bridge, is stated to have visited it generally once a-year.

in the driest seasons, to turn a grist-mill, though its fountain is not more than two miles above." *

This bridge has given name to the county of Rockbridge, in which it is situated. It is about ten miles from the Fluvanna or James River, and nearly the same distance from the Blue Ridge. The deep cleft or chasm, which it affords the only means of crossing, is about two miles long, and in some places upwards of 300 feet deep; the depth varying of course with the height of the mountain. The breadth of the chasm also varies, but is uniformly wider at top, than towards the bottom. "That the two sides of the chasm were once united," says Mr. Weld, "appears very evident, not only from projecting rocks on the one side corresponding to suitable cavities on the other, but also from the different strata of earth, sand, clay, &c., being exactly similar on both sides. The arch consists of a solid mass of stone, or of several stones cemented so strongly together, that they appear but as one. This mass, it is to be supposed, at the time that the hill was rent asunder, was drawn across the fissure, from adhering closely to one side, and being loosened from its bed of earth at the opposite one. It seems as probable, that the mass of stone forming the arch, was thus forcibly plucked from one side, and drawn across the fissure, as that the hill should have remained united at this one spot from top to bottom, and that a passage should afterwards have been forced through it by water." †

Geological phenomena of a similar description to this bridge, are found in different parts of the world. The most remarkable is the double bridge of Icononzo in Columbia, described by Humboldt, where, 60 feet

* Jefferson's Notes, pp. 35, 36. † Weld, p. 127.

below the Natural Bridge, three enormous masses of rock have fallen so as to support each other, and form a natural arch across the chasm.* There can be little doubt that the valley has, in each instance, been opened by an earthquake. In that of Iconongo, Humboldt supposes, that the more compact quartzose stratum which forms the bridge, resisted the shock, while the schistous gritstone on which it rests, gave way. The abutments upon which the Rock Bridge of Virginia rests, consist, Weld says, of a solid mass of limestone on each side, and, together with the arch, seem as if they had been chiseled out by the hand of art. A few yards from the bridge, a narrow path winds down the sides of the fissure, amid immense rocks and trees, to the bottom. "Here, the stupendous arch appears in all its glory, and seems to touch the skies. The more critically it is examined, the more beautiful and surprising does it appear. The small stream running at the bottom over a bed of rocks, adds much to the beauty of the scene. Besides this view from below, the bridge is seen to great advantage from a pinnacle of rocks about 50 feet below the top of the fissure; for here, not only is the arch seen in all its beauty, but the spectator is impressed in the most forcible manner with ideas of its grandeur, from being enabled at the same time to look down into the profound gulf over which it passes."

Between Lexington and the Rock Bridge, there are, Lieutenant Hall says, some grand features of scenery, particularly at the mill and village of Buffalo Creek. This was the extent of his excursion in this direction. Returning to Lexington, he descended the valley, through miry roads and a heavy country, to Waynes-

* Mod. Trav., Columbia, p. 338.

borough, 40 miles to the N.E.; crossed the Blue Ridge at Rock-fish Gap; thence proceeded to Monticello, near Charlottesville, the seat of Mr. Jefferson; and then, turning southward, descended to the fertile plains of tenacious red clay which extend to the banks of James River. The road to Richmond follows the course of the river, and has few features to attract notice. There are no towns, and very few villages.

Charlottesville has been chosen as the site of the University of Virginia, an institution founded under the auspices of Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, and some other philosophers of the Virginia school. "This splendid and classic edifice," say Messrs. Carey and Lea, "in which all the orders of architecture are introduced, has been reared up under the parental care of the venerable and scientific Jefferson. Combining the grandeur of the natural scenery presented by the surrounding country, with the plan and execution of the buildings, the University of Virginia is pronounced, by competent judges, to be equal, if not superior, to any thing of the kind in Europe." * In 1823, however, it was still without a library, and had not yet come "into complete operation." Of its present state, we have no information. Richmond will fall under description, in the route which we must now proceed to trace, from the Federal Capital to the Southern States.

* Carey and Lea's Atlas. "From first appearances," says Mr. Duncan in 1818, "there seems reason to anticipate that this proposed University will be a total failure; and, from the well-known sentiments of its founders, on speculative and revealed truth, I cannot much regret that it should be so."

FROM WASHINGTON TO CHARLESTON.

"THE mail-stage," a wretched contrast to the excellent coaches in the north, is the only public conveyance to the southward. It is, in fact, only a covered waggon, open in front, drawn by four horses. Any other vehicle, however, than a stout "American stage" of this description, would be shaken to atoms by the Virginian roads, proverbial even in America for their badness. After leaving Alexandria, the route winds for several miles through woods of pine, intermingled with oak and cedar; the track sometimes so narrow, that the vehicle rubs against the trees; in other places, expanding to the width of a turnpike road, yet so beset with stumps of trees, that it requires no ordinary care and skill to effect a passage. On emerging, at intervals, from forests which seemed interminable, the eye wanders over an extensive country, thickly wooded, and varied with hill and dale; and the monotony of the road is further relieved by sudden and steep descents into romantic creeks or small valleys, which afford a passage to the little streams flowing to the Atlantic. Every ten or fifteen miles, you come either to a little village, composed of a few frame-houses, with an extensive and more substantial building, the respectable appearance of which bespeaks it to be the tavern (as the inns are called), or to a single house, appropriated to that purpose, standing alone in the woods. "At these taverns," says Mr. Hodgson, "you are accosted, often with an easy civility, sometimes with a repulsive frigidity, by a landlord who appears perfectly indifferent whether or not you take any thing *for the good of the house*. If, however, you intimate an intention to take some refreshment, a

most plentiful repast is, in due time, set before you, consisting of beef-steaks, fowls, turkeys, ham, partridges, eggs, and, if near the coast, fish and oysters, with a great variety of hot bread, both of wheat flour and Indian corn, the latter of which is prepared in many ways, and is very good. The landlord usually comes in to converse with you, and to make one of the party; and as one cannot have a private room, I do not find his company disagreeable. He is, in general, well informed and well behaved; and the independence of manner which has often been remarked upon, I rather like than otherwise, when it is not assumed or obtrusive, but appears to arise naturally from easy circumstances, and a consciousness that, both with respect to situation and intelligence, he is at least on a level with the generality of his visiters. At first, I was a little surprised, on inquiring where the stage stopped to breakfast, to be told, At Major Todd's;—to dine? At Colonel Brown's; but I am now becoming familiar with these phenomena of civil and political equality, and wish to communicate my first impressions before they fade away.* Between the villages, if such they may be called, you see few habitations, and these are almost exclusively log-houses, which are constructed as follows:—trunks of trees about a foot or a foot and a half in diameter, generally with the bark on, are laid one on another, indented a little at each end, to form a kind of fastening; their length determining the length and width,

* The high respectability of the inn-keepers of New England, is a striking feature of the system adopted by the first settlers: and the business is viewed in a very different light throughout America, from what it is in England. Dr. Dwight has ably vindicated his countrymen from the ill-directed ridicule occasioned by this subject. See Travels, vol. i. p. 389; vol. iv. p. 249.

and their number, the height of the building. The interstices are usually filled with clay; though sometimes, especially in barns, they are allowed to remain open, in which case you can generally see daylight through both walls. Situated in a thick wood, with a little space cleared around them, where the stems of last year's Indian corn are still standing among the recently decapitated stumps of trees, these dwellings exhibit as striking a contrast as can well be imagined to an English cottage with its little garden. Sometimes, however, as in England, you may see a neat, modest-looking cottage girl standing at the door, whose placid, cheerful countenance seems to smile with good-natured satire on the external decorations of rank and fashion; and even the black faces of the little slaves, the more frequent inhabitants of these primitive cabins, are often irradiated with a smile of playfulness and satisfaction."

"The inn-keepers of America," says Lieut. Hall, "are, in most villages, what we call topping-men,—field-officers of militia, with good farms attached to their taverns; so that they are apt to think, what perhaps in a newly settled country is not very wide of the truth, that travellers receive, rather than confer a favour by being accommodated at their houses." There is, however, a great difference of course in this respect, on different roads. The following general description, Mr. Hodgson says, will apply to the taverns in the southern towns. "These are sometimes quite as large, or nearly so, as the York House at Bath. On arriving, your luggage is immediately carried to the baggage-room, that the lobby may not be crowded; and the passengers afterwards either send it to their bed-rooms at their leisure, or allow it to remain locked up. You are then shewn into a

large room which communicates with the bar, or into a reading-room filled with newspapers from almost every State in the Union. Usually about half-past eight o'clock, the bell rings for breakfast, and you sit down, with sixty or eighty persons, to tea and coffee, and every variety of flesh, fowl, and fish, wheat-bread, Indian corn bread, buck-wheat cakes, &c. Every one rises as soon as he has finished his meal, and the busy scene is usually over in ten minutes. At two or three o'clock, the bell rings, and the door unlocks for dinner. The stream *rushes* in, and *dribbles* out, as at breakfast; and the room is clear in less than a quarter of an hour. At dinner, there are frequently four or five turkeys on the table, and the greatest possible variety and profusion of meat, poultry, and pastry. The waiters, who are numerous, civil, and attentive, carve; few persons appearing to have leisure to assist their neighbours. There are decanters of brandy in a row down the table, which appeared to me to be used with great moderation, and for which no extra charge is made. Tea is a repetition of breakfast, with the omission of beef-steaks, but, in other respects, with almost an equal profusion of meat, fowls, turkey-legs, &c. I do not recollect to have dined a single day, from my arrival in America till I left Virginia, without a turkey on the table; often two in gentlemen's houses. On Christmas eve, in the little town of Norfolk, Virginia, it was said, that six thousand turkeys were in the market. This picture of the meals at taverns, is not an inviting one: they more resemble a schoolboys' scramble, than a social repast. The domestic economy of the bed-chamber is still less agreeable. If you do not make stipulations to the contrary, you are shewn, as a thing of course, into a room with from three or four to six or seven beds.

I have, however, never failed, since I left New York, by early and earnest application, to secure a separate bed-chamber." *

The approach to the southward is strongly indicated by a great increase in the proportion of the Black population. The servants at almost all the hotels in the Southern States, are slaves; some belonging to the landlord, others to neighbouring farmers, who let them out by the year. These *domestic* slaves are, in general, Mr. Hodgson says, decidedly superior in their manners and their mode of expressing themselves, to those of many of the lower classes in England. Three out of four of the black coachmen in the day's route, he found very intelligent. "They said, all they wanted was, good masters; but their liability to be sold to bad ones, and to be separated from their families, was a cruel part of their condition;—that, in that part of the country, they had the Sunday to themselves, one holiday in April, one in May, and four at Christmas;—that they had public worship on Sundays, and on one evening in the week; that many of them could read; and that some of their preachers were slaves." †

Richmond, the government-town of Virginia, is situated on the northern bank of James River, about 120 miles from its mouth, at the Falls, or the head of tide water. An extensive ledge of rocks commences just opposite the town, and extends six miles up the river, in the course of which there is a descent of about 80 feet. A canal on the northern side of these Rapids, continues the navigation to the Blue Mountains; and at particular seasons, boats can proceed still higher up. The town is built chiefly upon two

* Hodgson, vol. i. pp. 30—32. † Ibid., vol. i. p. 25.

hills; the northern is called Shockoe, the southern, Richmond. The former is the site of the public edifices and principal dwelling-houses. A little stream runs murmuring through the valley which separates the two hills, and falls into the James. Parallel with the river, is a long street, about a mile in length, consisting chiefly of stores and warehouses; and still closer to the river are smaller streets connected with the port. The Capitol, a handsome edifice of brick plastered, occupies a commanding situation on a ridge overhanging the town.* In rear of it stands the court-house, which is of stone, but, like the Capitol at Washington, has been disfigured by being painted. In the ante-chamber of the Capitol is a marble statue of Washington, by Houdon, an American artist; and opposite to it, in a niche, is a bust of La Fayette. The view from the terrace has been highly extolled. It is very extensive, Mr. Hodgson says, and not without interesting features, but tame, compared with the prospects from the Alleghany and the Blue Ridge, without bearing any resemblance to the exquisite combination [of rural beauty and tasteful decoration which distinguish the "rich green English landscape" that the name recals.

When Weld travelled, Richmond contained about

* This building, the Author of "Letters from Virginia" says, "will not bear a critical eye." Weld says, that "from the opposite side of the river, it appears extremely well: but, on a closer inspection, it proves to be a clumsy, ill-shapen pile. The original plan was sent over from France by Mr. Jefferson, and had great merit; but his ingenious countrymen thought they could improve it, and, to do so, placed what was intended for the attic story, in the plan, at the bottom, and put the columns on the top of it. In many other respects, likewise, the plan was inverted." The principal room, where the house of representatives met, was used also for Divine service, as, in 1795, there was "no such thing as a church in the town!"—Weld, p. 108.

4000 inhabitants, one half of whom were slaves. Of the state of society there, he gives a very unfavourable account. "Perhaps in no place of the same size in the world, is there more gambling going forward than at Richmond." * An American writer speaks of the inhabitants in terms not less severe. "The higher classes," he says, "as they doubtless consider themselves, in spite of their republican government, appear to have put on a set of manners by which they probably design to please themselves, for they surely cannot intend to please any body else. These generally live in a state of ambitious rivalship with one another, each endeavouring to surpass his neighbour in fashion and folly; a very unprofitable contest at best. After these gentlemen, however, (who are chiefly, indeed, of foreign extraction, I believe,) you may meet many of the true old Virginian breed, frank, generous, and hospitable, whom it is a real pleasure to shake by the hand." Lieutenant Hall, who cites this description of their manners, found the inhabitants polite and affable, as far as a week's intercourse could enable him to judge; but of the Virginian character generally, his impressions were by no means favourable. "They seem," he says, "especially the plantation-bred Virginians, to have more pretension than good sense. The insubordination in which they glory, both to parental and scholastic authority, produces, as might be expected, a petulance of manner and frothiness of intellect, very unlike what we may imagine of the old

* This seems to have been equally descriptive of the habits of the inhabitants in the former capital, now in decay. "Every thing in Williamsburg," says Morse (in 1789), "appears dull, forsaken, and melancholy; no trade, no amusements, but the infamous one of gaming; no industry, and very little appearance of religion."

Romans, to whom, in their *modesty*, the Virginians affect to compare themselves. Having given four Presidents to the United States, they are fain to suppose that they have obtained a monopoly of genius as well as of power, and hold in true regal disdain the honest simplicity of their Yankee brethren. These observations do not, however, apply to the inhabitants of the Upper Country, who seem to be generally a race of plain, industrious farmers, with both the sound sense and unaffected manner peculiar to this class of people throughout the Union." *

Virginia has hitherto been but indifferently supplied with the means either of general education or of religious instruction. "This part of Virginia," says Mr. Hodgson, "is not distinguished for an interest in religion;" and the State is, in fact, throughout, very deficient in churches. The most numerous sects are the Baptists and the Methodists, whose congregations are generally of the lower and poorer classes. Next to these rank the Presbyterians, who are most numerous in the western parts of the State;† while the Episcopalians, who are the most ancient settlers, chiefly occupy

* F. Hall, pp. 301, 2. A very humorous satirical description is given by the Author of "Letters from Virginia," of the Virginian "political spouters," or "talking-jacks,"—*alias* "fourth of July orators," and "slang-whangers;" which, had it proceeded from any other than a native writer, would have been imputed to illiberal prejudice.

† The inhabitants of Bottetourt county, west of the Blue Ridge, consisted, in 1796, principally of industrious German settlers, who had extended their settlements from Pennsylvania along the whole of the rich tract which runs through the upper part of Maryland, and thence, behind the Blue Mountains, to the most southern parts of Virginia. "It is singular," Weld says, "that although they form three-fourths of the inhabitants on the western side of the Blue Ridge, yet, not one of them is to be met with on the eastern side."—p. 123.

the eastern parts. "The Episcopalians," says Morse, "or, as Mr. Jefferson calls them, the Anglicans, have comparatively but few ministers among them; and these few, when they preach, which is seldom more than once a week, preach to very thin congregations."* Nothing, indeed, could be more deplorable than the state of society generally in Virginia, thirty or forty years ago; the higher classes indolent, ill educated, haughty and overbearing, extravagant and addicted to pleasure; the middle class not less inclined to indolence and dissipation, the men addicted to dram-drinking, and the women to pleasure,—their morals equally relaxed; the poor, ignorant, abject, and depraved. The passion for cock-fighting was particularly predominant, with gambling of all sorts; and in the quarrels which were frequent among the lower sort, the combatants fought with the fury of wild beasts, using both their feet and teeth, and endeavouring to tear each other's eyes out.† Of late years, the state of things is understood to have undergone great improvement; but Virginia is still far behind the northern States in the general character of her population, for which the large proportion of slaves will, perhaps, sufficiently account. In walking round the Capitol, Captain B. Hall was struck with the novel sight, in America, of a sentinel marching up and down, with his musket on his shoulder. On inquiry, he learned, that it was one of a guard of fifty men stationed at the barracks adjoining; and that this precaution was taken as a preventive check upon the *coloured population.*

* Morse, p. 387.

† See the description of the *gouging* contests in Weld, p. 110. Also, *ib.* p. 118. Morse, pp. 388—390. "This dissipation of manners," observes the latter writer, "is the fruit of indolence and luxury, which are the fruit of the African slavery."

About 50 or 60 miles below Richmond, is Jamestown, the first place within the United States settled by the British. It has long since been abandoned in consequence of the unhealthiness of the situation; and nothing is now left of the town, but an old church. "There was something quite strange to our eyes," says Captain B. Hall, "in the sight of an American ruin. I was still more struck with the appearance of many fine-looking mansions, formerly the country houses of the great landed proprietors, the old aristocracy of Virginia, but now the residence of small farmers or planters, by whom the property has been bought from time to time, as it came piece-meal into the market, since the law of primogeniture and the practice of entails were swept away by the tide of modern improvement. From these and other causes, the accumulation of large properties has been entirely prevented, even in that State where the value of these unequal divisions of property is certainly better known than any where else in the country." *

This Traveller descended the river by the steamboat to Norfolk, situated near the south-eastern corner of the State, on the eastern bank of Elizabeth River, a few miles above its entrance into Hampton Roads. This is the principal commercial town in the State, having the advantage of a safe and commodious harbour. Nearly opposite to the town, on the left bank of the river, is the navy-yard of Gosport, where a superb dock was then in progress. "The length of the bottom, from the inner or foremost block to that

* B. Hall, vol. iii. p. 80. See page 84 of our first volume. Weld found the aristocracy of "the Northern Neck" (the tract between the Potomac and the Rappahannock) in like manner rapidly decaying, and the disparity of ranks becoming less and less perceptible.—Letter xi.

which is nearest the gates, is to be 206 feet, besides 50 feet of spare room, enough to hold a smaller vessel, if required. The width of the dock at top, is to be 86 feet. As the tide rises and falls only about three or four feet, the water must be pumped out by steam-engines. This dock is in all respects similar to that forming at Charleston, near Boston, which is much further advanced. On the stocks, there was a line-of-battle ship, called the New York 74, a ninety-gun ship, and the St. Lawrence 44, of sixty guns. The frigate is round-sterned, and both are built exclusively of live oak, in a compact and apparently skilful manner." *

The excellent anchorage of Hampton Roads is formed by three streams, the Elizabeth, the James, and the Nansemond rivers. Though filled with shoals formed by the deposites from their united floods, there is still space enough to render it a naval station of great importance. A low, sandy point, called Old Point Comfort, juts out in a direction nearly S., at the junction of the Hampton Roads with the Chesapeake, forming the extremity of the neck of land which separates James River from York River. The latter, at York-town, affords, Mr. Jefferson says, the best harbour in the State for vessels of the largest size; and at high tide, there are four fathoms water for twenty-five miles above York, to the mouth of the Poropotank.† But, whether this Writer's information was inaccurate, or whether any change has taken place, or whatever be the reason, little or no use appears to

* B. Hall, vol. iii. pp. 82, 3.

† Jefferson's Notes, p. 6. On the bank of York river, at York-town, are found strata of shells and earth, indicating that the land, as at Philadelphia, has been gained from the sea.—*Ib.* p. 336.

be made of this harbour; and the population of York county declined very considerably between 1810 and 1820.*

Hampton Roads are defended by Fort Monroe, recently erected on Old Point Comfort, which is to mount 340 guns, and will require a garrison of 5000 men. Captain Basil Hall was told, that this fortress covers an area of sixty acres, being intended to form a *depôt* for military stores, as well as a rallying point for the militia and other troops in the event of a threatened invasion. The work appeared to be as regular as the nature of the ground and the objects in view would admit of; and every branch of it is finished with great neatness and beauty. Those parts of the fortification which command the Roads, as well as those which look across the passage by which a hostile fleet must enter, have a double tier of heavy guns, the lower one being casemated. On the bastion, opposite to the entrance from Lynhaven Bay, there is only a single tier *en barbette*; but a counterguard is

* In America, the population depends so absolutely on the course of trade, that a town deprived of its commerce, is sure to decline. When Weld travelled, Lancaster was by far the largest inland town in the United States; yet, it contained only 900 houses. "Neither," he adds, "do those sea-port towns flourish, which are not well situated for carrying on an inland trade at the same time." Hence, Boston, notwithstanding its excellent harbour and the enterprise of its merchants, had fallen behind Baltimore; and Newport, the capital of Rhode Island, with one of the best harbours in the country, was falling to decay. York, the largest town on York river, contained, in 1796, only 70 houses, an Episcopal church, and a gaol, being not more than a third of the size it was before the war. It is remarkable as the place where Lord Cornwallis surrendered his army. A few of the redoubts remain, but the principal fortifications, Weld found nearly obliterated by the plough, and by groves of pines, although, during the siege, every tree near the town was destroyed.—Weld, pp. 31, 93.

placed beyond the ditch, so as to shield the bastion. About a mile S. of Old Point Comfort, on the other side of the entrance to the Roads, a second powerful battery, mounting 260 heavy guns, has been erected on an artificial island; the fire from which will cross that of the larger fort. Originally, there was nothing there to work upon but a mud bank, called the Rip-raps Shoal, on which there were formerly 17 feet of water; but, by tumbling in great stones, in the manner adopted at the Plymouth Breakwater, the bottom has been gradually raised.*

About nine miles S. E. from Norfolk, commences the singular marsh called the Great Dismal Swamp, extending over about 150,000 acres. This gloomy region, so appropriately named, is entirely covered with forests of juniper and cypress, where there is most moisture, and, on the drier parts, of white and red oak, and various species of pine. The soil is a thick stratum of peat moss, under which, at the depth of about 15 feet, is found a bed of sand, "perfectly horizontal," while the swamp itself has a gradual inclination, of about one foot in a mile, towards the Atlantic. The whole, therefore, is supposed to be one of those vast alluvial deposites "consequent upon the great torrent which appears to have swept from north to south over the greater part of the country." From the Swamp to Richmond, a distance of 140 miles, along the southern side of James River, the country is flat and sandy, and, for miles together, entirely covered with pines. The trees in the Swamp itself, Weld says, grow to an enormous size; and "between

* B. Hall, vol. iii. pp. 84—87. When this Traveller examined it, the masonry of this artificial island was six or seven feet above the surface. The garrison of Fort Monroe was about 700 strong.

them, the brushwood springs up so thick, that the Swamp is in many parts absolutely impervious. In this respect, it differs totally from the common woods in the country. It abounds also with cane reeds and with long rich grass, upon which the cattle feed with great avidity, and become fat in a very short space of time: the canes, indeed, are considered to be the very best green food that can be given to them. The people who live on the borders of the Swamp, drive all their cattle into it to feed. Care, however, is taken to train them to come back regularly to the farms every night by themselves; otherwise, it would be impossible to find them. This is effected by turning into the Swamp with them, for the first few weeks they are sent thither to feed, two or three old milch cows accustomed to the place, round whose necks are fastened small bells. The cows come back every evening to be milked; the rest of the cattle herd with these, following the sound of the bells; and when they return to the farm, a handful of salt, or something of which they are equally fond, is given to each, as an inducement for them to come again. In a short time, the cattle become familiar with the place, and having been accustomed from the first day to return, they regularly walk to the farms every evening. In the interior parts of the Swamp, large herds of wild cattle are found, most probably having originally strayed on being turned in to feed. Bears, wolves, deer, and other wild indigenous animals are also met with there. Stories are common in the neighbourhood, of wild men having been found in it, who, it is supposed, were lost in the Swamp when children.

"The Swamp varies very much in different parts; in some, the surface of it is quite dry, and firm enough to bear a horse; in others, it is overflowed with water,

and elsewhere so miry, that a man would sink in up to his neck, if he attempted to walk upon *it*; in the driest part, if a trench is cut only a few feet deep, the water gushes in, and it is filled immediately. Where the canal to connect the water of Albemarle Sound with Norfolk is cut, the water in many places flows in from the sides, at the depth of three feet from the surface, in large streams, without intermission. In its colour, it exactly resembles brandy, which is supposed to be occasioned by the roots of the juniper-trees. It is, however, perfectly clear, and by no means unpalatable; and the people in the neighbourhood, who think it very wholesome, prefer it to any other. Certainly, there is something very uncommon in the nature of this Swamp, for the people living upon the borders of it, do not suffer by fever and ague, or bilious complaints, as those generally do, who are resident in the neighbourhood of other swamps and marshes. Whether it is the medicinal quality of the water which keeps them in better health, I do not pretend to determine.

"As the Dismal Swamp lies so very near to Norfolk, where there is a constant demand for shingles, staves, &c. for exportation, and as the very best of these different articles are made from the trees growing upon the Swamp, it of course becomes a very valuable species of property. The canal which is now cutting through it, will also enhance its value, as, when it is completed, lumber can be readily sent from the remotest parts. The more southern parts of it, when cleared, answer uncommonly well for the culture of rice; but in the neighbourhood of Norfolk, as far as ten feet deep from the surface, there seems to be nothing but roots and fibres of different herbs, mixed with a whitish sand, which would answer the purpose, as rice requires a

very rich soil. The trees that grow upon it are a most profitable crop; and instead of cutting them all down promiscuously, as is usually done, they fell only such as have attained a large size, by which means they have a continued succession for the manufacture of the articles above-mentioned. Eighty thousand acres of the Swamp are the property of a Company, incorporated under the title of the Dismal Swamp Company." *

The Canal which has been cut across the Dismal Swamp, connects the waters which flow into the Chesapeake Bay, with those which fall into Albemarle Sound, another great estuary, in North Carolina. "It is hoped," says Captain Basil Hall, "by the projectors of this work, which is not yet completed, that the produce of the fertile lands bordering on the Roanoke River, will be transported by it to the port of Norfolk, and thus the drooping fortunes of that town may be repaired. For many years past, they have been on the wane; and have lately received almost a death-blow in consequence of the indiscreet loss of the West India trade."

From Norfolk, Captain Basil Hall proceeded in the stage-coach to Fayetteville, a distance of 240 miles. The first day's journey, to Winton on the river Chowan, skirted the Dismal Swamp; and the last few leagues were by no means agreeable. "The road, for about twelve miles, passed through a dense forest of pines and junipers, arising out of a continued swamp, along which the carriage-way seemed to be floated on poles or trunks of small trees laid across; which, being covered with nothing but a thin stratum of earth and leaves, was fearfully *jolty*. The evening,

* Weld, pp. 102—104.

moreover, was so dark, that the forest on each side stood up to the height of sixty feet, like a perpendicular cliff of coal, with a narrow belt of sky above, serving no other purpose than to point out the way, by a feeble reflection from the ditches on either side, which looked as if they were filled with ink. Every now and then, we came to pools a quarter of a mile in length, through which the horses splashed and floundered along as well as they might, drawing the carriage after them, in spite of holes, into which the fore-wheels were dipped almost to the axle-trees, making every part of the vehicle creak again. These sounds were echoed back with a melancholy tone from the desolate blank on both hands, mingled with the croaking of millions of frogs, whose clear, sharp note, however, relieved the gloomy silence of this most dreary of forests. Anything was a relief after the amphibious sort of navigation through such a tunnel as this; and we breathed more freely on reaching the banks of the Chowan, one of the feeders to Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds. We were ferried across the stream by slaves, who stuck into the sides of the *scow*, or flat, several torches made of the pitch-pine. This blaze of light immediately about us, made the silence and solitude of the forest in our rear even more impressive than it had appeared when we ourselves were almost lost in the gloom."

On the third day, our Traveller reached Fayetteville, a very pretty and flourishing town, situated on the right bank of Cape Fear River, at the head of boat navigation.* Two or three handsome spires give

* North Carolina has not a single port that is either safe or commodious, and its produce is divided between the markets of Virginia and South Carolina. The most produce is exported from

the place a promising appearance, which is sustained by one of the best hotels in the country. Fayetteville is the centre or head-quarters of a considerable body of emigrants from the Highlands of Scotland. "These people have found it to their advantage, it seems, to occupy considerable tracts of the worn-out or exhausted land of preceding generations, and, by improved husbandry, directed by the vigorous industry of freemen, with little help from slaves, to reclaim soils heretofore considered as useless. The number of these Highlanders and their descendants, who still retain almost exclusively their native language, is so considerable, that a clerk who understands Gaelic, forms a necessary part of the Post Office establishment." *

The direct route from Richmond to this place, described by Mr. Hodgson, runs through the heart of North Carolina. A stage of 25 miles, which occupied seven hours,—the road a deep, sandy clay, in places scarcely passable, running through pine-woods,—leads to Petersburg, a little town situated on the Appomatox, one of the tributaries to James River, and carrying on a considerable trade in tobacco. From this place, the route leads to Raleigh, (137 miles from Richmond,) the capital of North Carolina; named after the celebrated Sir Walter Raleigh, who, as well as Pocahantas, the Indian princess,† and General

Wilmington, situated on the east bank of Cape Fear River, just below the confluence of the two branches, and 35 miles from the sea. The harbour admits vessels of 300 tons; but the entrance is rendered dangerous by a large shoal.

* Basil Hall, vol. iii. p. 122. This Traveller states, that, in travelling through Virginia and the Carolinas more particularly, his being a Scotchman was an advantage, as the Americans have certainly a more kindly feeling towards the Scotch, than towards the English.

† See page 80 (note) of our first volume.

Washington, figures on the signs which give name to innumerable taverns, in those parts of the country in which signs are not deemed superfluous. "The streets, which all terminate in the surrounding forest, are, as in almost all the American towns and villages, very wide; and the white frame-houses, with their neat Venetian blinds, which the heat renders almost indispensable, give the town a clean and interesting appearance." The State-house has to boast of a statue of Washington from the hand of Canova. The General is represented sitting, in the act of writing the Constitution of America, but clad in the Roman military dress with the brazen cuirass and military sandals. The likeness is said to be far from strong.

From Petersburgh to the borders of North Carolina, Mr. Hodgson says, the inns, the people, the face of the country, all seemed to degenerate; and from Petersburg to Charleston, he passed through only three small towns and a few very small villages, although the distance is 400 miles. "The log-huts were very thinly scattered; and the manners of the lower classes, both of the black and white population, altered very sensibly for the worse. Their general demeanour became more rude and familiar, and their conversation more licentious and profane: their appearance also was dirty, ragged, and uncomfortable. The Virginian nightingales and mocking-birds have been our constant companions; and we were desired to look out for racoons and opossums, but did not see any. The number and variety of the squirrels were almost incredible. I heard of several instances of from 2000 to 3000 being killed in a day, in some of the large squirrel-hunts. I once observed a beautiful one perfectly white....My companions were delighted with the frog-concerts in the woods, and hailed them, as

we do the cuckoo, as the harbinger of spring. I opened my window the first night, supposing that these choristers were birds; and it was a night or two before I was undeceived. I have not thought them musical since I discovered my mistake." *

The greater part of Mr. Hodgson's route lay through the most barren tracts of Virginia and the Carolinas. In passing through the pine-barrens,† our Traveller noticed many trees with little excavations in them, for the purpose of collecting the turpentine in the season. As soon as it begins to flow, the owner of the woods divides them into little districts, which are confided to the charge of his slaves. One negro has usually the care of from 3000 to 5000 trees. The season is from May to September, during which, the excavated basins are emptied five or six times; and 3000 trees often produce about seventy-five barrels of turpentine. Mr. Hodgson saw also the tar-pits, in which the tar is extracted from the dead wood of the pines in a particular state.

On entering South Carolina, the route passed through several large swamps, where a variety of beautiful green shrubs, among which the magnolia

* Hodgson, vol. i. pp. 37—40.

† Oak, hiccory, and dog-wood denote the best land; cedar and pine, the worst. When land has been worked out and left to itself, it gradually becomes clothed with wood again, though seldom of so large a growth as the original trees; and what is very remarkable, oak is almost invariably succeeded by pine. The explanation of this appears to be, that the quicker growth of the pine chokes that of the young oaks, as heath does the natural grasses. "Frequently," says Mr. Hodgson, "when passing through large woods of pine, whose hereditary title to the soil I had imagined had been handed down to them inviolate by their predecessors, I have detected marks of previous cultivation, and, on inquiry, have been informed, that the land which they occupied was formerly under tillage."—Hodgson, vol. i. p. 34.

is the most conspicuous, afford an agreeable relief to the monotony of the pine-barrens. On approaching the coast, the *tillandsia usneoides* is seen in great abundance covering the trees with its vegetable drapery, like a fine cobweb, or hanging from them in streamers. The first rice-plantation was seen at George-town, about 60 miles from Charleston, where the vacant looks and ragged appearance of the slave population awakened painful sensations. The approach to Charleston is, in other respects, adapted to excite favourable impressions. On arriving at the ferry opposite the city, the view of its glittering spires, together with the extensive bay, on which small boats are seen sailing in every direction, and the open sea with shipping beyond, presents altogether a very animated scene.

Captain Basil Hall took a different route further inland, and leading through the heart of South Carolina. His first stage from Fayetteville was to Montpelier, the name absurdly given to a solitary house on a perfect level,—" a simple set of farm offices, cut out, as it were, with a hatchet, from the dense, black pine forest, which hung all round the horizon, like an immense pall nailed upon the clouds and reaching to the earth." On the third day, our Traveller arrived at the pleasant little town of Camden, on the Wateree branch of the Santee; whence he proceeded, in an extra stage, to Columbia, the seat of the State government, situated on an elevated plain on the banks of the Congaree branch.* The chief object of interest

* The Wateree rises in the western part of North Carolina, where it is called the Catawba; it is navigable as high as Camden. The Congaree is formed by the junction of the Saluda and Broad Rivers. Its junction with the Wateree takes place near the centre

is the flourishing college established here, which has been liberally endowed by the State, and has attained a high degree of respectability. The discipline is said to be as rigid as can be enforced, and the examinations are very strict. Captain Basil Hall speaks of this city as "interesting on many accounts, but chiefly so to a stranger, from the intelligence and learning of the professors of the college and many other persons who reside there." A splendid Lunatic Asylum has recently been added to the public institutions.

The road from Columbia to Charleston sometimes traverses enormous swamps, sometimes leads through extensive pine forests, growing on the low, sandy, barren soil of these insalubrious regions.* The whole line of road, indeed, is so unhealthy, that very few persons can be induced to reside there; and during a considerable part of the year, the danger of travelling is such, that all the stages are laid up, and the mail is carried on horseback. At the time Captain B. Hall travelled, (the latter end of February,) the rivers were so much swollen by recent rains, that many parts of the swamps were impassable; and it was necessary, in one place, to turn off the road into the woods, in order to avoid a dangerous ford, known under the ominous name of the Four Holes. Accommodations on this road are very indifferent, and the houses are

of the State, whence the united streams, under the name of the Santee, flow in a S.E. course, and enter the sea by two mouths.

* The low country, a true *tierra caliente*, extends 80 or 100 miles inland from the coast, and is wholly covered with pine-barrens, interspersed with swamps and marshes of richer soil. The whole rise in this distance from the sea is about 190 feet. It is divided from the Blue Ridge by a region of sand-hills, 50 or 60 miles in extent, "resembling the waves in a high sea."—Carey and Lea, and Morse.

at such distant intervals, that the Traveller does well to carry his own provisions.

CHARLESTON.

CHARLESTON is "a very pretty looking city, standing on a dead level, with the sea in front, and two noble rivers, the Ashley and the Cooper, inclosing it on a wide peninsula called the Neck. This space of flat ground is covered with the villas of the wealthy planters, many of which are almost hidden in the rich foliage. In the streets, a row of trees (*melia azedarach*) is planted on each side, along the outer edge of the foot pavement; a fashion common to most of the southern towns of America. What gives Charleston, however, its peculiar character," Captain B. Hall adds, "is the veranda, or piazza, which embraces most of the houses on their southern side, and frequently, also, on those which face the east and west. These are not clumsily put on, but constructed in a light oriental style, extending from the ground to the very top, so that the rooms on each story enjoy the advantage of a shady, open walk. Except in the busy, commercial parts of the town, where building ground is too precious to be so employed, the houses are surrounded with a garden crowded with shrubs and flowers of all kinds, shaded by double and treble rows of orange-trees; each establishment being generally encircled with hedges, of a deep green, covered over with the most brilliant show imaginable of large white roses, fully as broad as my hand. The houses which stand in the midst of these luxurious pleasure-grounds, are built of every form and size, generally painted white, with railed terraces on the tops; and every house, or very nearly every one, and certainly every

church spire, of which there are a great number, has a lightning-rod or conductor." *

"Streets unpaved and narrow, small wooden houses, from among which rise, in every quarter of the town, stately mansions surrounded, from top to bottom, with broad verandas, and standing within little gardens full of orange-trees, palm-trees, and magnolias, are features," says another Traveller, "which give Charleston an expression belonging to the South of Europe, rather than to the Teutonic cities of the North. Perhaps, taking into view its large black population, and glowing temperature in January, it is not very unlike some of the cities on the Mediterranean coast of Africa. In other respects, it is a noble monument of what human avarice can effect. Its soil is a barren, burning sand, with a river on each side, overflowing into pestilential marshes, which exhale a contagion so pernicious as to render sleeping a single night within its influence, during the summer months, an experiment of the greatest hazard. But what will not men do and bear for money? These pestilential marshes are found to produce good rice, and the adjacent alluvial lands, cotton. True it is, that no European frame could support the labour of cultivation; but Africa can furnish slaves; and thus, amid contagion and suffering, both of oppressors and oppressed, has Charleston become a wealthy city; nay, a religious one, to judge by the number of churches built, building, and to be built." †

Yet, Charleston is deemed more salubrious than any other part of the low country of the Southern States; and during the sickly season, it is the resort even of rich planters from the West Indies. But Charleston

* B. Hall, vol. iii. p. 139. † F. Hall, pp. 315, 316.

itself is no place of refuge during the hottest part of the season. "All the inhabitants who can afford it, then flee to a barren sand-bank in the harbour, called Sullivan's Island, containing one well and a few palmettoes; where they dwell in miserable wooden tenements, trembling in every storm, lest their hiding-places should be blown from over their heads, or deluged by an inundation from the sea." * Many migrate to the mountains, to Ballston or Saratoga, or to other parts of the Northern States.

When those who decide on spending the summer in the city, are once settled there, it is deemed in the highest degree hazardous to sleep a single night in the country. "The experiment," says Mr. Hodgson, "is sometimes made, and occasionally with impunity; but all my informants concurred in assuring me, that fatal consequences might generally be expected. The natives, however, may pass to and fro between the city and Sullivan's Island (seven miles distant), without risk. Of late years, it has been discovered, that there are certain healthy spots, even in the country, during the most sickly months. These are in the pine-barrens, at a distance from the swamps. To be safe in them, it is necessary that the land be as barren as possible, and that not a tree be cut down, except to leave room for the house. Even a little garden, it is considered, would entail some risk. I saw several of these retreats, which are occupied by the overseers of plantations." † These remarks apply to the natives, whose apprehensions are confined to "the country fever," a species of ague. After the age of ten or fifteen years, they are generally proof against the yellow or "stranger's fever." But the probability would be

* F. Hall, p. 315. † Hodgson; vol. i. pp. 51, 2.

greatly against a stranger's escaping the fatal ef the latter, who should remain in either Charle Savannah during the sickly season.

It is only, therefore, during a few months in the year, that Charleston is inhabited by the better class of its citizens. The races, which usually take place in February, are the signal for the principal families to visit their town houses for three or four weeks, assembling from their plantations, at a distance of from 30 to 150 miles. During this short season of gayety, there is a perpetual round of visits. Early in March, they return to the retirement of their plantations, often accompanied by the strangers with whom they have made acquaintance. They remain there till about the beginning of June, when they return to the city, or start on their summer excursion. By those who remain prisoners in Charleston, the first black frost is looked for with great anxiety towards October; after which, they may with safety return to their plantations, where they remain till the return of February. "In passing through the city at that season, when all is animated and gay, and the climate pure and delicious, it is melancholy," remarks Mr. Hodgson, "to think of the stillness which will soon pervade its streets, when the heats will almost suspend all intercourse among the natives, and when the stranger who has been so rash as to remain in this infected region, will move with fearful and trembling steps, his imagination filled with apparitions of 'the pestilence that walketh in darkness,' and his heart sickened with 'the destruction that wasteth at noonday.' But the real plague-spot of Charleston is its slave population; and the mixture of gayety and splendour with misery and degradation, is too incongruous not to arrest the attention even of the super-

ficial. It always reminded me of the delicate pink peach-blossoms which surround the black hovels of the slaves on the plantations."

In 1787, Charleston contained 1600 houses, and a population of 15,000 souls: *viz.* 9600 whites and 5400 negroes.* The public buildings at that time consisted of the State-house, the Exchange, the Armoury, the Poor-house, two large churches for Episcopalians, two for Congregationalists, one for Scotch Presbyterians, two for Baptists, one Methodist, one German Lutheran, one French Protestant, one Quakers' Meeting-house, and two Synagogues, one for Portuguese, the other for German Jews. There were upwards of 1000 Roman Catholics at that time in Charleston, but they had no public building for worship. In 1820, the population of the city was estimated at 24,780 souls; of whom the whites were 10,653, the free blacks, 1475, and the slaves 12,652. Among the public institutions, Captain B. Hall mentions the Orphan Asylum, the Workhouse (a sort of Bridewell, with a tread-wheel), the Poorhouse, and the Jail. "In the court-yard of the jail, there were scattered about no fewer than 300 slaves, mostly brought from the country for sale, and kept there at 20 cents (about 10*d.*) a day, penned up like cattle till the next market-day. The scene was not unlike the encampment of a wild African horde. Men, women, and children, of all ages, were crowded together in groupes, or seated in circles round fires, cooking their messes of Indian corn or rice. Clothes of all colours were hung up to dry on the wall of the prison, coarse and ragged; while the naked children were playing about quite merrily, unconscious

* Morse, p. 428.—"What evinces," it is added, "the healthiness of the place, upwards of 200 of the white inhabitants were above 60 years of age."

(poor little wretches! ul le of their present degradation and their future life of bondage. On the balcony stood three or four slave-dealers, overlooking the herd of human victims below, and speculating upon the qualities of each." *

Charleston has enjoyed the reputation of containing the most polished circle of society of any city in the United States, the very *beau monde* of America; and not wholly, it should seem, without reason. Mr. Hodgson says, that the best society there, though not very extensive, is much superior to any that he had previously met with. "It consists of a few patrician families, who form a select circle, into which the *novi homines*, unless distinguished by great personal merit, find it extremely difficult to gain admission. Strangers well introduced, and of personal respectability, are received with much liberality and attention. Many of the old gentlemen were educated at English colleges, and retain something of their original attachment to the mother country, notwithstanding their sensibility to recent calumny and misrepresentation. Their manners are extremely agreeable, resembling the more polished of our country gentlemen, and are formed on the model of what in England we call 'the old school.' They are, however, the last of their generation, and will leave a blank much to be deplored when they pass away. The young ladies of the patrician families are delicate, refined, and intelligent, rather distant and reserved to strangers, but frank and affable to those who are familiarly introduced to them by their fathers and brothers. They go very early into company, are frequently married at sixteen or eighteen years of age, and generally under twenty,

* B. Hall, vol. iii. pp. 169, 70.

and have retired from the vortex of gay society before even the fashionable part of my fair countrywomen would formerly have entered it. They often lament that the high standard of manners to which they have been accustomed, seems doomed to perish with the generation of their fathers. The fact is, that the absence of the privileges of primogeniture, and the consequent repeated subdivision of property, are gradually effecting a change in the structure of society in South Carolina, and will shortly efface its most interesting and characteristic features." *

At the races in 1828, the great rendezvous of the fashionables of Charleston, Captain B. Hall says, there was no great show of carriages, and not above a dozen ladies on the stand. He was informed, that it was a most unfavourable specimen, and that of late years, the races had been falling off, "chiefly in consequence of the division of property, by which so many of the larger estates had been melted down." The great landed proprietors who had been the chief supporters of these gayeties, and who had given such *éclat* to the Charleston races in former days, are no longer to be found on the turf. There is still, however, a "jockey club;" and our Traveller was invited to a ball, handsomely got up in the great rooms belonging to the St. Andrew's Society. Every thing was ordered in the best style; only, "the ladies and gentlemen appeared entire strangers to each other," and the coldest possible formality characterized their manners, imparting a strange air of solemnity to the light amusement.†

The praise of hospitality, taking the word in its proper acceptation, has been, Lieutenant Hall remarks,

* Hodgson, vol. i. pp. 48—50.
† B. Hall, vol. iii. pp. 146, 149.

somewhat too liberally conceded to the inhabit[illegible] Charleston, and to the Americans generally. "[illegible] I was in the north," says this Traveller, "I was constantly told of the hospitality of the south. At Philadelphia, I found it ice-bound; at Baltimore, there was indeed a thaw; but at Washington, the frost, probably from the congealing influence of politics, was harder than ever; the thermometer rose but little at Richmond; and when I arrived at Charleston, I was entertained, not with its own hospitality, but with a eulogy upon that of Boston." By hospitality, he explains himself as meaning "that liberal entertainment which spreads a couch and table for the stranger, merely because he is a stranger." "Of such hospitality," he says, "the Traveller will find nothing, except, indeed, his rank and character should be such as to give *éclat* to his entertainers. The ordinary pilgrim must be content, if his letters of introduction procure him, as they certainly will, a courteous reception and a dinner; he will also find a ready and polite admission into general society; and this ought to satisfy him. As long as there are taverns open, he has no claim; and every civility is a matter of grace. Yet, hospitality is still talked of, both by Americans and by strangers, as if it were still alive. The free reciprocation of civilities betwixt citizens of different States, when connected by commercial or other ties, fosters the delusion. The New York merchant is liberally entertained at Charleston; and he of Charleston receives an adequate return of civilities at New York. This is not hospitality, but a mutual exchange, founded on mutual convenience.* Let not, however,

* The hospitality of the desert, however, is not less a mutual exchange founded on common liability; and the Writer's distinc-

nge of customs be considered as a reproach. Society has, in all countries, moved through the same gradations. Hospitality belongs to that period which, in a certain point of view, is to be styled barbarous; and it would become a superhuman virtue, were it to survive the moment when it ceases to be as pleasing to the entertainer as necessary to his guest. It probably still lingers on the banks of the Mississippi; it will accompany the advanced guard of settlers down the shores of the Missouri; be driven thence to the neighbourhood of the Columbia, and finally drowned in the Pacific." *

Of the manners of the people of the Southern States generally, this Traveller draws a very unfavourable picture. Those of the lower classes, he says, are brutal and depraved; those of the upper, corrupted by the slave system, are frequently arrogant and assuming. "Unused to restraint or contradiction of any kind, they are necessarily quarrelsome; and in their quarrels, the native ferocity of their hearts breaks out. Duelling is not only in general vogue, but is practised with circumstances of peculiar vindictiveness....

tion is not quite so broad as it appears. In fact, his remarks require much qualification to be entirely just; but, as they serve to illustrate a trait of the national manners, it has been thought proper to insert them. Mr. Jefferson told our Traveller, that, in his father's time, "it was no uncommon thing for gentlemen to post their servants on the main road, for the purpose of amicably waylaying and bringing to their houses any traveller who might chance to pass." It must be inferred, that travellers were then rare, and that the information and pleasure communicated by the stranger, furnished the motive to this extraordinary display of hospitality, which, according to this Writer, becomes superhuman as soon as it ceases to be selfish. That is to say, higher motives must prompt to the exercise of the true Christian hospitality (φιλοξενια): in this sense, he is right.

* F. Hall, pp. 317—319.

Among the planters, there are individuals who, by a judicious use of the advantages of leisure and fortune, by travel and extensive intercourse with the world, have acquired manners more polished, and sentiments more refined, than are the common lot of their fellow citizens in other parts of the Union; but these are rare exceptions, stars in darkness, which shine more sensibly to mark the deep shadows of the opposite extreme, where the contrast is strong, perpetual, and disgusting." *

"The highest class of Carolinians," according to Mr. Hodgson, "are men of good breeding and liberal education. They assume a superiority in these respects, even over the Virginians, and it appears to be generally conceded to them." † The planters in this State are, in fact, the most opulent of their class: it is the only one of the old States, in which the slaves outnumber the free inhabitants. This circumstance, together with the climate, sufficiently explains the peculiarities by which they are said to be distinguished, and which are substantially those of the West India Creole. "The Carolinians," says Dr. Ramsay, "combine the love of liberty, hospitality, charity, and a sense of honour, with dissipation, indolence, and a disposition to contract debts." ‡ This love of liberty, attributed to the proprietors of slaves, may seem a strange misnomer; but the paradox has been well explained by Burke. Speaking of these Southern States, in his famous oration on Conciliation with the Colonies, he remarked, that there was a circumstance

* F. Hall, pp. 354, 5.

† Hodgson, vol. i. p. 65. "Being a Carolinian, I thought he might be dull, but I had no doubt he was a gentleman"—is cited from the lips of a Virginian.

‡ Cited in Malte Brun, vol. v. p. 194.

attending them, which rendered the spirit of liberty "still more high and haughty than in those to the northward. It is that, in Virginia and the Carolinas, they have a vast multitude of slaves. Where this is the case in any part of the world, those that are free, are by far the most proud and jealous of their freedom. Freedom is to them not only an enjoyment, but a kind of rank and privilege. Not seeing there, that freedom, as in countries where it is a common blessing, and as broad and general as the air, may be united with much abject toil, with great misery, with all the exterior of servitude, liberty looks, amongst them, like something that is more noble and liberal. I do not mean," said the Orator, "to commend the superior morality of this sentiment, which has at least as much pride as virtue in it; but I cannot alter the nature of man. The fact is so; and those people of the southern colonies are much more strongly, and with a higher and more stubborn spirit, attached to liberty, than those to the northward. Such were all the ancient commonwealths; such were our Gothic ancestors; such, in our days, were the Poles; and such will be all masters of slaves, who are not slaves themselves. In such a people, the haughtiness of domination combines with the spirit of freedom, fortifies it, and renders it invincible." *

It is obvious, however, that this aristocratic spirit of independence can, only under accidental circumstances, put on the semblance of a love of freedom, or become instrumental in laying the foundations of political liberty. It is as essentially hostile to a democratic equality on the one hand, as to the necessary control of a powerful Executive on the other. The Carolinian gentry, accordingly, have been for the most

* Burke's Speeches, vol. i. p. 290.

part anti-federalists; but, though democrats in Congress, they are aristocrats at home; and when the old patrician class shall have passed away, society will have gained nothing by the substitution of a more numerous body of plebeian tyrants, as inferior in refinement as in affluence and personal consideration.

The subject of Slavery is discussed at great length by Captain Basil Hall, and by several other Travellers; but we must content ourselves with very briefly indicating the main points of view in which it presents itself to consideration, in its bearings upon the American character, and the future prospects of the Republic. Its existence is so enormous an evil, and it is so foul a blot upon the scutcheon of American Independence, that, viewed in the abstract, it may seem to admit of no extenuation or defence. But the circumstances under which slavery originated in that country, and the efforts made by the people of the Northern States to promote its abolition, must be admitted to go some way towards clearing the national character from the unfair imputations to which it has given rise.*

It was during the time that they were the slaves of

* It is not a little curious to find a writer in the Quarterly Review, a journal which has been one of the principal supporters of the West India system, thus taunting the Americans: "There is something whimsical, and not very consistent, in this free republican government appealing perpetually to 'the rights of nature,' in whose territories every sixth man is in a state of absolute and unmitigated slavery." "And this taunt from Englishmen," exclaim the North American Reviewers, in reply; "the people, under whose authority the United States were settled; by whose laws slavery was introduced and established in America; whose King put his *veto* on the ordinances adopted by our Assemblies to suppress the slave-trade;—by Englishmen, the owners, at the present day, of the West Indies, where not every sixth man is a slave, but possibly every sixth man is free, and the five others are held 'in absolute and unmitigated slavery,' by the bayonets of English freemen."—North American Review, No. lxi. p. 514.

a British colony, that the poor African was first transported across the Atlantic, from his native country to the coasts of the American Continent. In British ships, by British capital, and with the sanction of a British parliament, slavery was first introduced; and the attempts of several of the colonial legislatures to abolish the importation of slaves, were long defeated by the royal negative. The refusal of America to deal any more in the inhuman traffic of negro slaves, was referred to by Mr. Burke in parliament, as one of the causes of her quarrel with Great Britain; and, in fact, the refusal of the British Government to permit the Virginians to exclude slaves by law, was enumerated among the reasons of separation from the mother country.* And as, antecedently to the Revolution, no exertion to check the progress of slavery could have received the smallest countenance from the British Government, so, it is perhaps demonstrable, that at no period since the Revolution, could the abolition of slavery in the Southern States have been safely undertaken: the foundations of the newly established governments would have been scarcely able to support the fabric under any shock which so arduous an attempt might have produced.†

The abolition of slavery has, however, been completely effected since the Revolution, not only in all the States of New England, where slaves were never very numerous, but also in New York and Pennsylvania; and in New Jersey and Delaware, the slaves are reduced to a small number. In Maryland, they have also decreased. A society for the abolition of slavery

* Burke's Speeches, vol. i. p. 299. Clarkson's History of the Abolition, vol. i. p. 185. Jefferson's Memoirs. Autograph of Declaration.

† The language of Judge Tucker, cited by Walsh.

in the federal district, has recently been organised in the city of Washington, where, to the disgrace of the Congress, a great portion of the labour on the public works now in progress, has been performed by slaves. Indeed, the climate and soil of Virginia, Maryland, and Kentucky, it has been remarked, offer very few of the ordinary excuses for the employment of negro labour. And what is more, in many of the districts, the land is so exhausted by the tobacco crops,* that the slaves cannot reproduce so much as they consume; a discovery which could not fail to hasten the extinction of slavery in those districts were it not, that, of late years, the increased demand for slave labour in the more Southern States, has led to the revival of an extensive slave-trade in the heart of the United States.

It is this atrocious fact which constitutes the most serious charge against the Americans and their Government. It is unlawful to *import* slaves from abroad into any part of the United States; but it is legal to *transport* them from one Slave State to another. "The ideas connected with a deliberate Slave-trade, were at first so revolting to the Americans, that, in most of the southern legislatures, laws were passed, forbidding the traffic. These laws," remarks Captain Basil Hall, "were made in perfect good faith; but, like the laws of other countries, prohibiting the export of specie or the import of silk, they were soon evaded, and having become utterly inefficient, were necessarily abandoned altogether, leaving the trade as free as that between the coast of Africa and the Brazils. It was never intended by the governments of the Southern States, by these enactments against the importation of slaves, to prevent persons who came to

* Basil Hall, vol. iii. p. 195.

settle there, from bringing their own negroes with them; since, had been it so arranged that no settler could import his slaves, the ground must have remained uncultivated to this hour.* The laws alluded to were directed against the mere thorough-paced slave-dealer. The permission, however, for new comers to import their own gangs of negroes, opened so easy a door for evading the law, that the State legislatures, after a time, discovered the inefficiency of their enactments, and gave up the point. This great internal slave-trade is carried on by sea as well as by land." This Traveller saw a brig from Baltimore lying alongside of the Levée at New Orleans, with upwards of 200 negroes on board, her decks presenting a scene which forcibly reminded him of Rio Janeiro. "In the one case, the slaves were brought from the savage regions of Africa; in the other, from the very heart of a free country. To the poor negro, the distinction is probably no great matter." †

The more northern plantations are becoming, under these circumstances, "a vast breeding-ground," where blacks are reared for the express purpose of supplying the fatal and ever-widening market in the States bordering on the Gulf of Mexico and the Mississippi. Mr. Hodgson, in 1820, fell in with numerous gangs continually, on his route from the Atlantic to the Gulf of Mexico; and he was informed, that from 4000 to 5000 *per annum* are occasionally sent down to New Orleans; a place the very name of which seems to strike terror into the slaves and free negroes of the Middle States. "Instances are not rare," says this gentleman, "of slaves destroying themselves, to avoid being sent to Georgia or New Orleans. Yet, slaves

* A questionable assertion. † Capt. B. Hall, vol. iii. p. 198.

are marching in open day, in manacles, on their melancholy journey southward, past the very walls of the Capitol, where the Senate of this free Republic conduct their deliberations! Indeed, this trade between the Middle and Southern States, has given rise to the horrible practice of kidnapping free black men, and has introduced into the heart of a country pre-eminently proud of her free institutions, a sort of *tegria* or man-stealing, which, one had hoped, was confined to the deserts of Africa. It is stated by Mr. Torrey, in a work called 'American Slave Trade,' that, under the existing laws, if 'a free-coloured man travels without passports certifying his right to his liberty, he is generally apprehended, and frequently plunged, with his progeny, into slavery by the operation of the laws.' He observes: 'The preceding facts clearly exemplify the safety with which the free-born (black) inhabitants of the United States may be offered for sale, and sold, even in the metropolis of liberty, as oxen, even to those who are notified of the fact, and are perhaps convinced that they are free.'" *

In the Southern States, where the fears of the slave-proprietors are tremblingly alive to the danger of a negro insurrection, the condition of the free man of colour, Lieutenant F. Hall remarks, is scarcely preferable to that of a slave. "Subjected to the same mode of trial, exposed to the same jealous *surveillance*, carefully excluded from all the rights and privileges of citizenship, and surrounded with snares of every kind, both legal and illegal, his freedom seems but a mockery superadded to oppression. The Statute de-

* Hodgson, vol. i. pp 194—6. See also "Address to the Inhabitants of Columbia."—Basil Hall, vol. iii. p. 44.

clares, that every man of colour shall be presumed a slave. Every newspaper is a commentary on the injustice and barbarity of this enactment. Every day, men of colour are advertised as taken up on suspicion of being slaves: they are committed to jail, and, if no owner appears, are sold to pay expenses. But the direct operation of the law is not all the free man of colour has to dread. The humane exertions of some gentlemen of the Charleston bar, have lately brought to light a singular system for kidnapping free negroes, and selling them as slaves into Kentucky, or any State at a distance from their connexions. The agents were, a justice of the peace, a constable, and a slave-dealer.....The traffic had been long carried on, when discovered and exposed in a court of justice; but since, by the present law, there is no such offence as man-stealing, it could be punished as false imprisonment only. Should not the shame of discovery produce a stronger impression on the parties engaged in this iniquitous traffic, than can be expected from their depraved habits, it is more than probable, it will continue to be carried on with keener, and perhaps more atrocious dexterity than before." *

"The Americans," says Captain Basil Hall, "are perpetually taunting England with having entailed slavery upon their country." This taunt, if provoked by sweeping criminations, may come as a fair retort from an American of the Northern States. But, as regards the validity of the plea, the whole case has completely altered its character, since the acquisition of Florida and Louisiana, countries cultivated wholly by slaves; and still more, by the introduction of Missouri into the Union as a State, where no similar necessity for

* F. Hall, pp. 326—28.

slave-cultivation, on account of climate, was even pretended to exist, but where, nevertheless, slavery has been introduced by the solemn act of the Legislature. The ascendancy thereby given to the slave-holding States in the Senate, and eventually in Congress, affords a melancholy prospect as to the probability of any legislative remedies. Congress has not, in fact, we are reminded by Captain Basil Hall, by the terms of the Constitution, the slightest shadow of right to meddle with the internal concerns of the States, and least of all with those which relate to slavery. "Any assumption of such pretensions on the part of Congress, would be so instantaneously resisted,—by actual force, if necessary,—by the whole mass of the slave-holding States, that the idea could not exist one hour. If such intentions of interference with the slave system should ever be seriously contemplated, either by a powerful Executive, or by a majority of the members of Congress from the non-slave-holding States, the inevitable consequence would be a division of the Union.....It is useless then for foreigners to hold the language of reproach or of appeal to America, thereby implying a belief in the existenee of such legislative power." *

This is, indeed, an appalling statement; especially as the slave-holding States now amount to fifteen, and, with Arkansas and Florida, to seventeen States against nine. Their legislative influence, however, would be more formidable than their physical strength; for an armed resistance would probably be fatal only to the slave-proprietors, by encouraging a servile insurrection. In the eleven principal slave-holding States, not much more than three millions of whites are scattered over an area of 490,000 square miles, while the slaves

* Basil Hall, vol. iii. pp. 199, 210.

and free blacks amount to nearly two millions. In Louisiana and South Carolina, they outnumber the Whites. In New England and the other States north of the Chesapeake, on the other hand, about five millions of Whites are found within an area of 162,000 square miles; the White population being, in those States, more than four times as dense. An appeal to force, however, is out of the question: a dissolution of the Union would be the more likely result of an irreconcilable disagreement between the slave-holding and the other States. It will soon become a serious question, whether such a separation, if the only alternative, is not imperative on every State which would free itself from the guilt of participating in a national crime, that calls so loudly for the retributive judgement of Heaven. "The monitory voice of the patriots of the Revolution," the fearful precedent of Hayti, "the brilliant example of the South American Republics,"—all unite in urging upon the several States, by every consideration of duty and policy, the redress of this enormous evil. If, to adopt the language of President Jefferson, (in the Declaration of Independence which set forth the wrongs of his country,) the Republican Government shall persist in "waging war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of those who have never offended it,"—and, "determined to keep open a market where men may be bought and sold," shall negative every "attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce,"—the emphatic words of the same President may suggest what America must expect: "I tremble for my country, when I reflect that God is just, and that his justice cannot sleep for ever." *

* Notes on Virginia, p. 241. F. Hall, p. 333.

FROM CHARLESTON TO NEW ORLEANS.

THE district between Charleston and Savannah, is fertilized by the waters of the numberless streams that drain the rich State of South Carolina. Of these, the principal are, the Edisto, the Salt-ketcher, the Coosawhatchie, and the Pocotaligo. On approaching the river Savannah, which divides South Carolina from Georgia, the route traverses a long swamp of alluvial formation, which Captain B. Hall supposes to have been, in remote times, the bed of the river. Here, the road passes along a causey, several miles in length, formed of transverse logs. A thick mist frequently rises from the swamp, which in summer must be highly deleterious; and the whole road is indeed, in the hot season, extremely unhealthy.

The "showy town of Savannah," as Capt. B. Hall styles it, stands on the very edge of the right bank of the river from which it takes its name, on a high, sandy bluff, about 50 feet above the water, and 18 miles from its mouth. When seen from the river, it is rendered striking by several tall spires and public buildings mingling with groves of trees, or standing boldly up against the sky above them. The town is laid out in long and very broad streets, which meet at right angles; and in all the streets and squares are planted shady rows of the tree called "the Pride of India," which is a great favourite with the inhabitants. The streets are unpaved, and, except in the middle path, which is a heavy, disagreeable sand, they are covered with grass. The horses, as in most of the towns in the South, are unshod. Captain B. Hall was surprised at the absence of verandahs, those useful and ornamental appendages, so general at Charleston and

most other places in the South; but no explanation of the circumstance is given. When Mr. Hodgson was there, a destructive fire had given the town a most desolate appearance; yet, the inhabitants were running up their wooden houses again with great rapidity. Brick and stone houses are, however, becoming more common than formerly.*

Savannah, the original capital of Georgia, is still the principal city in the State, though the seat of government has been successively removed to Augusta, 123 miles N.W. of Savannah, and to Milledgeville, nearly in the centre of the State. In 1789, Savannah contained 227 dwelling-houses, an Episcopal church, a German Lutheran church, a Presbyterian church, and a synagogue. The number of its inhabitants, exclusive of the blacks, was estimated at 830, including 70 Jews. A Methodist, a Baptist, and a Roman Catholic chapel have since been added to the places of public worship; besides which, the public edifices consist of a court-house, a jail, an alms-house, a theatre, a public library, an academy, and an exchange. There are ten public squares, each of two acres, with a pump in the middle. The population is now about 8000, including the slaves and free blacks. The shipping belonging to the port amounted, in 1816, to 12,776 tons. Vessels drawing 14 feet water come up to the wharfs; larger vessels take in their

* Fires, Mr. Hodgson says, are continually occurring in this country. "In Charleston, a person is stationed every night on the steeple of one of the churches, to watch and give the alarm in case of fire, as the inhabitants are never free from the apprehension of an insurrection of slaves in the confusion of a premeditated or accidental conflagration." In Savannah, as in Charleston, are great numbers of turkey-buzzards, which the law protects on account of their usefulness as scavengers.

cargoes at Five Fathom Hole, three miles below. Tybee bar, at the entrance of the river (in lat. 31° 57′), has 16 feet water at half tide. Boats can ascend the river as high as the Falls at Augusta, 140 miles above Savannah; and beyond the Falls, the river is navigable 60 miles higher up, to the mouth of the Tugulo, one of its head streams. A steam-boat now furnishes a regular communication with Augusta. Mr. Hodgson proceeded thither by land; and he gives the following description of the intervening country.

"In proceeding from the coast to Augusta, we passed, for forty or fifty miles, along a level plain, the greater part of which is covered with lofty forests of pine, oak, elm, tulip, plane, and walnut. About one third of this plain consists of immense swamps, which, interlocking with each other, form part of the long chain stretching for several hundred miles along the coast of Georgia and the Carolinas, and penetrating from ten to thirty miles into the interior. In these swamps, in addition to the trees above mentioned, we meet with cypress trees of an enormous growth, beech, maple, the magnolia grandiflora, azalias, andromedas, and a variety of flowering shrubs. Soon after leaving the plain, we reached what are called the Sand-hills, from 200 to 300 feet above the level of the sea, where extensive forest plains and green savannahs, with occasional ascents of more or less abrupt elevation, succeed each other until you approach Augusta. There, we found ourselves surrounded with immense cotton-plantations, and all 'the pomp and circumstance' of commerce; carts coming in from the country with cotton, and crowding the streets, or rather avenues of this rural town; tradesmen and agents bustling about in different directions; wharfs loaded

with bales; and steam-boats darkening the air with their black exhalations. At the hotel where I lodged there were seventy persons daily at table."

The site of Augusta appears to have been judiciously chosen. The town stands on an extensive plain of sand, about 40 feet above the Savannah. Being the seat of justice for Richmond county, it has a handsome court-house and jail, and contained in 1818, two churches for a population of about 5000, including persons of colour. The whites were chiefly New Englanders, with a few Europeans, attracted by the hope of gain. Eligible as is its situation for business, the marshes with which it is nearly surrounded, charge the atmosphere with pestilential effluvia, rendering it far from a desirable residence. The summer of 1817 had proved very fatal. With the exception of the public buildings, the town consisted chiefly of wood-frame buildings neatly painted; but a substantial range of brick buildings had been recently erected by the "Augusta Bridge Company." The new bridge, of which this company enjoyed the toll, had been lately constructed, at a great expense, of timber, resting on piles placed at such distances as, it was hoped, would allow the drift wood to pass through, in heavy freshets, without endangering its safety.* Augusta stands in the high road from Columbia to Savannah.

From this town, Mr. Hodgson pursued his route on horseback, across the State, towards New Orleans. His first stage was 28 miles, to a small tavern or country inn. Here, the first question put to him by the landlady, and which was eagerly repeated wherever he stopped, was, what was the price of cot-

* Tell Harris, pp. 65—67.

ton at Augusta. The fluctuations in this article come home to 'the business and bosoms' of the poorest family, since every one is more or less concerned in its cultivation. To the inquiry whether there were any schools in the neighbourhood, our Traveller's hostess replied, that there was an academy to which her daughter went when cotton was 30 *cents* a pound; that she paid 300 dollars *per annum* for her board, and 50 more for learning the piano; but that, as cotton had fallen to 15 *cents*, she could not afford to buy an instrument, and supposed her daughter must forget her music! At the tavern where Mr. H. halted to breakfast the next day, among other books on the chimney-piece were, a Bible, a Testament, a hymn-book, a book of Geography, Kett's Elements, Lord Byron's Poems, and the Life of Harriet Newell.* These are an average specimen of the books which are generally found lying about in the country inns, and which are not unfrequently "mere stragglers from no despicable library in the landlord's bed-room." The day's stage terminated at the house of a worthy cotton-planter, miller, farmer, and innkeeper, on the bank of the Ogechee river, which falls into the ocean 15 miles S.W. of Savannah.

The road had thus far run along a pine-ridge, through a country by no means thickly settled. The third day, a stage of 36 miles led to Milledgeville, the capital of the State, on the Oconee river, a branch of the Alatamaha. Vessels of 30 tons ascend as high as this town, 200 miles from the bar at the mouth of the Alatamaha. The only object of interest at this

* At Fort Dale, in Alabama, the landlord of a solitary inn had among his books, the Bible, the Koran, a hymn-book, Nicholson's Encyclopædia, Sterne, Burns, Cowper, Cœlebs, Camilla, and the Acts of the Alabama Legislature, of which he was a member.

place, noticed by our Traveller, was "a very handsome prison or penitentiary, which would do credit even to Gloucester." His next stage, 32 miles, was to Fort Hawkins, "a small quadrangle of wooden buildings, supposed, during the late war, to be of some importance in intimidating the Lower Creek Indians." In the course of the day's journey, several settlements were passed, and occasionally, the eye was gratified with a few acres of peach-trees, then in full blossom; but the cleared land seldom extended into the forest more than a few hundred yards from the road, and occurred at distant intervals. From the Fort, which is surrounded with a cleared tract of half-a-mile square, the eye looks down on an unbroken mass of pine-woods, which lose themselves on every side in the horizon, about 20 miles distant.

About a mile from Fort Hawkins, Mr. Hodgson reached the Oakmulgee, the western branch of the Alatamaha, and the last river, in proceeding westward, which pours its waters into the Atlantic. Proceeding over a more undulating country, he reached, in the afternoon, the Indian Agency on the Flint River, ("about as wide as the Ribble near Preston,") which unites with the Chattahoochee to form the Appalachicola. Our Traveller had now entered what was then the territory of the Lower Creek Indians.* During the next 60 miles, only a single habitation occurred,—"Spaine's Inn," kept by a white man, "the partner

* When Mr. Hodgson travelled, (in 1820,) the Oakmulgee was the eastern boundary of the Indian territory. But, by a treaty made in 1821, the extensive tract between the Oakmulgee and Flint Rivers was ceded to the United States. In 1827, the Creeks were induced to quit the territory between the Flint and the Chattahoochee rivers, and to fall back westward, within the limits of the State of Alabama, of which the latter river is the south-eastern boundary.

of an Indian chief; the Creek Indians allowing no white person to settle in their nation, except as their partners, as husbands of Indian women, or in some way or other closely connected with themselves." Here, our Traveller was regaled with coffee, maize-bread, and bacon; "a plain, substantial fare which you seldom fail to obtain throughout the nation, sometimes improved by the addition of sugar, cream, and butter, and sometimes varied by the introduction of wild venison, or wild turkeys." Provided with a supply of Indian corn for himself and his servant, and a large bundle of the corn leaves for his horse, (the substitute here for hay,) our Traveller again set forward, prepared to pass the night in the woods. At the place chosen for their *bivouac*, near a stream of water, two or three parties of travellers had already lighted their fires, and were toasting their bacon, and boiling their coffee. Among them was an Alabama cotton-planter, who was bringing home his daughter from school at Milledgeville. They travelled in a little Jersey waggon, (familiarly called a dearborn, or carry-all,) camping out every night, and cooking their bacon and coffee three times a day. The "Tales of my Landlord" were the young lady's solace during this long journey of 300 miles. Some Indian wigwams not far off, and some acres of pine-woods on fire at a distance, together with the sombre colouring of the heavy forests which surrounded the encampment, and the deep blue of the sky above, rendered the scene altogether highly picturesque, but a character of solemnity predominated over every other expression.

The next day, after passing several creeks, our Traveller arrived at the extremity of a ridge, from which he looked down into a savannah, where was situated the Indian town of Co-se-ta, near the Chatta-

hoochee. "It appeared to consist of about a hundred houses, many of them elevated on poles from two to six feet high, built of unhewn logs, with roofs of bark, and with little patches of Indian corn before the doors. The women were hard at work, digging the ground, pounding Indian corn, or carrying heavy loads of water from the river; the men were either setting out to the woods with their guns, or lying before the doors; and the children were amusing themselves in little groupes. In the centre of the town was a large building with a conical roof, supported by a circular wall about three feet high: close to it was a quadrangular space, inclosed by four open buildings, with rows of benches rising one above another." The whole was appropriated, Mr. Hodgson was informed, to the great council of the town, who meet under shelter, or in the open air, according to the weather. "Near the spot was a high pole, like our May-poles, with a bird at the top, round which the Indians celebrate their green-corn dance. The township of Cose-ta was said to be able to muster 700 warriors; while the number belonging to the whole nation is not estimated at more than 3500. The Chattahoochee flows about a mile from the town.

Mr. Hodgson was ferried over the river by Indians, who sang in response. A few hours beyond, he reached Ouchee Bridge, over the Creek of the same name, so called from the Ouchees, an Indian tribe conquered by the Creeks. The next day, our Traveller arrived at Fort Bainbridge, situated on the ridge which separates the waters of the Chattahoochee from those of the Coosa and Tallapoosa; "two wells on opposite sides of the house, sending their streams into these different rivers." Here, our Traveller found

"a stand," in which the Big Warrior was sleeping partner, and a head-waiter from one of the principal inns at Washington, the efficient man.* There was a third partner, named Lewis, a white who had lived fifteen years in the heart of the Indian country, having married an Indian wife, and adopted the manners of the natives. So ardent a love of solitude had this man contracted by living in the woods, that he had lately removed his stand from the most profitable station, because there was a neighbour or two within four miles! From this person, Mr. Hodgson learned some interesting particulars respecting the Creek Indians.

The "Big Warrior" and the "Little Prince" were at this time the chief speakers of the nation, or the heads of the civil department. "Their dignity is not strictly hereditary, although some of the family usually succeed to it, if there be no particular objection.† The chief speakers are by no means necessarily the principal *orators*, but may employ a fluent chief to convey their sentiments. Their office is, to carry into effect the decisions of the Great Council of the nation, a deliberative body composed of chiefs from the different towns. They assemble at Tlekotska, about fifteen miles from Ouchee Creek. They cultivate eloquence with great attention, practising in private, or when hunting in small parties in the woods. The most popular and influential person in the nation, is Mack-

* Here, Mr. Hodgson was "a little surprised to find the son of the owner of one of the principal inns at Preston in Lancashire, projecting the introduction of a woollen-manufactory among the Creeks under the sanction of the natives."

† The sovereignty of Fezzan, Horneman tells us, was, in like manner, hereditary in the family, but not in the direct line, the eldest prince succeeding, whether son or nephew.

intosh, the head warrior, a half-breed, who is consulted on every occasion, and who in a great measure directs the affairs of his country.

"My host," continues Mr. Hodgson, "regretted, in the most feeling terms, the injury which the morals of the Indians have sustained from intercourse with the Whites; and especially from the introduction of whiskey, which has been their bane. He said, that female licentiousness before marriage is very general, and not attended with loss of character; but that conjugal infidelity is punished by whipping, shaving the head of the culprit, and sending her naked into perpetual exile; the husband being liable to suffer the same severities, if he connive at the return of his offending wife. The murderer is now executed by public authority, the law of private retaliation becoming gradually obsolete. Stealing is punished, for the first offence, by whipping; for the second, by the loss of the ears; for the third, by death: the punishment having no relation to the amount stolen. My host remembers when there was no law against stealing, the crime itself being almost unknown; when the Indians would go a hunting, or 'frolicking,' for one or two days, leaving their clothes on the bushes opposite their wigwams, in a populous neighbourhood, or their silver trinkets and ornaments hanging in their open huts. Confidence and generosity were then their characteristic virtues. A desire of gain, caught from the Whites, has chilled their liberality; and abused credulity has taught them suspicion and deceit. He considers them still attached to the English, although disappointed in the little assistance which they have derived from them in late wars. This, however, they attribute to the distance of the British, which renders them less valuable allies than they expected,

rather than to a treacherous violation of their promises. Whatever the first glow of British feeling may dictate, on hearing of their attachment, enlightened humanity will not repine, if, under their present circumstances, they are becoming daily more closely connected with the American Government, which has evinced an active solicitude for their civilization.

"Our recluse told us, that they have a general idea of a Supreme Being, but no religious days, nor any religious rites, unless, as he is disposed to believe, their green-corn dance be one. Before the corn turns yellow, the inhabitants of each town or district assemble, and a certain number enter the streets of what is more properly called the town, with the war-whoop and savage yells, firing their arrows in the air, and going several times round the pole. They then take emetics, and fast two days, dancing round the pole a great part of the night. All the fires in the township are then extinguished, and the hearths cleared, and new fires kindled by rubbing two sticks. After this, they parch some of the new corn, and feasting a little, disperse to their several homes. To the green-corn dance, I find, many Indians repair, who are settled in Alabama, on lands reserved for them by the United States, for services during the war. Many of the old chiefs are of opinion, that their ancestors intended this ceremony as a thank-offering to the Supreme Being, for the fruits of the earth, and for success in hunting or in war.

"The dress of the Indians is picturesque, and frequently very splendid, the scalping knife always forming a part of it, and the belts and the hems of their outer garments being often very highly ornamented. I understand that the tribes which inhabit the prairies beyond the Mississippi, use shields. The dress of the

young men under seventeen or eighteen, is like a loose dressing-gown, which they occasionally close around them; and that of the girls under fourteen or fifteen, might be still more easily described. The women generally are clumsy, dirty, and greasy, with long black hair, and a perpetual scowl upon their face. I saw only two handsome ones, one of whom, about twenty years of age, was very good looking. I believe, when they are dressed in their gala clothes, they look much better. They are very fond of ornaments, particularly of silver. I saw one of them in her common dress, selling poultry at the little inn, with four circular plates of silver hanging from her neck, the largest of which was at least two and a half inches in diameter, but very thin. I am told, they have frequently fifteen or twenty. I understand, that a man is allowed as many wives as he can support, and the usual number is from three to five. Mackintosh had three wives.

"Lewis informed me, that the Indians often set out on long journeys through the forests, without any other provision than a preparation of the flour of Indian corn, gathered while green, with honey. This mixture, dried and reduced to powder, they carry in a small bag, taking a little of it with water, once or twice in twenty-four hours; and it is said, that if they have the ill luck to kill no deer, or other animals, they will subsist on it for many weeks, without losing their strength: they call it *softke*.

"The more reflecting of the Creeks think much, but say little, of the change which is taking place in their condition. They see plainly that, with respect to their future destiny, it is a question of civilization or extinction; and a question, the decision of which cannot be long postponed. They are, therefore, be-

come very solicitous for the establishment of schools, and the introduction of the various arts, from which the whites derive their superiority. In some of these, they have already made considerable progress, many of them possessing several hundred head of cattle; and, if the warrior do not literally turn his tomahawk and scalping-knife into pruning-hooks, he is satisfied to regard them as mere ornaments of dress, till hostilities shall again call him into the field; and is ambitious to attain distinction in agricultural pursuits. I saw several neat and flourishing little farms, as I passed through the nation; but my pleasure was alloyed by observing, that the labour generally devolved either on the African negro, or the Indian wife. As few of the Creeks are rich enough to purchase many negroes, almost all the drudgery is performed by the women; and it is melancholy to meet them, as we continually did, with an infant hanging on their necks, bending under a heavy burden, and leading their husband's horse, while he walked before them, erect and graceful, apparently without a care. This servitude has an unfavourable effect on the appearance of the women; those above a certain age being generally bent and clumsy, with a scowl on their wrinkled foreheads, and an expression of countenance at once vacant and dejected." *

Soon after leaving Fort Bainbridge, Mr. Hodgson's route led past Caleebe and Cubahatchee swamps; and in the evening, he reached Lime Creek, at that time the boundary between the Creek territory and Alabama, having travelled about forty miles. Many large parties of emigrants from South Carolina and Georgia were passed in the course of the day's jour-

* Hodgson, vol. , pp. 128—136.

ney, and many gangs of slaves. "At the edges of the creeks and on the banks of rivers," he says, "we usually found a curious collection of *sans-soucis*, sulkies, carts, Jersey waggons, heavy waggons, little planters, Indians, Negroes, horses, mules, and oxen; the women and little children sitting down frequently for one, two, or three hours, sometimes for five or six, to work or play, while the men were engaged in the almost hopeless task of dragging or swimming their vehicles or baggage to the opposite side. Often, a light carriage, with a sallow planter and his lady, would bring up the rear of a *long* cavalcade, and indicate the removal of a family of some wealth, who, allured by the rich lands of Alabama, or the sugar-plantations of Mississippi, had bidden adieu to the scenes of their youth, and undertaken a long and painful pilgrimage through the wilderness." Point Comfort, a few miles beyond Lime Creek, is the name of a fine cotton-plantation, which, by its populous neighbourhood and richly cultivated fields, reminded our Traveller that he was no longer in the territory of a nation of hunters. The appearance of oaks in place of the pine-woods, indicated at the same time a material change in the soil; and the route soon opened on some of the beautiful prairies which are found in this part of the country. The road, however, which had hitherto been excellent for horses, became now as wretchedly bad, passing through long swamps of thick clay, overshadowed with beautiful trees and an entangling vegetation, through which the traveller must sometimes dismount to cut his way. These swamps are far more formidable than even the flooded creeks, over which the horses are swum by Indians, while the rider is either conveyed over in a boat, or, if the creek be narrow, crosses it on a large tree, so

dexterously felled as to fall across, and form a tolerable bridge. On the third day after leaving Fort Bainbridge, the road passed for some way through a most solitary pine-barren on a high ridge; soon after entering on which, our Traveller was surprised by a spectacle dreadfully sublime. "Thousands of large pines lay torn and shattered on each other, only one in four or five having been left standing, by a dreadful hurricane, the ravages of which extended nearly twelve miles. Some had been thrown down with such prodigious violence, that their thick trunks were broken into two or three pieces by the fall; others were splintered from the top nearly to the bottom; while others were lying on each other four or five feet thick, with their branches intertwined as if they had been torn up by the roots in a body. The most dreadful tossing of the ocean," adds Mr. Hodgson, "never impressed me so strongly with the idea of uncontrollable power, as this magnificent scene of devastation." From this ridge, the road again descended into dismal swamps, where the ears are stunned with frog-concerts, which give warning of the numerous alligators, and where the evanescent light of the beautiful fire-fly beguiles and tantalizes the benighted traveller. At length, after riding 45 miles a day for the three last days, Mr. Hodgson, on the sixth day from Fort Bainbridge, reached Blakeley, on the bay of Mobile. The whole distance from Augusta was nearly 460 miles, which had occupied nearly thirteen days, exclusive of two during which he had rested.

Blakeley is described as a "real American town of yesterday." * It exhibited a fine range of ware-

* It was laid out in 1813. It stands on the Tensaw, or eastern outlet of Mobile river, 10 miles E.N.E. of Mobile.

houses; but the stumps of the trees which had been felled to make room for this young city, were still standing in the streets. Almost opposite, on the other side of the bay, is Mobile, "an old Spanish town, with mingled traces of the manners and language of the French and Spaniards." An old fort, called Fort Condé, was then standing, which was to be superseded by fortifications in a more formidable position. "These two towns are contending vehemently for the privilege of becoming that great emporium which must shortly spring up in the vicinity of this outlet for the produce of the young fertile State of Alabama. The surface drained by the rivers Tombigbee, Black Warrior, Alabama, Coosa, Tallapoosa, and Cahawba, all of which fall into Mobile Bay, exceeds twenty-six millions of acres; possessing a very great diversity of soil and climate, and enjoying commercial and agricultural advantages which are attracting towards them with unprecedented rapidity the wealth and enterprise of the older States." Mr. Hodgson was disappointed at not finding at either Blakeley or Mobile, a Protestant place of worship. At the latter place, there is a Roman Catholic church, built by the French or Spanish. "The aspect of society, as it presents itself to the superficial eye of a stranger, is such," Mr. Hodgson says, "as might be expected where public worship is totally disregarded. Profaneness, licentiousness, and ferocity seemed to be characteristic of the place. You continually hear the lash upon the backs of the negro servants, with language which would shock you even if applied to brutes; and the easy and intelligent expression which I had observed in the countenances of many of the slaves in Carolina and Georgia, had here given place to the appearance of abject timidity or idiotic vacancy."

The population of Mobile, nine months before, had amounted to 1300. Soon after the appearance of the fever in September 1819, it was reduced by migrations to about 500, of whom 274 died. In the autumn of 1827, the town was almost entirely destroyed by a fire. Glad to escape from this wretched place, Mr. Hodgson here embarked on board of a small schooner for New Orleans.*

Captain Basil Hall travelled from Savannah to Mobile by a more circuitous route. Having hired a carriage and pair, he proceeded southward to Darien, a neat little village on the left bank of the gigantic Alatamaha; traversing swamps "where millions of fevers and agues seemed to be waiting to devour any one who should come near." Darien is twelve miles from the bar at the mouth of the river, and is expected to become the emporium for the country on the Alatamaha and its branches, which drain the interior of Georgia. This Traveller's object was, to visit one of the "sea island" cotton-plantations, in which the finest kind is raised. He descended the stream, in a canoe hollowed out of a cypress, to St. Simon's Island, rowed by five negroes, whose wild accompaniment to their oars was not unlike that of the Canadian *voyageurs*, but still more nearly resembled that of the Bunder-boatmen at Bombay. Their utmost exertions were required, to avoid being entangled in "a labyrinth of low, marshy, alluvial islands, nearly flush with the water, covered with long reeds, and extending for many leagues off to sea, abreast of the multitudinous mouths of the great Alatamaha;" a description which recals the Sunderbunds of Bengal. The flood-tide of the Atlantic was an over-match for

* Hodgson, vol. i. pp. 106—154.

the river, though swollen by the rains to nearly its utmost height, or what is called "a high fresh." After visiting the cotton-plantations, (of which he gives a minute description,) he returned towards the north, as far as the village of Riceborough; and then, bending westward, "fairly plunged into the forest," where the course was pointed out solely by "blazes or slices" cut as guiding marks on the sides of the trees. On the third day, (not reckoning a day's halt at a solitary inn,) our Traveller crossed, at Dublin, the dirty stream of the Oconee; and early on the fifth, reached the town of Macon on the Oakmulgee.

This town, founded in 1823, answered, in its general appearance, to such places as Utica and Syracuse in the North. "It had not, it is true," says our Traveller, "the vehement bustle of Rochester; but it resembled that singular village not a little in its juvenile character, and might have been taken for one of its suburbs. The woods were still growing in some of the streets, and the stumps were not yet grubbed up in others. The houses looked as if they had been put up the day before, so that you smelt the saw-mill every where. The signs and sign-posts were newly painted; the goods exposed before the doors, were piled up, as if just lifted out of the waggons; the bars at the numberless grocery-stores, alias grog-shops, were glittering with new bottles and glasses, barrels of Hollands, whiskey, and rum. The inhabitants were unacquainted with one another's residence; and I had to go to eight or ten houses in quest of one gentleman for whom I had a letter. As yet, the streets had no names, but they were laid out with perfect regularity, as I could discover by stakes here and there at the corners, and by rows of the

Pride-of-India-trees planted along both sides, in a sort of mockery, as it seemed, of the grim old forest, which was frowning all round on these pigmy works of man.

"At its first establishment, it was thought the navigation of the river Oakmulgee, on which it stands, might be so much improved, that a communication could be opened with the sea-coast of Georgia, and, consequently, that a great portion of the produce of the upper part of that State would find its way to Macon as a *depôt*. But these expectations not being realized, the rage for settling there had given place to newer fashions; other situations had been preferred; and this city, which, in the opinion of its founders, was to have been one of the greatest in all the South, it was now feared would soon vanish altogether.

"In the course of the day's journey, we passed through a place called Dublin, on the banks of the Oconee river. It also had already felt the effect of these withering causes. And we saw several others, the mushroom growth of rapid and unthinking speculation. The inhabitants of some of these juvenile but decaying towns, explained to me, that much of the evil which I saw, arose from the unfortunate description of their labouring population. According to all accounts, indeed, the energies of every country where slavery is found, are sadly cramped. The Whites work, as they expressed it to me, with a clog round their feet, like convicts!" *

The next part of the route was the same as Mr. Hodgson's, by way of the "Old Agency," on the Flint river, and the Creek Agency, on the Chatta-

* Basil Hall, vol. iii. pp. 277, 8. At Macon, our Traveller was fortunate enough to find out a coach-maker, an Englishman, who could repair the broken perch of his carriage.

hoochee. From the latter station, Captain Basil Hall made an excursion to a very curious place,—the site chosen and marked out by the State Government of Georgia, for the projected city of Columbus.

"The situation chosen for this purpose, was a spot on the left bank of the Chatahoochie, which is the boundary line between the States of Georgia and Alabama. The new city was to commence at the lower end of a long series of falls, or, more properly speaking, rapids, over which this great river dashes for some miles in a very picturesque manner. The perpendicular fall being about 200 feet, an immense power for turning mills is placed at the disposal of the inhabitants of the future city, within the limits of which the whole of this valuable portion of the river has been included. All the way down to the Gulf of Mexico, also, the navigation of the Chatahoochie is unimpeded, so that several steam-boats had already made their way up to the spot I am speaking of.

"By a law of the State of Georgia, it was arranged, that sixty days should elapse, after this portion of land reserved for the city was completely surveyed, before any of the building-lots could be sold. These lots were to consist of half an acre each, and the whole five miles square was to be distinctly marked out in streets, on paper; and being numbered and lettered accordingly, they were to be advertised for sale over the whole Union. These sixty days were considered sufficient to enable adventurers, settlers, land-speculators, merchants, and all others so disposed, to come to the spot preparatory to the auction.

"The project took little wildfire; and the advantage of the new city being loudly proclaimed over the land, people flocked from all quarters to see and judge of it for themselves. We arrived, fortunately, just in

the nick of time to see the curious phenomenon of an embryo town, a city as yet without a name, or any existence in law or fact, but crowded with inhabitants, ready to commence their municipal duties at the tap of an auctioneer's hammer.

"A gentleman, one of the assembled inhabitants, had been kind enough to accompany us from the Agency, to shew off the Lions of this singular place. The first thing to which he called our attention, was a long line cut through the coppice-wood of oaks. This, our guide begged us to observe, was to be the principal street; and the brushwood having been cut away, so as to leave a lane four feet wide, with small stakes driven in at intervals, we could walk along it easily enough. On reaching the middle point, our friend, looking round him, exclaimed, in raptures at the prospect of the future greatness of Columbus: 'Here you are in the centre of the city!' In a very short time, he assured us, it would be no longer a mere path, but a street sixty yards wide, and one league in length! By keeping a bright look-out as we proceeded, we could detect other similar cuts into the forest, branching off at right angles to this main avenue, as it was to be called. As yet, however, these cross streets were only indicated by a few stakes driven in by the surveyors.

"After threading our way for some time among the trees, we came in sight, here and there, of huts made partly of planks, partly of bark, and at last reached the principal cluster of houses, very few of which were above two or three weeks old. These buildings were of all sizes, from a six-feet box or cube, to a house with half-a-dozen windows in front. There were three hotels, the sign belonging to one of which, I could observe, was nailed to a tree still growing un-

touched, in the middle of the street. Another had glazed windows, but the panes of glass were fixed in their places, merely for the time, by a little piece of putty at each corner. Every thing indicated hurry. The direction and width alone of the future streets were adhered to, but no other description of regularity could be discovered. As none of the city lots were yet sold, of course no one was sure that the spot upon which he had pitched his house would eventually become his own. Every person, it seemed, was at liberty to build where he could find room, it being understood, that forty days after the sale would be allowed him, to remove his property from the ground on which it stood, should he not himself become its purchaser. In consequence of this understanding, many of the houses were built on trucks, (a sort of low, strong wheels, such as cannon are supported by,) for the avowed purpose of being hurled away when the land should be sold. At least sixty frames of houses were pointed out to me, lying in piles on the ground, and got up by the carpenters on speculation, ready to answer the call of future purchasers. At some parts of this strange scene, the forest, which hereabouts consists of a mixture of pines and oaks, was growing as densely as ever; and even in the most cleared streets, some trees were left standing, I do not well know why. As yet, there had been no time to remove the stumps of the felled trees, and many that had been felled, were left in their places; so that it was occasionally no easy matter to get along. Anvils were heard ringing away merrily at every corner; while saws, axes, and hammers were seen flashing among the woods all round. Stage-coaches, travelling waggons, carts, gigs, the whole family of wheeled vehicles, innumerable, were there. Grocery-stores

and bakeries were scattered about in great plenty; and over several doors was written, 'Attorney at Law.'

"One of the commissioners from the State of Georgia, who had the management of this extraordinary experiment in colonization, assured me, there were upwards of nine hundred inhabitants already collected together, though it was expected that four months must still elapse before the sale could take place, or the city have any legal existence! Many of these people, being without houses, or even sheds, were encamped in the forest. Some lived in waggons, and many persons strolled about, to pick up quarters and employment where they best could. As all sorts of artificers were in great demand, it was a fine harvest for carpenters and blacksmiths. I was told that, upon a moderate computation, there would probably be assembled, on the day of sale, between three and four thousand people, ready to inhabit the new city. I can well believe this, for, during the short period we were there, many new comers dropped in, from different directions, out of the forest, like birds of prey, attracted by the scent of some glorious quarry.

"It must have been a curious sight, after the auction, to witness the scatter which took place, when the parties came to claim each his own property,—to demolish or remove the old, and raise the new dwellings; —to say nothing of the entangled machinery of police and other municipal arrangements,—the mayor and aldermen to get up,—the town taxes to levy,—the school, the jail, the court-house, the church, all to be erected. In other places, these things rise up by degrees; but here, they must have taken their date all at once, and all in a body!

"I could form no idea, from what I saw or heard

on the spot, how this strangely concocted town would get on; nor have I ever since been able to learn one syllable respecting its progress."*

From the Creek Agency, Captain B. Hall proceeded to Montgomery, one of the principal towns in Alabama, situated on the left bank of the great river which gives its name to the State. It is distant from Mobile, in a direct line, not more than 150 miles N. E.; but the distance by water is increased by the windings of the stream, to between three and four hundred miles. The river runs through an alluvial country, in a deep trench, with perpendicular banks rising to the height of from 60 to 80 feet. Captain B. Hall here embarked for the Gulf of Mexico, in a steam-boat, which descended the stream at the rate of fifteen miles an hour. The river having subsided from the recent floods, the water was gushing out from millions of springs, and pouring in curious cascades into the main stream. During a recent "high fresh," the river, he was told, had risen 64 perpendicular feet.

On the voyage to Mobile, the steamer touched at about twenty different places, to take in bales of cotton. Every flaw of wind from the shore, wafted the smell of that useful plant; at every dock or wharf were seen huge pyramids of bales; the decks were soon choked up with the article; and day and night, the almost unvarying topic with the captain, pilot, crew, and passengers, was cotton, cotton. Among the towns on the banks of the Alabama, Cahawba, at the mouth of the river of that name, was *lately* the seat of government. Below this, is a place called Canton. Clairborne (fort and village) stands at the head of

* B. Hall, vol. iii. pp. 281—287.

schooner navigation, sixty miles above the mouth of the Tombekbee.* On the fourth day, they reached Mobile; whence, after a detention of six days, the steamer transported our Traveller to New Orleans. Instead of going round by the mouth of the Mississippi, "we coasted along," says Captain B. Hall, "past numerous small, sandy islands, over shallow banks of mud, and through several immense basins, (such as Lake Borgne and Lake Pontchartrain,) half fresh, half salt, and filled with bars, spits, keys, and all the family of shoals, so tormenting to the navigator, but which he is sure to meet with abreast of such mighty streams as the Ganges or the Mississippi, whose Deltas are silently pushing themselves into the sea, and raising the bottom to the surface. We landed at a place called the Piquets, on the northern side of the narrow strip of alluvial country which separates the Mississippi from Lake Pontchartrain; about six or seven miles from New Orleans. This short distance, we passed over on a road skirting a sluggish creek or *bayou*, (the name given to a sort of natural canal joining the lakes and rivers all over the Delta,) and running in the midst of a swamp, overgrown with cypress and other thirsty trees, rising out of a thick, rank underwood."

For a description of the city itself, we shall avail ourselves of the distinct and lively account furnished by the Author of the very entertaining little volume, entitled "The Americans as they are."†

* This is the western branch of the Mobile river, as the Alabama is called below this junction.

† An injudicious title, as the volume describes only a Tour through the Valley of the Mississippi. The volume is commended

NEW ORLEANS.

"NEW Orleans, the *wet grave*,* where the hopes of thousands are buried,—for eighty years the wretched asylum for the outcasts of France and Spain, who could not venture a hundred paces beyond its gates, without utterly sinking to the breast in mud, or being attacked by alligators,—has become, in the space of twenty-three years, one of the most beautiful cities of the Union, inhabited by 40,000 persons, who trade with half the world. The view" (approaching the city from the interior) "is splendid beyond description, when you pass down the stream, which is here a mile broad, rolling its immense volume of waters in a bed about 200 feet deep,† and, as if conscious of its strength, appearing to look quietly on the bustle of the habitations of man. Both its banks are lined with charming sugar-plantations, from the midst of which rises the airy mansion of the wealthy planter, surrounded with orange, banana, lime, and fig trees, the growth of a climate approaching to the torrid zone. In the rear, you discover the cabins of the negroes and the sugar-houses, and just at the entrance of the port, groupes of smaller houses, as if erected for the purpose of concealing the prospect of the town. As soon as the steam-boats pass these

by the North American Reviewers, as containing the best view that had appeared, of "the western people," and of the States of Louisiana and Mississippi.

* "Water is found two feet below the surface. Those who cannot afford to procure a vault for their dead, are literally compelled to deposit them in the water."

† This is a mistake. At New Orleans, its greatest depth at high water, is 168 feet. Higher up, it is only 130 feet, and at some places, not 50 feet in depth.

outposts, New Orleans, in the form of a half-moon, appears in all its splendour. The river, having run for four or five miles in a southern direction, here suddenly takes an eastern course, which it pursues for two miles, thus forming a semi-circular bend. A single glance exhibits to view the harbour, the vessels at anchor, and the city, situated as it were at the feet of the passenger. The first object that presents itself, is the dirty and uncouth backwoods flat boat. Hams, ears of corn, apples, whisky-barrels, are strewed upon it, or are fixed to poles, to direct the attention of the buyers. Close by, are the rather more decent keel-boats, with cotton, furs, whisky, flour. Next, the elegant steam-boat, which, by its hissing and repeated sounds, announces either its arrival or departure; sending forth immense columns of black smoke, that form into long clouds above the city. Further on are the smaller merchant vessels, the sloops and schooners from the Havannah, Vera Cruz, Tampico; then the brigs; and lastly, the elegant ships appearing like a forest of masts.*

* "What struck me most," says Captain B. Hall, speaking of the first view of the Mississippi at New Orleans, "was the surface being six or seven feet higher than the level of the streets, and of all the adjacent country. The swollen river looked so like a bowl filled up to the brim, that it seemed as if the smallest shake, or the least addition, would send it over the edge, and thus submerge the city." In fact, a few years ago, he was told, owing to a *crevasse* in the *Levée* just above the city, the greater part was laid under water to the depth of several feet for some months. The width of the river at New Orleans, at low water, Captain B. Hall says, is 746 yards; at high water, 852½ yards; still less than half a mile. From careful triangular measurements, Mr. Darby has ascertained, that the medial width of the river, below its confluence with the Missouri, is short of 880 yards, or half a mile. These measurements differ widely from those given, on received authority, at page 52, of our first volume; but they appear to rest on more accurate observation.

"The city of New Orleans occupies an oblong area, extending 3960 feet along the eastern bank of the Mississippi, embracing six squares, 319 feet in length, and of equal breadth. Above and below this parallelogram are the suburbs. The seven streets which run parallel with the river, are intersected at right angles by twelve running from the banks of the Mississippi. The city, with the exception of the Levée and Rampart-street, is paved; an improvement which occasions great expense to the corporation, as the stones are imported: flags, however, are not wanting, even in the most distant suburbs. The ground on which New Orleans is built, is a plain descending about seven feet from the banks of the river, towards the swamps. It is secured by the Levée, which would afford very little resistance four hundred miles higher up; but here, where numerous bayous and natural channels have carried off part of the waters to the Gulf of Mexico, it answers every purpose. About the city, the breadth of this plain is half a mile, and above it, three quarters of a mile, terminating, in the back ground, in impenetrable swamps. The city and suburbs are lighted with reflecting lamps, suspended in the middle of the streets. Between the pavement and the road, gutters are made for the purpose of carrying off the filth into the swamps, of refreshing the air with the waters of the Mississippi, with which these gutters communicate, and of allaying the dust during the hot season.

"There are now about six thousand buildings, large and small, in New Orleans. In the three principal streets, and the greater part of the upper suburb, the houses are throughout of brick: some are plastered over, to preserve them from the influence of the

sultry climate. Though building materials of every kind are imported, and consequently very dear, yet, the houses are rapidly changing from the uncouth Spanish style to more elegant forms. The new houses are mostly three stories high, with balconies, and a summer-room with blinds. In the lower suburbs, frame-houses, with Spanish roofs, are still prevalent. Two-thirds of the private buildings may at present be said to rival those of northern cities, of an equal population. The public edifices, however, are far inferior to those of the former, both in style and execution. The most prominent is the cathedral, in the middle of the town, separated from the bank of the Mississippi, by the parade-ground. It is of Spanish architecture, with a façade of seventy feet, and a depth of a hundred and twenty; having on each side a steeple, and a small cupola in the centre, which gives an air of dignity to a heavy and ill-proportioned structure. All illusion, however, is dispelled on entering the church. The Catholics had the strange notion of painting the interior, taking for this purpose the most glaring colours that can be found,—green and purple. The church is painted over in fresco with these colours. The interior is not overloaded with decorations, as Catholic churches generally are. The high altar and two side ones, are, with an organ, its only ornaments. Two tombs contain the remains of Baron Carondolet and M. Marigny.

"On one side of the cathedral is the city-hall, (erected in 1795,) presenting a façade of 108 feet; and on the other, the Presbytire, 114 feet in front, built in 1813. This is the seat of the Supreme District Court, and of the Criminal Court of New Orleans. These two edifices, and the cathedral be-

tween them, form together a dignified whole. The government-house, at the corner of Toulouse-street and Levée-street, is an old and decaying edifice, where the Legislature of the State holds its meetings. In point of situation (among grog-shops), and of style, it may be considered as the poorest State-house in the Union.

"The Protestants have three churches. The Episcopalian is an octagon edifice, with a cupola in bad taste. The Presbyterian church, in the suburb of St. Mary, is a simple, but chaste building. The congregation being unwilling to defray the cost of its erection, (55,000 dollars,) it was sold by the Sheriff, and is now the property of Mr. Levy, an Israelite, who lets it out to the congregation for 1500 dollars a year. The Methodist church is a frame-building, erected in 1826.*

"There are now four banks in New Orleans, and five insurance-offices. There are also no fewer than six masonic lodges, and two theatres, a French and an American one. Close to the latter are the ball-rooms, where are given the only masked balls in the United States.† A reading-room and circulating

* "There is not a place in the Union," remarks the Writer, "in which religion is so little attended to as New Orleans. For a population of 40,000, it has only four churches." The Roman Catholics have, however, a chapel attached to the Nunnery, now the residence of their bishop, which makes a fifth.

† The American theatre is open five months, and the French eight months of the year. The former is at present resorted to only by the lower classes,—"boatmen, Kentuckians, Mississippi traders, and back-woodsmen." The pieces are execrably performed. The curtain consists of two sail-cloths; and the horrible smell of whisky and tobacco is sufficient to deter better company from attending. Towards the close of December, the carnival commences;—balls, masquerades, and routs are then the order of the

library, you would seek in vain in New Orleans..... A steam saw-mill in the upper suburb, with a few iron-foundries, are the only manufactories, every thing being imported from the north.....No fewer than 1500 keel and flat boats, besides nearly a hundred steam-vessels, are employed in the trade with this city. The number of vessels that clear out annually, is upwards of 1000. The wealth accruing to the city from this commerce, is out of proportion to the number of inhabitants. There are many families who, in the course of a few years, have accumulated a property yielding an income of 50,000 dollars; and 25,000 is the usual income of respectable planters. No other place offers such chances for making a fortune in so easy a way. This accounts for the eagerness with which thousands repair to New Orleans, in spite of the yellow fever, which makes room again for thousands in rapid succession.

"When the United States took possession of New Orleans (in 1803), the city contained 1000 houses and 8000 inhabitants. In the year 1820, the population amounted to 27,000; in 1821, to 29,000; in 1822, to 32,000; and in 1826, to nearly 40,000; *viz.*

	Males.	*Females.*	*Total.*
Whites	14,500	7,500	22,000
Free Coloured ..	3,690	800	4,490
Slaves	5,500	6,300	11,800
Foreigners			1,300
			39,590*

day; but, according to this Writer, nothing can be more tiresome and dull than a masqued ball at New Orleans, or more insipid than the round of amusements.

* In Carey and Lea, the number of free coloured persons in 1820, is stated to have been 6237, and of slaves, 7355. If this be correct, the decrease of the former class requires explanation; but in the

"As New Orleans, notwithstanding its being 109 miles from the sea, is considered as a sea-port, consuls from every nation having commercial intercourse with it, reside there;—from England, Russia, Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, Hamburgh, the Netherlands, France, Spain, Portugal, Sardinia, and the South American Republics." *

The population of this city is, of course, of the most motley description, and of every complexion, from the most beautiful white and red, through all the shades of brown and yellow, to jet black. Americans from every State, from Maine to Georgia, form about three-eighths of the population of the city and State; and among them are some of the wealthiest families in Louisiana. The French are still numerous. They include many very respectable merchants, lawyers, and physicians; but the greater part are adventurers, who fill up the humbler professions of dancing-master, musician, hair-dresser and the like. In point of religion and morals, they are characterized as "a most contemptible set." The watchmen and lamplighters are Germans,—the unhappy remnant of a numerous body of emigrants, who arrived from Europe about sixteen years ago, destitute of the smallest resources, and who, having lost more than half of their comrades during the passage, were sold as "white slaves, or, as they are called, redemptioners," the moment they landed. Hundreds of these people fell victims to the yellow fever between 1814 and 1822; and their degrading habits of inebriety tend rapidly to thin their numbers. The fishermen are chiefly Spaniards. The free coloured people consist

volume cited in the text, they are rated at only 2500 male and 400 female, at that time.

* Americans as they are, pp. 144—162.

partly of emancipated slaves, but chiefly of Mulattoes, the offspring of the dissolute French Creoles. The mayor of the city is a Creole, or white native. His police regulations are warmly eulogised. "New Orleans, which, twenty years ago, was the lurking hole of every assassin, is now, in point of security, not inferior to any other city."

Heterogeneous as the population is, in manners, language, and principles, they all agree in one point,—the pursuit of money. Americans, English, French, Germans, Spaniards, all come hither to make money, and to stay only as long as money is to be made. The Yankee commission-merchants, who reside here during the winter, retire to the north in the month of May. About half the inhabitants only, it is supposed, are regularly settled here.* The better American families, as soon as they have amassed a fortune answering to their expectations, prefer removing to the north. These circumstances will explain why New Orleans, one of the wealthiest cities in the Union, is so far behind every other in its public establishments. The only literary institution in the State was, till very lately, the college of New Orleans, which is to be revived on a larger scale. Free schools have also been established in the city within the past few years. The female Creoles are educated by the Nuns; there are also some private schools; but the Americans generally send their daughters for education to the north. New Orleans has eight newspapers, three of which are published in French and English, four in English only, and one in Spanish.

During six months of the year, according to this

* "In summer, every one retires to the north, or across the lake, only such persons remaining as are compelled from circumstances to do so."

Writer, Louisiana affords a delightful residence. In June, the heats become oppressive; not a breath of air is to be felt; the musquitoes appear in millions; and nothing can be more disagreeable than their buzzing sound and their painful sting,—except that of the millepedes, which is still more painful. In July, the heat increases. August, September, and October are dangerous months in New Orleans. "A deep silence reigns during this season in the city; most of the stores are shut up; no one is to be seen in the streets during the day, except negroes and people of colour; no carriage, except the funeral hearse. At the approach of evening, the inhabitants pour forth to enjoy the air upon the *Levée*." The yellow-fever, however, has not made its appearance for several years; and it is hoped, that when the pestilential swamps behind the city are drained, the city will become not less healthy than other places in the same latitude.* In winter, the climate is extremely variable. In 1823, a severe frost killed nearly all the orange-trees. Some winters, the thermometer has fallen to 16° or 15°, and the streets have been repeatedly covered with snow, while the ponds and lagoons have been frozen. Other winters have been as remarkable for their warmth; and no mean estimate can give a correct idea of the uncertain and varying temperature.

Captain Basil Hall descended the Mississippi to the

* "The years 1811, 1814, and 1823 were the most terrible for New Orleans. From 60 to 80 persons were buried every day; whole streets in the upper suburb, inhabited chiefly by Americans and Germans, were cleared of their inhabitants; and New Orleans was literally one vast cemetery." Yet, it is stated, that the temperature of the air seldom exceeds 100°, while it has risen much higher at Boston and New York; but the oppressive exhalations from the adjacent swamps and marshes, load the air, so that it is difficult to draw a breath.

Balize,* the principal station of the pilots at the mouth of the river. From this wretched place, planted in the midst of a boundless swamp, no firm land is in sight, nor is there any within 50 or 60 miles of it. There are about twenty buildings there, six of them dwelling-houses, between which the intercourse is carried on exclusively by means of rude log causeys or bridges laid over the slime and water. It is impossible to walk ten yards in any direction without sinking up to the neck in a mud-hole or quicksand; so that, for all the purposes of locomotion, the inhabitants might as well be at sea. In the middle of this half-drowned village, there stands "a rickety look-out house," from the top of which an extensive view is commanded, indescribably dreary, yet not without interest. "We could discover," says this Traveller, "several of the passes (or outlets),† and great numbers of *bayous* or natural canals, creeping among the marshes slowly to the sea, which occupied about one third of the horizon in the south. On the east and west, the marshes extended as far as the eye could reach, bristling with roots, trunks, and branches of trees. In the spring, when the freshes or floods come down, they bring along with them millions of trunks of trees, technically called logs (owing to the falling in of the banks of the river). In February and the beginning of March, the quantity of these logs is so great, that

* From the Spanish *Valiza*, a beacon.

† "There are four principal outlets, or passes, as they are called, to the Mississippi, at the end of the long, straggling, tongue-shaped promontory into which the new land forms itself at that place. It would be a better simile, to compare this part of the Delta to an arm, of which the hand at the end, with the fingers opened as wide as possible, might represent the different outlets. At present, the S W. pass is the favourite, from being the deepest. It generally carries 15 feet water upon the bar."

not only the river itself, but the sea, for several miles off, is completely coated over with them, and it requires some skill in the pilot to get through. The whole ground (if the *loose*, muddy soil can be so called) appeared to be formed of layers of these logs, matted together into a net-work, or rather a gigantic raft of rough timbers, many yards, and perhaps fathoms, in depth, over hundreds of square leagues. These enormous rafts, which settle on the mud as the waters subside, are cemented together by fresh deposites. In a short time, a rank sort of cane or reed springs up, which helps to keep them together. This is called a cane-brake; a wild, *hopeless-looking*, impassable marsh. These reeds, by retarding the flow of the river, collect the mud of the next season, and, by the process of their own decay, lend their share to form the alluvial soil of the Delta. Fresh logs, and fresh mud, and new crops of cane, go on forming for a certain course of years. At length, a stunted shrub takes root, and grows up in these slushy territories, the empire of the alligators, who delight to flounder about in the creeks or *bayous* which cut across the Delta in every direction. When these trees grow up, they collect more soil about them, and land somewhat firmer is concocted, as we advance to the region of swamps from that of marshes. The intruder, man, now begins his operations, by banking out the stream, and taking the further management of the soil into his own hands. The fertility of such spots exceeds that of any other part of the world. Of course, all the sea-shores or skirts of the Delta are uninhabited, and must for a long time continue in the state of useless marshes, till fresh deposites raise the level a few feet more. The lowest sugar-plantation on the Mississippi that I saw, was 40 miles below New Orleans,

or about 60 miles from the sea. And I should imagine, that a belt of uninhabitable marsh from 50 to 100 miles in width, fringes the edge of the whole of that part of the coast." *

In his subsequent voyage up the Mississippi, when between 50 and 60 miles above New Orleans, this Traveller had the satisfaction of witnessing one of those formidable breaches in the *Levée* or embankment, which are called crevasses.† "The river was tumbling through the opening, with a head or fall of four or five feet, in a tumultuous manner, resembling one of the St. Lawrence rapids. This boiling, or rather surf-like appearance—for it rose and fell in snow-white ridges or short waves—did not spread itself far to the right or left, (which at first surprised me,) but gushed nearly at right angles to the parent river, straight-forward, across the cultivated fields, into the forest growing in the boundless morass lying beyond the cleared strip of land. There was something peculiarly striking in this casual stream,—a mere drop from the great Mississippi, which in many other countries might almost have claimed the name of a river,—leaping, and writhing, and foaming along, with a sound exactly like that of breakers on a reef, through the middle of a village, among trees, over the tops of sugar-plantations, and at last losing itself in a great cypress swamp.

"The Levée or embankment was completely carried away at this place for a distance of 100, or, perhaps, 150 yards. I could not help being surprised,

* Basil Hall, vol. iii. p. 337—340.

† Many crevasses are believed to have been caused by the holes of water-rats; for the soil is so loose, that if the water once gets vent, so as to dribble through the smallest pipe, it is impossible to say of what magnitude the opening may become before morning.

indeed, that any portion of these frail barriers ever stood at all, for they seemed generally not more than two or three feet wide at top, and ten or twelve at the base; and altogether so slender in appearance, that I expected every minute to see fresh crevasses formed. During the greater part of that day, the surface of the water along which we were moving, could not be less than six or eight feet above the level of the ground on both sides. The district of country which lies adjacent to the Mississippi, in the lower parts of Louisiana, is every where thickly peopled by sugar-planters, whose showy houses, gay piazzas, *trig* gardens, and numerous slave-villages, all clean and neat, gave an exceedingly thriving air to the river scenery." *

Leaving this Traveller to pursue his voyage to Louisville on the Ohio, we must now land with Mr. Hodgson at Natchez, 320 miles above New Orleans,† which the steam-boats accomplish within four days.

FROM NATCHEZ, THROUGH THE INDIAN TERRITORY, TO RICHMOND.

NATCHEZ, though not the seat of Government, is the largest town and principal emporium of the State of Mississippi. It is built chiefly on a bluff 250 feet above the water, in the midst of a rich and well-cultivated tract of country. Low Natchez is the name given to a suburb on the bank of the river,—"a perfect Wapping," (to say the best of it,) crowded with Kentucky boats, and a heterogeneous rabble of backwoodsmen. Natchez itself is as regularly built as the broken ground would admit; and some of the dwelling-houses, surrounded with piazzas, exhibit throughout the appearance of wealth. They are, however, chiefly of wood. The public buildings are, a court-

* Basil Hall, vol. iii. pp. 351, 2. † It is only 156 miles by land.

house, three churches, two banks, an academy, and a library and reading-room, which are well supported. There are three newspaper-offices, from one of which issues a literary journal. The houses amounted, in 1826, to about 600, and the inhabitants to 3,540; they are chiefly merchants, lawyers, and physicians of Anglo-American extraction, with ten or twelve German families. This town had been considered as a healthier spot than New Orleans until within a few years; but it has lately been repeatedly visited by the yellow fever, while New Orleans has escaped.* The surrounding country is an extensive plain, 200 feet above the level of the Mississippi, stretching 130 miles from N. to S., and about 40 miles to the eastward. Although a very fertile tract, it is inferior to the Mississippi bottom lands.

From Natchez, Mr. Hodgson started afresh on horseback, for Virginia, (a journey of some 1200 miles,) and on the second day, entered the territory of the Choctaw nation. His route now lay along what is called the Natchez or Kentucky Trace; the road by which the Kentuckians and Tennessians return home from Natchez through the wilderness, when they have broken up the arks in which they conveyed the produce of the western country down the Mississippi. A few solitary houses or Indian cabins, at distant intervals, where coffee and Indian corn may perchance be obtained, are the only habitations to be met with on this track; but our Traveller made no difficulty of camping out. In one place where he halted, he witnessed the ceremony of wailing for the dead, as practised by the Choctaws.

* Americans as they are, pp. 121—125. The yellow fever and the country fever appear to be confounded by this Writer, in common with many others.

"As soon as it appeared to be twelve o'clock by the sun, three of the Indian women covered themselves with blankets, and approached a little spot in the garden, enclosed by six upright poles, on the highest of which were suspended several chaplets of vine-leaves and tendrils; here, they either sat or kneeled (the blankets preventing our seeing which) for about twenty minutes, uttering a low, monotonous wailing. This mournful ceremony they repeat, at sunrise, noon, and sunset, for ninety days, or three moons, as the Egyptians mourned for Jacob threescore and ten days. I have since been informed, by a very intelligent Indian, that the period of mourning is sometimes extended to four or five moons, if the individual be deeply regretted or of eminent rank; and that it is occasionally determined by the time occupied in killing the deer and other animals necessary for the great feast which is often given at the pulling up of the poles.

"At the celebrated ceremony of the 'pole-pulling,' the family connexions assemble from a great distance; and, when they are particular in observing the ancient customs, they spend two or three days and nights in solemn preparation and previous rites. They then all endeavour to take hold of some part of the poles, which they pluck up and throw behind them without looking, moving backward towards the east. They then feast together, and disperse to their several homes. It was impossible to hear this simple recital without thinking of the account in Genesis l. 1—14.

"Till within ten or fifteen years, the Choctaws generally killed the favourite horses or dogs of the deceased, and buried them, with his gun and hatchet, in his grave. They still sometimes bury the gun; but it is too frequently stolen; and they now satisfy

themselves with believing that the spirits of the horses and dogs will rejoin that of their master at their death. The settlement of White people among them, and occasional intermarriages, have undermined many of their customs." *

A party of about two hundred Indians were afterwards fallen in with, assembled for the celebration of a great ball-play. "The men were elegantly dressed in cotton dresses of white, red, or blue, with belts handsomely embroidered, and mocassins of brown deer-skins. Several of them had circular plates of silver, or silver crescents hanging from their necks, while others had similar ornaments round their arms, and others, silver pendents attached to the cartilage of the nose. Some of them had cotton turbans, with white feathers in front, and others, black plumes nodding behind. The women, too, were in their gala dress; but, while that of the men was so original and picturesque, that of the women differed little from the Sunday clothes of our female peasants. Gowns of printed calico formed the common dress; and some had, in addition, a loose red cloak, which they folded round them with an elegant negligence. Their long, black hair, tied up behind, shone as brightly as if it had had the advantage of the highly vaunted Macassar oil. They were overloaded with necklaces and silver ornaments; and, with the exception of some young women, who were very handsome, they were coarse and ill-formed, exhibiting little of the symmetry of the compact, muscular figures of the men."

The grand ball-play which this Traveller witnessed, appears to have been of identically the same character, as well as the preparatory ceremonies, with that of

* Hodgson, vol. i. pp. 215—217.

which Captain Basil Hall was a spectator in the Creek territory, and the description of which we have reserved for this place.

"It appears," says the latter Traveller, "that the inhabitants of one Indian village always play against those of another; and as these games are not mere matters of sport, but the chief object of their lives, a great deal of ceremony and many previous arrangements are necessary.

"The moon rose when we were about half way to the scene where the Indians were assembled. The night was bright and frosty, and so perfectly still, that we could hear the shrill cries of the savages, and the thumpings of their barbarous music, at the distance of more than a mile. The pine-barren, seen by moonlight, had a very striking appearance; and so had one of the Indian villages through which we passed. It consisted of about twenty log-huts, each of them guarded by a brace of dogs, which, in the absence of their masters, assembled in a circle round our horses, and made us glad enough to pass on.

"We found the Indians in a square court, about twenty yards across, formed by four covered sheds, in which were seated several of the chiefs, and more than a hundred of the other natives. In each of these sheds, there was erected a raised shelf or floor, about a foot and a half from the ground, sloping towards the court, and covered by a smooth, hard mat, made of split canes sewed together. On this, the principal Indians were seated in state, cross-legged, or stretched, with equal dignity, at their full length.

"In the middle of the court blazed an immense fire of pitch-pine wood, the light from which, added to that of the moon, which was now well up, made every thing quite distinct. Round the fire sat, or rather

squatted, about a dozen elderly Indians, none of them much encumbered with clothing,—smoking pipes, which they handed from one to the other, laughing and shouting with great animation, and turning back from time to time to speak to another circle of younger men, who were standing near enough to warm themselves, or even to reach over the heads of the seniors, to catch up a piece of burning timber to light their pipes with.

"On one side of the illuminated square, in the front part of the shed, sat two musicians, one of whom was hammering away with his fingers on a drum, formed of a piece of deer-skin, stretched over the hollowed trunk of a tree, while the other kept time with a large gourd, containing a handful of gravel. In the square itself, and fronting the shed, which contained this primitive orchestra, twenty squaws, or female Indians, were ranged in a semicircle, with their backs to the rest of the company; such being, I suppose, the fashionable etiquette amongst the Creeks. As these ladies never once turned round their faces, I am saved the delicate task of describing their looks. Their dance, however, if the very slight movements of their feet and bodies could be so called, was merely a sort of wriggle of the body; but, as the whole party kept excellent time in these movements, it had a most ludicrous appearance. At every fourth or fifth bar, they all struck in with a short, faint, sharp cry, of a particularly wild, and I thought, somewhat mournful sound. These damsels wore no head-dress, but allowed their black, oily hair to hang down upon their necks and shoulders, over which was thrown, most decorously, a gaudy cotton shawl,—weaved, for aught I know, in Manchester or Paisley.

"I was sitting beside the principal chief, and think-

ing the scene rather dull, which he perhaps suspected, when he uttered a few words of command. In a moment, about thirty young Indians flew to the side of the court, where each of them snatched up a couple of the sticks or bats used in the ball-play afterwards to be described. After marshalling themselves for a minute or two, they rushed forward again like so many demons, till they formed a circle round the fire, yelling, screaming, and shouting all the time, in the most horrible way, tumbling heels over head, performing various antics, and waving their sticks, as if they had been frantic. I have no idea of any thing being more completely savage, nor shall I soon forget the way in which their shrieks pierced through and through my head.

"After this exhibition was over, torches were ordered, and I was invited by another of the chiefs to adjourn to a neighbouring building, an immense hut of a flat, sugar-loaf shape, rising in the centre to the height of at least 30 feet, and measuring about 60, or perhaps 80 feet across the floor. It had no wall, as the roof, which was thatched, reached to the ground. A circular seat, skirting the inside, 10 feet broad, touched the roof all the way round. In the middle of the sandy floor, a fire was burning, round which were assembled some of the most athletic young men of the village, who had been previously selected by the elders as performers in the next day's sport.

"These youths were not long in stripping off all their clothes, except a slight wrapper round the middle. I could see at once, that something remarkable was about to take place, but what it was, I could not conjecture. Their first operation was to tie cords tightly round one another's arms and thighs, so as effectually to check the course of the blood in the

veins. As soon as this was done, they splashed themselves over with water from head to foot, and then very deliberately allowed their limbs to be scratched, or rather scarified, by some old Indians, who attended for that purpose with instruments, the name of which I forget. Some of these were made of common needles stuck in a piece of wood, but those most in fashion were formed out of the teeth of the fish called Gar. I purchased one of them, which is now in my possession; it consists of two rows, one of fifteen, the other of fourteen sharp teeth, tied firmly, by means of a grass fibre, to the core of the maize, or to what is called in America a corn-cob.

"Each of the young Indians who were to be operated upon, placed himself in a sloping position against one of the wooden pillars which supported the roof, clasping it with his hands. The experienced performers then drew the instrument I have just described, apparently as hard as he could press it, along the arms and legs of these resolute fellows, over a space of about nine inches in length, so that each of the teeth cut into the skin, or, at all events, made a very decided mark or furrow along the surface. The sharp sound of these scrapings, was very disagreeable the ear.

"Five separate scratchings were made on each man's leg below the knee, five on each thigh, and five on each arm; in all, thirty sets of cuts. As the instrument contained about thirty teeth, each Indian must in every case have had several hundred lines drawn on his skin. The blood flowed profusely as long as the bandages were kept tight. This, indeed, seemed to be one of their principal objects, as the Indians endeavoured to assist the bleeding by throwing their arms and legs about, holding them over, and

sometimes placing them almost in the fire, for a second or two. It was altogether a hideous and frightful scene. For my own part, I scarcely knew how to feel, when I found myself among some dozens of naked savages, streaming with blood from top to toe, skipping and yelling round a fire, or talking at the top of their voices in a language of which I knew nothing, or laughing as merrily as if it were the best fun in the world to be cut to pieces. Not one of these lads uttered the slightest complaint during the operation; but when I watched their countenances closely, I observed that only two or three bore the discipline without shrinking or twisting their faces a little.

"I was told, that these scarifications and bleedings render the men more limber and active, and bring them into proper condition to undergo the exertion of the ball-play on the following morning. I do not know how this may be with my friends the Creeks; but I suspect, half a dozen of the cuts, of which each of these young fellows received some hundreds, would have laid me up for a week.

"Next day, at nine o'clock, on the 3d of April, we set out for the scene of this famous Indian game; and after wandering about for some time, we found the spot in the bosom of the forest, at the distance of a mile or two from the road. It consisted of an open space about 200 yards in length by 20 yards wide, from which the trees had been cleared away, though the grass was left untouched, nor was the surface even levelled. At each end of this area, two green boughs were thrust into the ground, six feet apart from each other, as a sort of wicket. The object of the game, it afterwards appeared, was to drive the ball between these boughs; and which ever party succeeded in accomplishing this, counted one.

"As the natives had reported that the play would begin at ten o'clock, we hurried to the ground; but when we got there, we could discover no symptoms of business; not a soul was to be seen, and we had the whole forest to ourselves. In process of time, a few straggling Indians joined us; but it was fully three hours after the time specified, before the contending parties made their appearance. I have regretted ever since, that I did not employ this interval in sketching some of these most elegant groupes with the Camera Lucida, but, until it was all over, this never once occurred to me; and thus I let slip the only opportunity which the whole journey—I may say my whole life—presented of drawing these interesting savages in a leisurely way.

"By one o'clock, the surrounding space was thickly speckled over with Creek women, accompanied by numerous squads of copper-coloured little Creekies; but still, the real parties in the contest were nowhere to be seen.

"From time to time, indeed, we had sufficient indications of their being somewhere in the neighbourhood, from the loud shrieks or yells raised by a great number of voices in chorus, which issued from the forest, sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other; but not a soul was yet visible. The Agent and I, being tempted to walk, upon one occasion, in the direction of these cries, came to an opening where some forty or fifty naked savages were lying flat on the grass, seemingly in a state of listlessness or fatigue from the preceding night's dissipation. On moving a little further on, we came to various parties at their toilet. Some of these dandies of the woods were busily employed in painting one eye black, the other yellow. Several youths, more wealthy than the

rest, I suppose, were thrusting long black feathers into their turbans, or cloths which they had wound round their heads, much in the style of Orientals. Others were fitting their naked bodies with tails, to resemble tigers and lions, having already daubed and streaked themselves over from head to foot with a variety of colours, intended to set off the coppery tinge of their own red skins; anxious that art might co-operate as far as possible with nature, in making them look as much like wild beasts as possible.

"At last, a far louder cry than we had yet heard, burst from the woods in the opposite direction. Upon looking up, we saw the Indians of the other party advancing to the ball-play ground in a most tumultuous manner, shrieking, yelling, hallooing, brandishing their sticks, performing somersets, and exhibiting all conceivable antics. At this stage of the game, I was forcibly reminded of the pictures in Cook's Voyages, where multitudes of the South Sea Islanders are represented as rushing forward to attack the boats. This resemblance was heightened by the similarity of the dress, or rather of the undress; for, with the exception of an occasional wrapper across the brow, and a small, square, dark-coloured cloth, about one quarter as big as a pocket handkerchief, tied by a slender cord round the middle, most of them were exactly as Dame Nature turned them out of hand.

"There were fifty of the inhabitants of one village, pitted against fifty of another; and the players being selected from the strongest, nimblest, and most spirited of the whole tribe, the party offered some of the finest specimens of the human form I ever beheld. While waiting for the appointed time of action, the natives stretched themselves on the grass, or stood with their arms folded, or leaned against the trees; but all of

them unconsciously fell into attitudes of such perfect ease and gracefulness, as would have enchanted the heart of a painter.

"Heretofore I had hardly ever seen Indians, except lounging about on the road-sides, wrapped in dirty blankets, begging for tobacco, or stealing, like strange dogs, timorously, and more than half tipsy, through the streets. At all events, I had so little idea that the race was possessed either of activity or of any beauty of form, that, had I been asked, the day before this ball-play, what I thought of the Indians in these respects, I might have answered, that they are all bow-legged, slouchy, ungraceful, and inactive. Whereas, in point of fact, the very reverse of all this is true.

"The first party, on rushing out of the woods in the manner I have described, danced, in the same noisy and tumultuous fashion, round the two green boughs at their end of the ground. After this first explosion, they advanced more leisurely to the middle of the cleared space, where they squatted down in a thick cluster, till their antagonists made their appearance. The same ceremonies were observed by the second party, after which they settled down likewise on the grass in a body. The two groupes remained eyeing one another for a long time, occasionally uttering yells of defiance.

"At a signal from one of the chiefs, the two parties suddenly sprang to their feet, and stood brandishing their sticks over their heads. Every player held one of these implements in each hand. They were formed of light, tough wood, I think willow, about two feet long, and as thick as my thumb. At the end furthest from the hand, the sticks were split and formed into an oval, three inches long by two wide, across which opening, or loop, were stretched

two thongs made of hide. By means of these bats, the ball was struck to a great distance whenever any of the players succeeded in hitting it fairly. This, however, was not very often the case, for reasons which will be stated immediately. Generally speaking, the ball was grasped or held between the ends of the two sticks, and carried along over the head by the fortunate player who had got hold of it. The ball was pretty much like that used in tennis-courts, only not so hard, being formed out of raw hide stuffed with deer's hair.

"After the parties had stood for some minutes in silence, in two rows facing one another, they stepped forward till they came within the distance of a few feet. Upon some word of command being given by one of the chiefs, every one laid down his sticks before him on the ground. A deputation of the chiefs highest in rank now proceeded to examine and count the parties, in order to make sure of there being an equal number on both sides. All these ceremonies, and various others which I forget, being ended, an old man stood forward and made a speech, or talk, as it is called; which, being interpreted to us, appeared to be formed of injunctions to the combatants to observe fair play, and to do honour to their country upon this important occasion. As soon as he ceased, the Indians scattered themselves over the ground, according to some rules not unlike those of cricket, by which the players might intercept the ball, and send it back again in the right direction. I observed that each of the goals, or wickets, formed by the two boughs at the ends, was guarded by a couple of the most expert players, whose duty it was to prevent the ball passing through the opening,—the especial object of their antagonists.

"These long-protracted ceremonials and preparations being over, one of the chiefs, having advanced to the centre of the area, cast the ball high in the air. As it fell, between twenty and thirty of the players rushed forward, and, leaping several feet off the ground, tried to strike it. The multiplicity of blows, acting in different directions, had the effect of bringing the ball to the ground, where a fine scramble took place, and a glorious clatter of sticks, mingled with the cries of the savages. At length an Indian, more expert than the others, contrived to nip the ball between the ends of his two sticks, and, having managed to fork it out, ran off with it like a deer, with his arms raised over his head, pursued by the whole party engaged in the first struggle. The fortunate youth was, of course, intercepted in his progress twenty different times by his antagonists, who shot like hawks across his flight from all parts of the field, to knock the prize out of his grasp, or to trip him up; in short, by any means to prevent his throwing it through the opening between the boughs at the end of the play-ground. Whenever this grand purpose of the game was accomplished, the successful party announced their right to count one, by a fierce yell of triumph, which seemed to pierce the very depths of the wilderness. It was sometimes highly amusing to see the way in which the Indian who had got hold of the ball, contrived to elude his pursuers. It is not to be supposed he was allowed to proceed straight to the goal, or wicket, or even to get near it; but, on the contrary, he was obliged, in most cases, to make a circuit of many hundred yards among the trees, with thirty or forty swift-footed fellows stretching after or athwart him, with their fantastic tigers' tails streaming behind them; and he, in like manner,

at full speed, holding his sticks as high over his head as possible, sometimes ducking to avoid a blow, or leaping to escape a trip, sometimes doubling like a hare, and sometimes tumbling at full length, or breaking his shins on a fallen tree, but seldom losing hold of his treasure without a severe struggle. It really seemed as if the possessor of the ball upon these occasions had a dozen pair of eyes, and was gifted for the time with double speed; for, in general, he had not only to evade the attacks of those who were close to him, but to avoid being cut off, as it is called in nautical language, by the others further a-head. These parts of the game were exciting in the highest degree, and it almost made the spectators breathless to look at them.

"Sometimes the ball, when thrown up in the first instance by the chief, was reached and struck by one of the party before it fell to the ground. On these occasions, it was driven far among the pine-trees, quite out of sight to our eyes, but not to those of the Indians, who darted towards the spot, and drove it back again. In general, however, they contrived to catch the ball before it fell, and either to drive it back, or to grasp it and run along, as I have described, towards the end of the ground. Sometimes, they were too eager to make much noise; but, whenever a successful blow was made, the people on the winning side uttered a short yell, so harsh and wild, that it made my blood run cold every time I heard it, from being associated with tortures, human sacrifices, scalpings, and all the horrors of Indian warfare.

"The notation of the game was most primitive. Two of the oldest and most trustworthy of the chiefs were seated on one side, each with ten small sticks in his hand, one of which was thrust into the sand every

time the ball happened to be driven through the wicket. Twenty was game; but I observed these learned sages never counted higher than ten, so that when it became necessary to mark eleven, the whole ten sticks were pulled out, and one of them replaced.

"Sometimes the ball fell amongst the groupes of lookers on, the women and children of the different Indian villages. It did not signify a straw, however, who was in the way; all respect of persons, age, and sex was disregarded, in the furious rush of the players, whose whole faculties seemed concentrated in the game alone.

"The Agent had previously taught me the art of avoiding the mischief of these whirlwind rushes of the Indians; and it was fortunate for me that he did so. I was standing on one side of the ground, admiring a grand chase which was going on at some considerable distance, when one of the players, who was watching his opportunity, intercepted the fugitive, and struck the ball out of the other's grasp, though he was bounding along with it at a prodigious rate. The ball pitched within a yard or two of the spot where I was standing. In the next instant, a dozen or twenty Indians whizzed past me, as if they had been projected from cannons. I sprang to the nearest tree, as I had been instructed, and putting my hands and legs round, embraced it with all my might. A poor boy, however, close to me, had not time to imitate my example, and being overwhelmed by the multitude, was rolled over and over half a dozen times, in spite of his screams, which were lost in the clatter of sticks, and the yells and the shouts of the combatants, who by this time had become animated by the exercise, and were letting out the secret of their savage nature very fast. I felt rather awkward, I must confess, as they

rushed against me, and very nearly scraped me off; but I held fast, and escaped with a good daubing of resin from the pine-tree. In half a minute afterwards the contest was raging some hundreds of yards off."*

Sometimes, the parties stake on this game, their horses and every thing they have in the world. Sometimes, many are wounded, and some have been killed. All violence on these occasions, however, is forgiven; and it is the only case in which life is not required for life.

Among the Choctaws, the nearest relative of a fugitive murderer is liable to expiate the offence; to avoid which, his family and that of the deceased generally unite, if necessary, to prevail on him to kill himself. Mr. Hodgson was told, that it is common for an Indian who has killed another by accident or design, to remain with the body till he is found, lest his relations should suffer. Among the Creeks, however, of late years, if the slayer escapes, his crime is not visited on his relations, as among the Choctaws.

Mr. Hodgson, after pursuing for several days' journey the Kentucky Trace, struck off along a "blazed path" through the woods, to visit the Missionary Settlement among the Choctaws at Elliot, sixty miles distant, of which he gives a very pleasing description. "We had," he says, "a delightful ride along our Indian path, through a forest of fine oaks, which, within ten or twelve miles of the Yaloo Busha, was occasionally interspersed with small natural prairies, and assumed the appearance of an English park." The simple hospitality of the Missionaries presently

* B. Hall, vol. iii. pp. 290—305. The game is described by Mr. Hodgson as bearing a resemblance to cricket; but it corresponds more closely to a game well-known to school-boys under the name of *hocky*.

relieved their visiter from the awkwardness of intrusion. Soon after his arrival, he accompanied them to the school, just as a half-breed, who has taken great interest in it, was preparing to give the children *a talk*, previously to returning to his home, sixty miles distant. He first translated into Choctaw a letter addressed to the children by some benevolent persons in the north, who had sent with it a box of clothes, and then gave them a long address in Choctaw. On taking leave, he shook hands with Mr. Hodgson, saying, that "he was glad to hear that the white people in England were interested in the welfare of their red brethren; that the Choctaws were sensible of their want of instruction, and that their teachers were pleased to say that they were not incapable of it; that they were grateful for what had been done, and were aware that it was their duty to co-operate to the utmost of their ability with those who were exerting themselves on their behalf."

"As soon as school was over," continues Mr. Hodgson, "the boys repaired to their agricultural labours; their instructor working with them, and communicating information in the most affectionate manner. The girls proceeded to their sewing and domestic employments under the Missionary sisters. They were afterwards at liberty till the supper-bell rang, when we all sat down together to bread and milk, and various preparations of Indian corn; the Missionaries presiding at the different tables, and confining themselves, as is their custom, except in case of sickness, to precisely the same food as the scholars. After supper, a chapter in the Bible was read, with Scott's Practical Observations. This was followed by singing and prayer; and then all retired to their little rooms in their log-cabins.

"In the morning, at day-light, the boys were at

their agricultural, and the girls at their domestic employments. About seven o'clock, we assembled for reading, singing, and prayer, and soon afterwards, for breakfast. After an interval for play, the school opened with prayer and singing, a chapter in the Bible, and examination on the subject of the chapter of the preceding day. The children then proceeded to reading, writing, accounts, and English grammar, on a modification of the British system. The instructors say, that they never knew white children learn with so much facility; and the specimens of writing exhibited unequivocal proofs of rapid progress. Many spoke English very well.

" The immediate object of the Settlement of Elliot, (called by the Indians Yaloo Busha, from its proximity to a little river of that name, which falls into the Yazoo,) is the religious instruction of the Indians. The Missionaries are, however, aware, that this must necessarily be preceded or accompanied by their civilization; and that mere preaching to the adult Indians, though partially beneficial to the present generation, would not probably be attended with any general or permanent results. While, therefore, the religious interests of the children are the objects nearest to their hearts, they are anxious to put them in possession of those qualifications which may secure to them an important influence in the councils of their nation, and enable them gradually to induce their roaming brethren to abandon their erratic habits for the occupations of civilized life. The general feelings of the nation, at this moment, are most auspicious to their undertaking. For the reasons which I assigned, when speaking of the Creeks, the community at large is very solicitous for civilization. In this, they have

made some progress; many of them growing cotton, and spinning and weaving it into coarse clothing.

"Of the three districts or towns into which its 15,000 or 20,000 souls are divided, one has appropriated to the use of schools its annuity for seventeen years, of 2000 dollars per annum, received from the United States for ceded lands; another, its annuity of 1000 dollars per annum, with the prospect of 1000 more; and one has requested the United States, not only to forbid the introduction of ammunition into the nation, that the hunter may be compelled to work, but to send their annuity in implements of husbandry. At a recent general council of the chiefs, 1300 dollars in money, and upwards of eighty cows and calves, were subscribed for the use of schools; and the total contribution of the Choctaws to this object, exceeds 70,000 dollars.

"Here is noble encouragement for active benevolence! and the industry, judgement, and piety of the seven or eight brethren and sisters at Elliot, seem to qualify them, in a peculiar manner, for their responsible office. They have all distinct departments, the Reverend Mr. Kingsbury being the superintendent; another brother, the physician and steward; another, the instructor of the children; another, the manager of the farm. The females also have separate and definite duties. At present, they are overworked; and the Reverend Mr. Kingsbury greatly regretted that so much of his attention was necessarily engrossed by secular concerns. But, coming into a wilderness, in which the first tree was felled scarcely eighteen months since, it has required no small portion of labour and exertion to erect ten or eleven little log-buildings, to bring into cultivation 40 or 50 acres of

woodland, and to collect upwards of 200 head of cattle. A deep sense, however, of the importance of their object, and an unfaltering confidence in God's blessing on their exertions, have supported them under the difficulties of an infant settlement; and under the still severer trials of a final separation from the circle of their dearest friends, and a total renunciation of every worldly pursuit.

"They spoke very lightly of their privations, and of the trials which the world supposes to be their greatest; sensible, as they said, that these are often experienced, in at least as great a degree, by the soldier, the sailor, or even the merchant. Yet, in this country, these trials are by no means trifling. Lying out, for two or three months, in the woods, on their way hither, with their little babes; in tents, which cannot resist the rain, here falling in torrents, such as I never saw in England; within sound of the nightly howling of wolves, and occasionally visited by panthers, which have approached almost to the door; the ladies must be allowed to require some courage; while, during some seasons of the year, the gentlemen cannot travel twenty miles from home, (and they are sometimes obliged to go thirty or forty for provisions,) without swimming their horses over four or five creeks. Yet, as all these inconveniences are suffered by others with cheerfulness, from worldly motives, they would wish them to be suppressed in the Missionary reports, if they were not calculated to deter many from engaging as Missionaries, under the idea that it is an easy, retired life.

"Three young ladies were staying at the settlement, and assisting in its establishment, until the husbands of two of them should return from the Arkansaw, where they are exploring the country, to

fix on an eligible situation for a mission to those Cherokees who have been induced to sell their lands in Georgia to the Government of the United States, and to seek a subsistence in the wilder forests beyond the Mississippi." *

After parting with the Superintendent of this interesting mission† on the banks of the Yaloo Busha,

* Hodgson, vol. i. pp. 226—236. From the Missionary Register for 1829, we transcribe the following account of the present state of the Missions. "Choctaws, 21,000 in number, chiefly in the State of Mississippi. Mission begun in 1818. Stations at Elliot, Mayhew, and six other places: 3 missionaries and 23 other labourers, of whom 14 are married. Three of the Missionaries preach in the Choctaw language without an interpreter. The prospects of the Mission are thought to be more favourable now, than at any former period, especially in the north-east part of the nation. There are eight schools at the Mission stations. The average number of scholars is 149, of whom 120 read in the Bible, about 90 write, and 40 are attending to English composition, geography, and arithmetic. In all the schools, in addition to books in English, the pupils are taught to read Choctaw from books prepared by the Missionaries. Two of these schools are taught by native Indians; and there are besides, several small schools where Choctaw only is taught. The people, in many parts of the nation, cultivate much more land, and in a better manner than formerly. They are very desirous that some of their number should learn and practise the mechanical arts, and much is done to patronize all who do. They are also becoming increasingly anxious to obtain agricultural implements, household furniture, and apparel. Severe laws have been made against the introduction of whisky, and, in some parts of the nation, are rigorously enforced. Several chiefs and captains have been put out of office for misconduct in this respect."

† Mr. Kingsbury pointed out to our Traveller a plant growing in the woods, which, if swallowed immediately after the attack of a rattle-snake, proves an effectual antidote. "He said he never stirred from home without some of it in his pocket, and that in the State of Mississippi, it was commonly carried by all persons who traverse the forest." As the existence of any remedy for the bite of the rattle-snake has been questioned, it is important that the plant should be described, and its efficacy verified. The Author of "La Fayette en Amerique" describes the Indian specific as "*la pulpe bien mâchée d'une espèce de tubercule assez semblable à une petite pomme-de-terre.*"—Vol. i. p. 479.

Mr. Hodgson proceeded along an Indian path through the woods, till he reached, towards evening, the solitary dwelling of a half-breed Choctaw, whose wife was a Chickasaw, and whose hut was on the frontier of the two nations. He found the chief sitting before his door, watching the gambols of fifty or sixty of his horses, which were frolicking before him, and of more than two hundred very fine cattle, which were coming up, as usual, at sunset, of their own accord, from different parts of the surrounding forest, where they have a boundless and luxuriant range of pasture. By giving the cattle a little salt at the cow-pen, at fixed periods, the return of the most numerous herds is secured, to whatever distance they may have strayed.* The food of the cattle in this part of the country, consists chiefly of cane (*arundo gigantea* and *arundo aquatica*), which forms a thick undergrowth in the forests for many hundred miles. The droves of horses which the Kentuckians and Tennesseans bring down for sale in the south, require no other food during the journey.

The Choctaw chief had chosen this situation, partly for its retirement, (in some directions he had no neighbours for fifty or a hundred miles,) and partly because it afforded excellent pasturage and water for his cattle. He had a few slaves to cultivate as much land as was necessary, and he killed a few deer as he wanted them. Near the house were some bones of the buffalo; but that animal had not for many years been

* Bradbury, in his account of Upper Louisiana, states, that "salt furnishes the means by which the shepherd or herdsman obtains a complete dominion over the will of his flocks or his herds, and, in the midst of this vast region, can call them around him at pleasure." In like manner, the Swiss goatherds ensure the return of their herds from the mountains, by the practice of giving them a little salt, at sunset, at the cottage door. See p. 154 of this volume.

seen in this part of the country. Mr. Hodgson met with a hospitable reception; a bear-skin was spread for him in the only room; and as his intelligent host spoke English very well, the day he halted here enabled him to obtain some further information respecting the Indians. The wife, a pleasing young woman, ate with them, but either could not or would not speak English. "I often smiled," says our Traveller, "to find myself sitting over a cup of coffee between a Chickasaw and a Choctaw."

"His host told him, that great changes had taken place among the Indians, even in his time; that in many tribes, when he was young, the children, as soon as they rose, were made to plunge into the water, and swim, in the coldest weather; and were then collected on the bank of the river, to learn the manners and customs of their ancestors, and hear the old men recite the traditions of their forefathers. They were assembled again at sunset, for the same purpose; and were taught to regard as a sacred duty, the transmission to their posterity of the lessons thus acquired. 'And thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thy house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up.' He said, that this custom is now abandoned by all the tribes with which he is acquainted, except, to use his own words, 'where there is, here and there, an old, ancient fellow, who upholds the old way;' that many have talked of resuming their old customs, which the Whites have gradually undermined, but are unable, from the loss of their traditions; that he supposes that these might be recovered from distant tribes over the Mississippi, but that the Choctaws are acting more wisely in seeking civilization.

"He told me, that they had an obscure story, somewhat resembling that of Jacob wrestling with an angel; and that the full-blooded Indians always separate the sinew which shrank, and that it is never seen in the venison exposed for sale: he did not know what they did with it." His elder brother, whom I afterwards met, told me, that they eat it as a rarity; but I have also heard, though on less respectable authority, that they refrain from it, like the ancient Jews. A gentleman who had lived on the Indian frontier, or in the nation, for ten or fifteen years, told me, that he had often been surprised that the Indians always detached this sinew; but it had never occurred to him, to inquire the reason.

"My half-breed Choctaw also informed me, that there were tribes or families among the Indians, somewhat similar to the Scottish clans; such as, the Panther Family, the Bird Family, the Racoon Family, the Wolf Family. He belonged to the Racoon Family, but his children to the family of his wife, families being perpetuated in the female line; an institution originating, perhaps, in polygamy. By marriage, the husband is considered as, in some degree, adopted into the family of his wife; and the mother's brothers are regarded as, in some respects, entitled to more influence over the children than their own father. The suitor always consults them (sending them the usual propitiatory offering of a blanket) when he wishes to marry their niece; and if they approve, the father consents as a matter of course. I have since had this confirmed by information from many different sources.

"Those of the same family or clan, are not allowed to intermarry, although no relationship, however remote, can be traced between them; and although the

ancestors of the two parties may have been living, for centuries, in different and distant nations. A marriage between a brother and a sister, would not excite a stronger sensation, or be more loudly condemned. Indeed, wherever any of the family or clan meet, they recognise one another as brothers and sisters; and use one another's houses, though personally strangers, without reserve.

"With respect to the religious belief of the Choctaws, he said, that it is a prevailing opinion among them, that there is a Great Spirit, who made the earth, and placed them on it, and who preserves them in their hunting journeys, and gives them their 'luck in life;' that, however, they do not often think of Him; that they believe all who die, go to the Spirit Country: but that some suppose it is divided into two nations, the one abounding in fine woods, and deer, and buffaloes, and the other destitute of both; that these imagine, that when the spirit of a bad man leaves the body, it proceeds on the same road as that of a good man, till the road forks, when it takes the way to the bad country, supposing it to be the other; that many expect a great day, when the world will be burned and made over again, far pleasanter than it is now, when the spirits will return from the spirit country, and settle again upon it; and that near the place where they were buried, will be their future home. He here pointed to a sermon-book, which he received from his white father, (for he can read,) and said, the following sentence conveyed the opinion of many Indians: 'Wheresoever the body is laid till the resurrection, thither, as to a dwelling-house, death brings us home;' or, as an Indian would express himself, 'the Great Fire brings us home.'

"On Sunday evening, two poor Indian hunters

came in, with no covering but a little blanket round their loins. Our host immediately lighted his pipe, gave two or three puffs, and passed it to his Indian guests, who did the same; when it was laid down again. Their tomahawks were so made as to serve as pipes, the back of the hatchet-head having a little socket attached to it, and the handle being bored. As soon as the strangers heard that I was 'a British,' they seemed much pleased; and indirectly confirmed what I had previously heard, both in the Creek and Choctaw nations, of the lingering attachment of many of the Indians to their ancient allies.

"Before the hunters arrived, my host had been speaking on the subject; and said, that the older Indians had frequently inquired of him, where their white people were gone; that they had fine times formerly, when their white people were among them, who used to give them handsome presents for nothing; but they disappeared suddenly, and nobody had ever seen them since; 'however, may-be they'll come again.' He said, that many large districts had suffered severely, especially during the late war, for refusing to fight against the British; and some individuals had been put to death, even by their own nation, after it had gone over to the Americans.

"Our hunters mentioned two old kings, who were still living, whose lives had been attempted for their unshaken fidelity to the English;—a fidelity which induced them to decline any commission under the American Government; declaring that they would rather die in their huts, than separate themselves from their old friends, though they might never see any of them again. They have, in consequence, been stripped of their rank, and reduced to poverty. One of them walked to New Orleans, when he heard that

the British were approaching, in order to throw himself into their camp; though one person, he said, could not 'do much good.' He reached Lake Pont-Chartrain just after the battle, and returned home much disappointed. My heart warmed at the recital; and if I might have consulted my inclinations, my course, the next morning, would have been to their dwellings, 100 or 150 miles distant. All I could do, was to send them a little tobacco, which I had brought with me to conciliate the Indians; with some messages which, the hunters said, would delight them as much as if they expected to see me after four sleeps (nights).

"I told them of the death of King George, who, among the Choctaws, is often spoken of with a degree of respect that must gratify a British heart; although enlightened humanity forbids us to wish that they should cherish their former feelings, under circumstances which must render them productive only of disappointment. The hunters, who conversed with us through the medium of our half-breed host, remained till late; an Indian never thinking of leaving any thing that he is interested in, merely because it is night, as they have no fixed engagements to prevent their sleeping wherever they please. I was much struck with the attention with which they listened to each other's long narrations, occasionally signifying their assent by a long suspended intonation, somewhat like the sound produced by a humming-top, or a spinning-wheel at its greatest velocity, but scrupulously avoiding interrupting the speaker till he had finished." *

* Hodgson, vol. i. pp. 243—250. In the politeness of these Indians in conversation, in their abhorrence of marriages between parties the most distantly related, and in several other points, these Choctaws strikingly resemble the Abipones of Paraguay, as described by Dobrizhoffer.

The next day's journey was a ride of fifty miles along an Indian path between 15 and 20 inches in breadth, through woods which afforded a protection from the hot sun, when it gleamed beneath the showers. The track was, in this distance, twice crossed by hunters' paths, a little narrower; and our Traveller was warned, that, if he deviated into these, he would come to no habitation, probably, for 100 or 150 miles. The path for a long distance lay across a succession of ridges of considerable elevation, and so steep as greatly to fatigue the horses. Frequently, fallen trees obstructed the path; and the gulleys, with their swoln currents and beds of moving sand, presented a still more serious obstacle. Sometimes, it was necessary to dismount, and force the horses to cross, by pushing them off the bank; one of the party having previously crossed on raft wood, or on a tree felled so as to form a bridge. The channels of the creeks are deep, rather than wide; so that a lofty tulip-tree is often of sufficient length to fall across them. The bottoms of the creeks are often rendered dangerous to horses by "cypress-knees," rising out of the ground at a considerable distance from the tree itself, with the roots of which they are connected; they are of a conical shape, 18 or 20 inches high, and, when covered with water, may ruin a horse in spite of every precaution. About sunset, Mr. Hodgson completed his long and tedious journey, having seen in the course of the day only two Indian hunters, and started two panthers. His host, this night, was the elder brother of the half-breed to whose hospitality he had been indebted the night before, and kept a stand on the Kentucky Trace, which our Traveller had here regained. He was wealthy, and had within about sixty miles from his

farm, a cow-pen with several hundred head of cattle. The shaded side of the house was hung with saddles and bridles, side-saddles with smart scarlet housings, rifles, shot-pouches, powder-horns, and skins of deer, buffaloes, and bears. Several dogs were lying about, and a herd of cattle were coming up to be milked. Near the house were cabins for the negroes, who were seen at work in the maize-fields at a short distance. The chief was mild and dignified in his manner, and very friendly, but spoke little English.

The next night, unable to reach the stand, about 28 miles distant, owing to the illness of one of the horses, our Traveller was obliged to lie out. Towards sunset, he fell in with several parties of Chickasaws repairing to a dance and ball-play. The magnificence of their dresses exceeded any thing that he had hitherto seen, and the profusion of silver ornaments was far greater than among the Choctaws. They cut a splendid figure as they galloped through the woods. "The Chickasaws generally," says Mr. Hodgson, "appeared to us neater in their persons, than our friends the Choctaws. The former seem to expend in ornaments, the savings and annuity of which the latter appropriate a large proportion to their farms or cattle. Not that the Chickasaws entirely neglect agriculture or pastoral labours; but their little patches are worse cultivated, and their herds are less considerable. I was informed, that they have only one chief; while the Choctaws are divided into three districts, under different chiefs." *

* "Chickasaws: 3625 in number, who occupy the northern part of the State of Mississippi. A mission was begun in 1821 by the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, which was transferred, in 1827, to the American Board of Missions. Stations at Monroe, Tokshish, Martyn, and Caney Creek. Three missionaries and

While getting a cup of coffee at the house of a full-blood Chickasaw, a little negro girl (the only person about the house who could speak English) said to Mr. Hodgson: "Master's wife is lying behind you." On looking round, he saw nothing but a bed; when the little girl told him to look under it, and explained herself by adding: "Mistress is buried there; but do not speak loud, or master will cry." "I could not learn," says Mr. Hodgson, "whether this is the common mode of sepulture among the Chickasaws, or adopted only on particular occasions, as a mark of peculiar respect or affection. Bartram mentions that, among the Creek Indians, it is common to bury the dead in their houses, and in a sitting posture; and an intelligent half-breed Choctaw informed me, that this was sometimes practised among themselves. The Choctaws formerly placed their dead on a scaffold, in a large chamber called the house of bones, a particular portion of which was reserved for each family, as the Racoon family, or the Panther family. Whenever they change their residence, expelled by victorious tribes, or induced, by the growing scarcity of deer or buffalo, to dive deeper into the forests for subsistence, they carried the bones of their fathers along with them." *

The practice of depositing the dead on separate scaffolds, is described by Bradbury as prevailing among the Minnetarees on the Missouri. The Caraibs, according to Sheldon, buried their died in a sitting

four other labourers, of whom five are married. The scholars are about 100. Some important laws against the introduction of intoxicating liquors, theft, and other crimes, have recently been made by the nation, and seem to be rigorously enforced."—Miss. Reg., 1829, p. 138.

* Hodgson, vol. i. pp. 256—260. The Indians of South America are not less strongly attached to the spots where the bones of their fathers repose.—See Humboldt's Per. Nar., vol. v., pp. 625—9.

posture, in the hut in which the deceased expired. This custom appears also to have been common to the ancient Peruvians.* The Guaranies placed the corpse in an earthen vase, which they buried "beneath his proper hearth." Chateaubriand states, that when an Indian dies in winter, while hunting, his body is kept on branches of trees, and the last honours are not paid to his remains, till after the return of the warriors to the village of his tribe. The ceremonies differ according to the degree of kindred, and the dignity, sex, and age of the deceased. They have also their seasons of "public exhumation and general commemoration," which are described in this Writer's sentimental romance of Atala.

"Why," exclaims M. Chateaubriand, "are the savages of America, among all the nations of the earth, those who discover the greatest veneration for their dead? In national calamities, the first thing they think of is, to save the treasures of the tomb. They recognize no legal property but where the remains of ancestors have been interred. When the Indians have pleaded their right of possession, they have always employed this argument, which, in their opinion, was irrefragable: 'Shall we say to the bones of our fathers, Rise and follow us to a strange land?' Finding that this argument was disregarded, what course did they pursue? They carried along with them the bones which could not follow. The motives of this attachment to sacred relics, may easily be discovered. Civilized nations have monuments of literature and the arts for the memorials of their country; they have cities, palaces, towers, columns, obelisks; they have the furrows of the plough in the fields cul-

† See MOD. TRAV., Peru, p. 309.

tivated by them; their names are engraven in brass and marble; their actions are recorded in their chronicles. The savages have none of these things. Their names are not inscribed on the trees of their forests. Their huts, built in a few hours, perish in a few moments. Their traditional songs are vanishing with the last memory which retains, with the last voice that repeats them. For the tribes of the New World, there is therefore but a single monument,—the grave. Take from the savages, the bones of their fathers, and you take from them their history, their laws, and their very gods."*

The Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Cherokees are all tribes of the same great family, to which also the celebrated tribe of Natchez belonged; and it is probable, that all the nations of Louisiana and Florida were of the same race.† In many respects, they exhibit a close affinity, in their rites and customs, to some of the South American tribes. It is remarkable, that the name of Flat-heads, is common to the Choctaws of the Mississippi and the Omaguas of the Amazons.‡ In some of the Choctaw customs and traditions mentioned by Mr. Hodgson, there is an apparent approximation to Jewish notions; and coincidences still more remarkable, some of a most marvellous nature, have been adduced by other Travellers, in support of the romantic hypothesis which makes the American aborigines the descendants of the Ten Tribes of Israel.§ Although this fanciful reverie

* Chateaubriand's Travels in America, vol. i., pp. 215, 216.

† See page 17 of our first volume.

‡ See MOD. TRAV., Peru, p. 337.

§ This quaint notion, first started by the Romish Missionaries, (who discovered the word Messiah in Mexico!) has found several advocates among Protestant writers; particularly Adair, the author of a "History of the Indian Tribes," who was for many years em-

(which has originated in a notion entirely erroneous with regard to the Ten Tribes supposed to be lost) is wholly untenable, and scarcely deserves the pains of argumentative refutation, still, it is not impossible, that Jewish civilization may have extended itself from Eastern Asia to the tribes of the New World. Alvarez, in his History of China, asserts, that Jews had been settled in that empire for above six centuries; and long before that period, they had established themselves in the great plains of Central Asia. In the province of Honan, there are said to be still some families of the *Teaou-kin-keaou* or sinew-plucking sect, (so called because they take away the sinews from all the flesh which they eat,) who observe the eighth day as a sabbath, and whom Dr. Morrison supposes to be Jews.*

Among other coincidences between the nations of Eastern Asia and the aboriginal Americans, Humboldt remarks, that the strong attachment to the spots where the bones of their fathers repose, so characteristic of the Indians, is cherished in all its primitive ardour by the Chinese. "These people do not change their dwelling, without carrying with them the bones of

ployed as agent among the North American Indians. In 1816, the Rev. Dr. Elias Boudinot, of New Jersey, published a volume entitled "A Star in the West, or an humble Attempt to discover the long lost Ten Tribes of Israel;" in which the same opinion was maintained. In 1825, appeared another volume on the same subject, by the Rev. Ethnan Smith, pastor of a church in Poultney, entitled, "View of the Hebrews, or the Tribes of Israel in America." Of these two volumes, Mr. Israel Worsley has made copious use in his "View of the American Indians, shewing them to be Descendants of the Ten Tribes." London, 1828. Still more recently, the hypothesis has found an enthusiastic advocate in a female Writer; "The Hope of Israel, &c., by Barbara Anne Simon." 8vo. London. 1829. A critical account of these latter publications, and a refutation of the error on which the notion rests, will be found in the Eclectic Review, Aug. 1829, art. 2.

* Morrison's Mem. of an Embassy, p. 93.

their ancestors. Coffins are seen deposited on the banks of great rivers, in order to be transported, with the furniture of the family, to a remote province."* The dislike of a milk diet, which is another remarkable trait in the indigenous population of the New World, may be partly accounted for by the fact, that the country was originally destitute of animals capable of yielding it. "But how," remarks the learned Traveller, "can we avoid being astonished at this indifference in the immense Chinese population, living in great part without the Tropics, and in the same latitude with the nomade and pastoral tribes of Central Asia?" †

Many of the apparent coincidences between the Indian and Jewish institutions, are not more close than may be detected in the rites and customs of nations in the heart of Africa. Thus, for instance, the Indians have been represented as resembling the Jews, in being divided into tribes, distinguished, if not by armorial banners, by heraldic names, as the tortoise, the bear, the eagle, &c. The Mandingoes are, in like manner, divided into clans, distinguished by a *kontong* or surname. They have also their head-men or chiefs, and their prophets or sorcerers. Their funeral customs are strikingly like those of the Indians. The grave is frequently dug in the floor of the deceased's hut, or in the shade of a favourite tree; and ground where a body is buried, becomes sacred. The same mourning and feasting are kept up for several days, according to the rank of the deceased. In the palavers or councils, the speakers are listened to with Indian politeness, and the elders are addressed

* Humboldt's Personal Narrative, vol. v., p. 629. † *Ib.*

as fathers. Lastly, circumcision appears to have been practised by the African nations prior to the introduction of Islamism; whereas the assertion, that that rite once prevailed among the American nations, rests on very doubtful evidence.*

The most remarkable approach to the rites of the Jewish law, would seem to be found in the sacrifices practised by the Indians at their grand festivals. The accounts of these furnished by Adair, Beatty, and others, bear strongly the marks of credulity and the influence of a favourite hypothesis; but the following statement, contained in a paper by Dr. Edward Walsh, Physician to the Forces in Canada, comes in so authentic a shape, that we cannot refuse to admit it as evidence of the alleged coincidence.

"I went on another occasion," says the Writer, "with a party from Fort Erie to the Shawanese Town near Buffalo Creek. It was early in May, when the country had shaken off its white robe, and appeared in the bright verdant dress of spring. We found the village of a superior order, the houses well constructed and comfortable, and some even with an upper story. They surrounded a large green or common, in the centre of which the council-house or temple was erected. This was a large oval building, 32 paces long by 24 broad, and about 14 feet high to the roof. It was lighted by a few small, square apertures close to the eaves, which also let out the smoke; consequently,

* See MOD. TRAV., Africa, vol. iii., pp. 215—223. Major Laing was struck with the resemblance of some of the Soolima customs to those of ancient Rome; and Chateaubriand says, that, confining your attention to the laws and manners of the Indians, "you will see nothing in them but Greeks and Romans."—Chateaubriand, vol. i., p. 196.

it was somewhat dark. The door facing the west had a rude but spacious portico. The roof, which had a high pitch, was propped up within by four strong posts, between which was the hearth, with a large kettle over it. There was a seat all round, and the walls, which were formed of split plank, were half-way up covered with mats. Here we found a great number of Indians assembled. The women were ranged outside the wall, and the men surrounded the fire inside, at the head of whom was the High Priest in his pontificals. His face was painted like the quarterings of a coat of arms, and he was furnished with a beard. He wore on his head a high tiara of beaver-fur, stuck round with dyed porcupine quills. He had over his chest a kind of stomacher, worked in figures, and ornamented with wampum, which was supposed to represent the Jewish Urim and Thummim; in this, the Indians imagine some little spirit resides, which they talk to and consult in dubious events. Whilst the usual dance or chorus was performing, a dog, which had been previously selected and fattened, was boiling in the kettle: when cooked, the flesh was cut off, and the bones scraped clean and wrapped up in its skin. The flesh was then divided into small bits, and handed round, on a wooden platter, to all those that surrounded the fire: at the same time, the High Priest dipped a branch of hemlock pine in the broth, and sprinkled it every where as well on the people as on the walls. The ceremony concluded with the circular dance and chant, in which the women joined. This chant or hymn is sung by all the Indian nations in North America, however they may differ in custom and language. Humboldt even heard it in Mexico, and it is supposed to be synonymous with the Hallelujah of the Psalms. It was pricked down for me by a

gentleman who understood musical composition. To my ears, it sounds like the lullaby of the nursery :—

Tam le yah'al lah le lu lah tam ye lah yo ha wah ha ha hah!

"It must be admitted, that this ceremony bears some rude resemblance to the Feast of the Passover, substituting a dog for a lamb, of which they have none,—but dogs are sacrificed on all solemn occasions." *

The resemblance, although evidently the most is made of it, is assuredly rude enough; and the points of dissimilarity may be thought to predominate. Chateaubriand, in the festival of green corn, as celebrated among the Natchez, could see nothing but the worship of the Sun.† Almost all the tribes of Florida and Louisiana, he says, adored the Sun, like the Peruvians and the Mexicans. They had temples, priests or sorcerers, and sacrifices. Only they blended with this worship of the south, the worship and traditions of some divinity of the north." He represents a sort of fetishism, also, as being common to all the Indians. "Every savage has his *manitou*, as every negro has his fetish: it is either a bird, a fish, a quadruped, a reptile, a stone, a piece of wood, a bit of cloth, any coloured object, or a European or American ornament." ‡ Charlevoix says, that when the Huron (or Iroquois) goes to battle or to the chase, the image of his *okki* or tutelary spirit, is as carefully carried with

* Amulet for 1829, pp. 48—50. "In the north of America," remarks Humboldt, "among the Choctaws and the Chickasaws, travellers somewhat credulous (L'Escarbot, Charlevoix, and even Adair) have heard the Hallelujah of the Hebrews sung; as, according to the pundits, the three sacred words of the mysteries of Eleusis (*Bonz om pax*) resound still in India."—Humboldt's Pers. Narr., vol. iii., p. 267.

† See his description of this festival, Travels, vol. i., pp. 218—227.

‡ *Ib.*, vol. ii., p. 37.

him as his arms. "At night, each one places his guardian idol on the palisades surrounding the camp, with the face turned from the quarter to which the warriors or hunters are about to march. He then prays to it for an hour, as he does also in the morning before he continues his course. This homage performed, he lies down to rest, and sleeps in tranquillity, fully persuaded that his spirit will assume the whole duty of keeping guard, and that he has nothing to fear."

With this account, the relations of the Moravian missionaries, respecting not only the Iroquois, but the Delawares, perfectly accord. "Our missionaries," says Loskiel, "have not found rank polytheism to exist among the Indians. They have, however, something which may be called an idol. This is the *manitto;* representing in wood the head of a man in miniature, which they always carry about them, either on a string round their neck, or in a bag. They hang it also about their children, to preserve them from illness, and ensure to them success. When they perform a solemn sacrifice, a *manitto*, or a head as large as life, is put upon a pole in the middle of the house. The *manittoes* are also considered as tutelar spirits. One Indian has, in a dream, received the sun as his tutelar spirit; another, the moon; a third, the owl; a fourth, the buffalo."* Mackenzie, also, describing the customs of the Knisteneaux Indians, represents them as carrying in their "medicine-bag," "a kind of household god." This is a small carved image, about eight inches long, wrapped

* See an able paper on the religion of the Indian Tribes, by Dr. Jarvis of New York, in Buchanan's Sketches, p. 213, *et seq.;* from which these extracts are taken. Heckewelder's testimony is also cited in corroboration of this statement.

in an inner covering of down and beech bark, over which are several folds of red and blue cloth. "This little figure," he says, "is an object of the most pious regard." These Northern Indians also sacrifice the dog at their spring and autumn festivals: those which are very fat and milk-white, are preferred.*

The statements of Dr. James respecting the religion of the Missouri tribes, shew the prevalence of the same notions. The *Wahconda*, or Master of Life, is acknowledged to be the creator and preserver of all things, and "the fountain of mystic medicine." In conversation, he is frequently appealed to in the phrase, *Wahconda wa-na-kong*, "the Wahconda hears what I say." But "their *Wahconda*," adds Dr. James, "seems to be a Protean god: he is supposed to appear to different persons under different forms. All those who are favoured with his presence, become medicine-men, or magicians, in consequence of thus having seen and conversed with the *Wahconda*, and of having received from him some particular medicine of wondrous efficacy. He appeared to one in the shape of a grizzly bear; to another, in that of a bison; to a third, in that of a beaver, an owl, &c.; and one individual attributed to an animal from which he received his medicine, the form and features of the ele-

* Mackenzie, p. ci. "It is remarkable," observes Dr. Jarvis, "that the description given by Peter Martyr, who was the companion of Columbus, of the worship of the inhabitants of Cuba, perfectly agrees with this account of the Northern Indians by Mackenzie. (Pet. Martyr, *apud* Stillingfleet's Orig. Sac., vol. i., p. 3.) They believed in the existence of one supreme, invisible, immortal, and omnipotent Creator, whom they named *Jocahuna*, but at the same time acknowledged a plurality of subordinate deities. They had little images, called *Zemes*, which they considered as bodies inhabited by spirits; and oracular responses were therefore received from them as uttered by the Divine command." See also Edwards's West Indies, vol. i., pp. 48—83.

phant."* How an American Indian should dream of an elephant, it is hard to imagine: one would as soon have expected *Wahconda* to appear to him in the form of a mammoth. "Annually, in the month of July, the Minnetarees celebrate their great medicine-dance, or dance of penitence, which may well be compared with the *currak pooja* or expiatory tortures of the Hindoos." The same tribe occasionally resort to a Medicine-Stone,—a large, insulated, naked rock, for the purpose of propitiating the *Man-ho-pa*, or Great Spirit, by presents, and by fasting and lamentation during the space of from three to five days. Both the Minnetarees and the Mandans have a tradition respecting the narrow bridge which their spirits must pass over in order to reach the mansions of their departed ancestors, and from which all worthless Indians will slip off into a raging torrent; which strongly recalls the *Alsirat* of Mohammed. Many of their self-inflicted penances, described by Dr. James, rival those of the Hindoo *yogees*.†

To attempt, within our fast-contracting limits, any thing like a complete view of the manners, rites, and traditions of the American nations, would obviously be impracticable. The preceding details will sufficiently shew, what erroneous notions have prevailed respecting the real character of their religion, and how completely the supposed resemblance to Jewish rites disappears on a close investigation. We may, perhaps, admit, with Dr. Jarvis, that "there is a smaller departure" in their polytheistic system, from the patriarchal faith, "than among the more civilized nations of Egypt, Greece, and Rome;" the subordi-

* James, vol. i., p. 246.

† James, vol. i., p. 252—259. Lewis and Clarke.

nate deities are kept at a far greater distance from the Great Spirit; and "there has been no attempt among them to degrade to the likeness of men, the invisible and incomprehensible Creator of the Universe." From this, their nomade habits have, perhaps, contributed to preserve them, and even their imperfect civilization; since we find the same comparative simplicity of creed, combined with the same spirit of independence and patriarchal government, in the pastoral hordes of Eastern Asia, and a near approach to it among the African nations. On the other hand, the New World has had its priests of Moloch and of Baal, its Indian Rome and Memphis. Nor is the contrast less striking, between the primeval habits of the hunters of the Mississippi, and the hierocratic or regal governments and complicated social systems of Anahuac and the Cordillera,—the terrible and bloody superstition of the worshippers of Mexitli, or the milder idolatry of the children of the sun.

The sources of the Mexican civilization can hardly be considered as doubtful. The Mexican calendar and zodiac are the same as those of Eastern Asia; the sciences and arts of the Aztecs and Toltecs were clearly Asiatic; and historical tradition, as well as many of their institutions, symbols, and monuments, connect the civilization of Central America with Tibet, Mongolia, and Japan. On the other hand, the best defined specimens of art among the antiquities of Ohio and Kentucky, are of a Polynesian character; and there seems reason to believe, that America has received some tribes of the widely scattered Malay family. Yet, again, their medicine-men and magi-

* Mod. Trav. Peru, pp. 9—88

cians, their mystic societies and colleges, their soubriquets and *totems*, or clan-names, are all African, still more than Asiatic, in their character; reminding us of the customs of the Mandingoes, the Timmanees, and the Soosoos of Senegambia. We say nothing of the Scythian *tumuli* and the Celtic monuments which have employed the learned labours of American antiquaries, for this is very debateable ground;* nor of the Cantabrian and Irish words that have been discovered in the Indian dialects, for the African languages present coincidences equally singular and numerous. The affinities, in short, which the aborigines of the New Continent exhibit to the nations of the Old World, in their language, physiognomy, traditions, and customs, are numerous and exceedingly curious, but irregular, and related to very different races and countries. Upon the origin of the American nations, history sheds no light; nor can philology be made to furnish a clew that shall guide us through the labyrinth.

With regard to the Choctaws and other Floridian tribes living within the American frontier, the primitive Indian character is fast disappearing before the natural effects of intercourse with the Whites. More than half the Cherokee nation, and a large part of the Choctaws and Chickasaws, as well as of all the other tribes with whom the Whites have had connexion, are of mixed blood. These half-breeds already form a numerous body, of promising talents and, in, general, handsome appearance.† It appears that "a portion

* These consist of cromlechs, stones of memorial or sacrifice, circles of memorial, rocking-stones, and barrows.—See Hodgson's Travels, vol. ii., Appendix, p. 434.

† See Report concerning Indian Affairs laid before Congress.—Hodgson, vol. ii., p. 405.

of these tribes, having mingled much with the Whites, and made some progress in the arts of civilized life, have lately attempted to erect an independent government within the limits of Georgia and Alabama. Those States, claiming to be the only sovereigns within their territories, extended their laws over the Indians, which induced the latter to call upon the United States for protection." The answer of the President gave them to understand, that their attempt could not be countenanced by the Executive of the Federal Union; as it was at variance with the provision in the Constitution, that no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, without the consent of its Legislature. They were therefore advised either to emigrate beyond the Mississippi, or to submit to the laws of those States.

"Our conduct towards these people," remarks President Jackson, "is deeply interesting to our national character. Their present condition, contrasted with what they once were, makes a most powerful appeal to our sympathies. Our ancestors found them the uncontrolled possessors of these vast regions. By persuasion and force, they have been made to retire from river to river, and from mountain to mountain, until some of the tribes have become extinct, and others left but remnants, to preserve, for a while, their once terrible names. Surrounded by the Whites, with their arts of civilization, which, by destroying the resources of the savage, doom him to weakness and decay, the fate of the Mohegan, the Naragansett, and the Delaware, is fast overtaking the Choctaw, the Cherokee, and the Creek. That this fate surely awaits them, if they remain within the limits of the States, does not admit of a doubt. Humanity and national honour demand, that every effort should be

made to avert so great a calamity. It is too late to inquire, whether it was just in the United States, to include them and their territory within the bounds of new States, whose limits they could control. That step cannot be retraced. A State cannot be dismembered by Congress, or restricted in the exercise of her constitutional power."

Thus, it would seem, that Congress is not powerful enough to repair the wrongs it has itself committed. States of yesterday, with their mushroom legislatures, lording it over vast tracts of unsettled country, although created by the Federal Government, which fixes their territorial limits,—are recognized as having the same independent powers and inalienable prerogatives as the original States, whose governments are older than the Republic, and which surrendered only a portion of their power, when they acceded to the Federal Union. Something, however, the President thinks, ought to be done for the Indians, and may be done consistently with the rights of the States. As a means of effecting this end, he suggests for the consideration of Congress, " the propriety of setting apart an ample district west of the Mississippi, and without the limits of any State or territory, to be guaranteed to the Indian tribes as long as they shall occupy it; each tribe to have a distinct control over the portion designed for its use. There, they may be secured in the enjoyments of their own choice, subject to no other control from the United States, than such as may be necessary to preserve peace on the frontier, and between the several tribes. There, the benevolent may endeavour to teach them the arts of civilization, and, by promoting union and harmony among them, to raise up an interesting commonwealth, destined to perpetuate the race, and to attest the humanity and

justice of this Government. The emigration should be voluntary; for it would be as cruel as unjust, to compel the aborigines to abandon the graves of their fathers, and seek a home in a distant land. But they should be distinctly informed, that, if they remained within the limits of the State, they must be subject to the laws. In return for their obedience as individuals, they will, without doubt, be protected in the enjoyment of those possessions which they have improved by their industry. But it seems to be visionary to suppose, that, in this state of things, claims can be allowed on tracts of country on which they have neither dwelt nor made improvements, merely because they have seen them from the mountain, or passed them in the chase. Submitting to the laws of the States, and receiving, like other citizens, protection in their persons and property, they will, ere long, become merged in the mass of our population."*

The subject of titles is one of extreme delicacy; but there seems no good reason for demurring as to the validity of the plea, sanctioned by Vattel, Montesquieu, and Adam Smith, that the Indian title, resting upon mere occupancy for the purpose of hunting, ought not to bar the progress of civilization. It is not a true and legal possession like our tenures, for they have no idea of a title to the soil itself; it is, therefore, a right not to be *transferred*, but extinguished; but, till legitimately extinguished, their title certainly claims to be respected by all courts.† Upon these principles,

* President's Message, 1829.

† See on Indian titles, Hodgson, vol. ii., App. pp. 395—402. The process of extinguishing Indian titles, advances rapidly. A treaty has recently been concluded with the Potowatamies and Ottawas of Rock River, and the Winnebagoes their neighbours, by which 6,000,000 acres of rich country between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi, (part of what is called the North-west Territory,)

the first colonists seem to have proceeded; and this is the ground avowedly taken by the American Government in their recent transactions with the Indians. Whether the eagerness to extinguish the Indian title has not, in some cases, been in advance of sound policy, indicating a spirit of inordinate ambition or of restless speculation, is a point on which opinions will differ. But President Jackson seems to admit, that the claims of justice have not been altogether respected by his predecessors, in pushing the boundaries of New States so far westward, as to include, by anticipation, territories, the title of which remains still unextinguished.*

We return to Mr. Hodgson, whom we left in the Chickasaw territory. In the next day's journey, he crossed the last waters which fall into the Tombekbee, and some little streams which, taking an opposite direction, join the Tennessee. He also passed the boundary line between Mississippi and Alabama; soon after which, the country became more hilly, and muddy streams were exchanged for pebbly brooks. After crossing Bear Creek, a "beautiful and romantic river," he fairly emerged from the forests, and, from the summit of a hill, obtained the novel and inspiring view of an extensive range of broken country, amid which

have been ceded to the United States, in consideration of specified presents and annuities. The tract is said to be rich in lead ore, well watered, and, in climate and soil, not excelled by any part of the United States.—Galena Advertiser.—(*Times*, Oct. 6, 1829.)

* The humane sentiments in the President's message, respecting the Indians, are the more remarkable as ostensibly proceeding from a man who distinguished himself in early life, by his ruthless severities towards the hostile tribes of Louisiana and Florida. It would seem as if, in his old age, General Jackson was anxious to redeem his character from the stains which his lawless and sanguinary proceedings have left upon it. The metamorphosis he is said to have undergone is extraordinary.

a river wound its course,—unenlivened, however, by a trace of animated existence, except a solitary cabin with its patch of maize,—a boundless solitude. Still, the contrast, after travelling for many days amid the recesses of thick woods, imparted a sensation of cheerfulness. "Not," says our Traveller, "that we were tired of the wilderness. The fragrance of the woods, which enveloped us in a cool shade, and the melody of their warbling tenants, regaled the senses with a perpetual feast; while the gambols of the squirrels, the cooing of the doves, the variety of large snakes which often crossed our path, birds with the richest plumage, and, above all, the magnificent forest trees, which here attain their largest growth, presented an unfailing succession of objects to interest and amuse us. The delicious climate also of the State of Mississippi, gave to the morning and evening hours an ethereal charm, which those who have a lively perception of nature's charms, will understand."

At Big Spring, a little village of log-cabins, on a beautiful stream, our Traveller passed from the Chickasaw territory into the White settlements, cutting the military road from New Orleans to Nashville. The next day, he crossed the Tennessee, just above the shoals, where it is half a mile broad, overhung with beautiful trees, and studded with wooded islands. Where it expands towards the shoals, it reminded him of our Cumberland lakes. Steam-boats ascend from New Orleans to the shoals. On the following day, passing through Athens, a town of twenty or thirty log-cabins, and Cambridge, a village of four or five, he reached Huntsville, a town of somewhat older date and full of stores, situated near the foot of the spurs of the Cumberland mountain. Here he was in the high road to Knoxville, which is "really a road," and

in a few miles he crossed into the State of Tennessee. The Cumberland mountain, over which his route now led him, resembles some of the more tame of our Cumberland moors, except that it is covered with wood: its declivities are very steep and rocky. * Crossing the Sequotchy and Tennessee rivers, he entered the Cherokee territory, in the State of Georgia, and again found himself in a mountainous region, amid the most magnificent scenery he had yet seen in America. At the foot of the Look-out mountain, he met with a hospitable reception at the house of a Scotch Highlander, who had married a Cherokee, and was living "very much like a gentleman." Here, our Traveller found a good library, maps, and newspapers, both American and English. The daughters were pleasing, well-behaved girls, who had been educated at distant boarding-schools; and the father, from his manners and information, might have been supposed to have been spending the preceding twenty years in England or Scotland, instead of among the Cherokees. Six miles further through the woods, led our Traveller to the Missionary station of Brainerd, situated on the Chickamaugah creek, a branch of the Tennessee.

This interesting establishment was founded in 1817, by the Missionaries who afterwards went on to Elliot. At the time of Mr. Hodgson's visit, the number of Cherokee children under instruction amounted to 80, besides two little Osage Indians, who had been rescued from captivity. He was much gratified by hearing the children sing their Cherokee hymns. There are now eight stations among the Cherokees east of the Mississippi, which are superintended by four mission-

* The Cumberland mountains run from S. W. to N. E. through the centre of the State, dividing it into East and West Tennessee,

aries and eighteen other teachers.* The native communicants amounted, in 1828, to 159. "Of the scholars, 174 in number, above 100 reside in the mission families, perform various kinds of labour, and are trained up like the children of Christian parents. About 250 have left the school at Brainerd, most of them having made considerable advances in knowledge. The parents manifest an increasing desire to have their children instructed, and the number of boarding scholars might be enlarged to almost any extent. In some places, nearly all the adult population, and in the tribe at large, more than one half, are actually capable of reading their own language in their own peculiar character; having learned from small manuscripts, and without ever having become acquainted with any other alphabet, or possessed a single page of a printed book in any language."† There is now a Cherokee press; and "the Cherokee Phœnix," a weekly paper, was commenced in February 1828. School-books and tracts in the language were in course of preparation by the missionaries. At Brainerd, there are a grist-mill, a saw-mill, and a blacksmith's shop, which are of great use to the natives. A large proportion of these Indians dress much better than formerly. Many of the women spin and weave cotton, and thus furnish cloth for very decent garments of their own manufacture.

The present numbers of the Cherokees‡ do not

* Among the Cherokees of the Arkansas, west of the Mississippi, there are also two stations; Dwight, begun in 1820; and Mulberry, begun in 1828. There are two missionaries and eight other labourers, under the Board of Missions. Besides these, the Moravians and the Baptists have also missionary stations among the Cherokees.

† Miss. Reg., 1829.

‡ Their proper name, M. Duponceau says, is *Chelokees*, (their

appear to be correctly ascertained, but are estimated at about 9000. The proportion of half-breeds is greater than in any other Indian tribe, so that they may be regarded as a sort of link between the civilized and the uncivilized nations.

At the distance of seven miles from Brainerd, Mr. Hodgson passed the Cherokee boundary, by once more crossing the Tennessee river, and bade a final adieu to the Indian territory. His subsequent route led him up the beautiful valley between that river and the Cumberland mountain,* to the confluence (at Kingston) of the Holstein and the Clinch rivers, by which the Tennessee is formed. The mountain scenery in this part is described as magnificent. Knoxville is beautifully situated on the northern bank of the Holstein, 22 miles above this confluence. It is the seat of the supreme district-court for East Tennessee, and contains a bank, a college, two churches, 400 houses, and 2500 inhabitants.† Ascending the valley of the Holstein, our Traveller, in four days more, entered the borders of Virginia; and proceeding through a country romantically beautiful, crossed the head-waters of that river into a tract almost entirely settled by Germans from Pennsylvania. He was, in this route, insensibly ascending the Alleghany range, on the top of which he found the first turnpike-gate he had seen for many months. A long and steep descent led down into the valley of the winding Roanoke; whence he passed into that of the Shenandoah, and reached Rich-

language wanting the R,) with the second syllable long and accented. It is so they call themselves.

* At a comfortable inn in this valley, Mr. Hodgson found, among other books belonging to the son of the landlord, Homer, Ovid, Virgil, Cicero, Dugald Stewart, Adam Smith, Ferguson's Astronomy, and Rees's Cyclopedia.

† Americans as they are, p. 102.

mond by the route of Waynesborough and Rock-fish Gap, already described. The whole journey from Natchez to Richmond, was about 1250 miles.

TENNESSEE.

THE territory which forms the State of Tennessee, was originally part of North Carolina; as Kentucky was the back country of Virginia. We have, therefore, followed Malte Brun in ranking them with the Southern States, although they rather belong to the western country, being geographically connected with the basin of the Ohio.* The Tennessee river, which is formed by several branches rising in Virginia and the Carolinas, flows from Knoxville (in East Tennessee) in a south-westerly direction, as far as latitude 34° 30', in the State of Alabama. It there makes a very singular bend to the westward; and after running in that direction (inclining to N. W.) for about 150 miles, assumes a northerly course, passing through the States of Tennessee and Kentucky, and falling into the Ohio, twelve miles below the mouth of the Cumberland.† The latter river has a course not very dissimilar. Rising in the Cumberland mountains, it winds south-westward as far as Nashville in Tennessee, where it begins to form a circular bend, return-

* When first separated from North Carolina, in 1790, Tennessee was designated as "the Territory of the United States south of the Ohio."

† Ten-assee, the Indian name of the river, which has become that of the State also, is said to signify a curved spoon, in allusion to the remarkable curvature in its course, which has been compared to the letter V, but, according to the map, not very happily. There is a talk of connecting it with some of the navigable waters of the Tombekbee, which would shorten the distance to the Gulf more than one half.

ing through Kentucky to fall into the Ohio, 60 miles from its mouth. It is 600 miles long, and navigable by boats of 15 tons 500 miles. The Tennessee is navigable at all seasons to the Muscle Shoals, a distance of 250 miles from its mouth.

The State of Tennessee is considered altogether as a rich and fertile country. The middle part is by far the best, the eastern partaking more of the sandy character of North Carolina, and the western, of the marshes of the Mississippi Valley. The inhabitants are chiefly descendants of emigrants from North Carolina, and bear the character of being liberal, generous, and hospitable. "There is no State in the Union," it has been asserted, "where slavery has had less pernicious effects upon the character of the people." * Several foreigners, settled in this State, have attained a high degree of wealth and prosperity. Cotton, tobacco, and flour are the principal exports. The largest town is Nashville, now the capital,† on the southern bank of Cumberland river, to which steamboats of 300 tons can ascend during three months of the year. In 1810, more than one-third of the population of the State was included within a circle of 30 miles round this town. It contains three churches, a court-house, two banks, three printing-offices, a college, and a public library and reading-room, for a population which amounted, in 1825, to 6000. Among the resident inhabitants, recently, was the present President of the United States. The surrounding country is

* Americans as they are, p. 100. The proportion of slaves to the population is about a fifth.

† From 1817 to May 1826, the State capital was Murfreesborough, a village of 1500 inhabitants; but, by a singular deviation from the usual practice, the seat of government has been removed to the principal town, though not so near the centre of the State.

beautiful, cotton-plantations lining the banks of the river, and extending in every direction; but the wealthier inhabitants generally retire, during the summer months, from the stifling heats prevailing on the barren rocks upon which Nashville stands. In general, though the climate is warmer than that of Kentucky, Tennessee is described as one of the most healthy, pleasant, and beautiful States in the Union.*

KENTUCKY.

KENTUCKY, "situated in the central part of the United States, on the table land of the western country, with the Alleghany mountains to the eastward, and the highlands of Tennessee on the south, enjoys a climate not excelled by any part of the United States. In Lexington, near the centre of the State, the heat of summer seldom exceeds 80°, and the cold of winter is seldom below 25°. The average temperature of the year is about 58°. The whole State, below the mountains, rests on an immense bed of limestone, usually about eight feet below the surface. There are, consequently, no swamps or stagnant waters, and the air is, in general, remarkably sweet and pure."† It is exposed, however, to one serious disadvantage. Owing to the cavernous nature of the limestone, the waters of the larger rivers are more diminished, during the

* Carey and Lea. Malte Brun. Americans as they are.

† "Kentucky has not such extensive plains as Ohio, but is equally fertile, and less exposed to bilious fevers and ague. It is, without exaggeration, one of the finest districts on the face of the earth. The climate is equal to that of the south of France. Fruits of every kind arrive at the highest perfection; and it would be difficult to quit this country, did not the character of the inhabitants lessen one's regret at leaving it."—Americans as they are, p. 49.

dry season, than those of any part of the United States, and the small streams entirely disappear. They generally run in very deep channels, which they have worn in the calcareous rock; and the banks of Kentucky River present precipices of limestone 300 feet in height. In the south-western part of the State, between the Cumberland and Green River, there are several extensive natural excavations. The Mammoth Cave is said to be between eight and nine miles in length.

Kentucky is almost insulated by navigable rivers. The Big Sandy forms, during its whole course of nearly 200 miles, the eastern boundary; the Ohio, for more than 600 miles, the northern; and the Mississippi, below its mouth, is the western boundary. Frankfort, the seat of Government, is situated on the eastern bank of Kentucky River, 60 miles above its confluence with the Ohio. Lexington, the largest and wealthiest town in the State, is delightfully situated in a beautiful valley on Town Fork, a small stream which falls into the southern branch of Elkhorn river. It is the seat of a college called Transylvania University; and contained, in 1820, a population of 5279 souls.

The only other town of consequence is Louisville, on the Ohio, immediately above the Rapids, and forming the natural key to its navigation. To this place, Captain Basil Hall ascended from New Orleans in a steam-boat, a voyage of 1430 miles, which formerly occupied "nine weary months of hard rowing and warping; whereas it is now often performed in little more than nine days, or one-thirtieth of the time." Here, we once more rejoin this intelligent Traveller.

It was on the tenth day from New Orleans, that he

reached the confluence of the Ohio with the Mississippi, of which is given the following description. "The Ohio, though not quite clear, was much less muddy than the great stream into which it now merged; and owing to its being swollen considerably, it possessed momentum enough to drive the body of the Mississippi nearly over to the western shore. The difference of colour in the two streams, was thus rendered very conspicuous. The earthy, yellowish-brown of the Mississippi, formed a distinct belt of water on the right bank of the united stream for a mile or two; while on the left, there was a broad strip of dirty bottle-green from the Ohio.

"The intrusion of the Ohio, according to the account of the pilots, sometimes 'dams up' the Mississippi for a distance of 30 miles. This singular effect is produced only when the Ohio is at its height, and the Mississippi comparatively low, and then, I am assured, it literally causes an apparent stagnation of the waters of that mighty stream, for many leagues above the point of confluence. It is not to be supposed, that the Mississippi is slow; to return the compliment when its turn comes to be highest. On these occasions, the Ohio is 'dammed up' for a distance of seventy miles;—a glorious battle between two River Gods!

"The scenery on the Ohio, which we now entered, is beyond all comparison more beautiful than that of the Mississippi, which is generally low, marshy, or rather, to use the local expression, swampy, and very uninteresting; whereas the banks of the Ohio, which rise to the height of several hundred feet, are covered with splendid trees of great altitude and luxuriance of foliage. It was also quite reviving to see once more some patches of cultivation not liable to be flooded; and grassy knolls fenced off for cattle to graze in, with-

out the necessity of perching the wretched animals on scaffolds, as we had seen in many places on the Mississippi. Here and there, even near the mouth of the Ohio, we came to villages resting on solid ground, and shortly afterwards to flourishing towns, worthy of the sea-coast, though buried deep in the back-woods." *

On the thirteenth day,† our Traveller reached the "large and handsome town" of Louisville, where he found the best-ordered hotel he had met with in all America, though the attendants were all slaves. Nothing at this beautiful spot, he says, delighted him more than "the rich, fresh, genuine green-sward, the honest grass," upon which he could sit down with comfort. The trees also round Louisville, he thought incomparably finer than any he had elsewhere seen; especially the sycamores, which are not only taller, but, having plenty of room to spread, attain a growth singularly beautiful. "The various bends or reaches of the magnificent Ohio, at this spot, covered with steam-boats and rafts, and fringed with noble forests and numberless gay villas, add greatly to the enchantment of the scenery at this most interesting station of all the back-woods."‡

Louisville is laid out on a grand scale, the streets running parallel with the river, intersected by others at right angles. In the main street, about three quarters of a mile in length, most of the houses are three stories high. The number of dwelling-houses

* Basil Hall, vol. iii., pp. 369—371.

† There is apparently some mistake in dates, as the Author speaks of having been only eleven days and nights in the steam-boat.

‡ Bas. Hall, vol. iii., p. 35. The canal recently cut round the Rapids, is described by this Traveller as a magnificent work. Steamers can now proceed to the Upper Ohio at all seasons.

amounted, in 1826, to 700, and the resident population to 4500, exclusive of travellers and boatmen. There are no public edifices worth notice. The court-house and the Presbyterian church are the best. There are also an Episcopal church, a Roman Catholic, and a Unitarian chapel; three banks; an insurance company; and four newspaper printing offices. The distilleries and rope-walks are on a large scale; besides which, there are manufactories of soap, candle, cotton, glass, and paper, with grist and saw-mills. Luxury is here carried to a higher pitch than in any other town west of the Alleghanies; and the only billiard-table between Philadelphia and St. Louis, is to be found at Louisburg, the owner of which has to pay a tax of 563 dollars. There is an academy, but the principal families send their youth to the college of Bairdstown, 30 miles S. W., to receive instructions from some French priests. The general state of society may be inferred from these details.

The Kentuckian seems to present, in fact, the most unfavourable specimen of the American. "The inhabitants consist chiefly of emigrants from Virginia and the Carolinas, and of descendants from backwood settlers, a proud, fierce, and overbearing set of people. They established themselves under a state of continual warfare with the Indians, who took their revenge by communicatiug to their vanquishers their cruel and implacable spirit. This is their principal feature. A Kentuckian will wait three or four weeks in the woods, for the moment of satiating his revenge; and he seldom or never forgives. The men are of an athletic form, and there may be found among them some models of true masculine beauty.....Passions must work with double power and effect, where wealth

and arbitrary sway over a herd of slaves, and a warfare of thirty years with savages, have sown the seeds of the most lawless arrogance and an untameable spirit of revenge.....A still worse feature observable in them, is, an utter disregard of religious principles. Ohio has its sects, thereby evincing an interest in the performance of the highest of human duties. The Kentuckian rails at these, and at every form of worship; a trait doubly deplorable in a rising State." *

Darkly shaded as this picture is, there is too good reason to believe that it is entirely just. It is not meant, that no exceptions occur; but the population generally, if they may lay claim to the praise of being "brave, frank, and hospitable," must be stigmatised as, at the same time, coarse and licentious, ignorant, brutally irreligious and profane, vindictive and ferocious. "The state of education" in this State, M. Malte Brun remarks, "is *rather* backward; and that of religion not much better. The Kentuckians, possessing a sanguine, speculative spirit, were deeply infected with the passion for banking, which spread like an epidemic frenzy throughout the United States some years ago. Not fewer than fifty-four banks were incorporated between 1807 and 1819, in a district containing only half a million of inhabitants. These establishments, after inundating the State with a fictitious paper currency, became nearly all insolvent, and produced incalculable distress and confusion through the country." † Another marked feature in their political history is, the violent oppo-

* Americans as they are, pp. 50—52. The North American Reviewers, in noticing this volume, regret that there should be *occasion* for the Writer's feelings towards the Kentuckians; a sufficiently intelligible admission.

† Malte Brun, vol. v. pp. 199 200.

sition raised in Kentucky against the measures of Mr. Adams's administration, and their strong attachment to his successor. The war declared, in 1812, against England, was hailed with acclamations in Kentucky, and supported with ferocious zeal. The whole *quota* of the State was called into actual service; and, at one time, upwards of 7000 Kentuckians are said to have been in the field.* Of their military achievements, history is silent. When we add, that these republicans *par excellence*, (but of the French school, in politics as in religion,) retain among them nearly 170,000 slaves, being nearly a fourth of the population of the State, we shall have adduced facts sufficient to warrant the representation that has been cited, and to account for the proverbial imputation of brutality which attaches to the name of the Kentuckian.†

The rapidity of the growth of this State, in numbers, will only in part account for the moral condition of the population. "Eleven years ago," says Morse, in 1789, "Kentucky lay in forest, almost uninhabited but by wild beasts. Now, notwithstanding the united opposition of almost all the western Indians, she exhibits an extensive settlement, divided into seven large and populous counties, in which are a number of flourishing little towns, containing more inhabit-

* Carey and Lea, p. 253.

† See Americans as they are," p. 143. Lieut. F. Hall represents the Kentuckians as "the Irishmen of the United States," (no compliment to the latter,) "hospitable and openhearted, but boisterous and addicted to those vulgar and even brutal amusements which were once common in Virginia,"—that is to say, "coarse debauchery." F. Hall, p. 356. This Traveller is apparently anxious to make the best apology for these staunch republicans; forgetting that the Irish, with whom he compares them, are not slave-proprietors, have at least a desire after learning, and are not addicted to *gouging*.

ants than are in Georgia, Delaware, or Rhode Island States, and nearly as many as in New Hampshire."* Upwards of 20,000 persons migrated to Kentucky in 1787; and its population, estimated, in 1784, at only about 30,000, had risen, in 1792, to 100,000. In 1800, it was upwards of 220,000; in 1810, 406,511; in 1826, 564,313; and in 1828, stood at 691,397. This rate of increase, or rather transfer of population, has, however, been far exceeded in the instances of Alabama and Mississippi, as well as in the

WESTERN STATES.

Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, the three Western States east of the Mississippi, occupy the vast area extending from the confines of Pennsylvania to that river, and from the extremity of Lakes Erie and Michigan to Kentucky; comprising a surface of 134,250 square miles; peopled, in 1828, by about 1,109,000 inhabitants, including 1764 slaves. In the year 1790, the total population was only about 3000 souls. About one fourth of the State of Ohio declines to the northern Lakes; the other three fourths to the basin of the Ohio. The surface of the former, or northern part, is, for the most part, flat, and often marshy;† that of the remainder is rolling and uneven, beautifully diversified with round-topped hills, covered with a fertile soil, which bears a rich growth of wood. The climate is temperate, and less variable than that of the eastern or southern States; and as slavery does not here exert its demoralizing influence

* Morse, p. 408.

† The height of land which divides the waters of the Ohio from those of Lake Erie, is the most marshy of any of the State.—Carey and Lea.

upon society, (being abolished by law,) it presents altogether, in its natural and political advantages, a more inviting and eligible country for agricultural settlers, than, perhaps, any other part of the western territories.* Prairies, or large tracts of ground naturally destitute of wood, and ready for the husbandman, abound in this State, as well as in Indiana and Illinois; being supposed to occupy three fourths of the surface. The produce of the northern part of the State is sent to New York by the Erie Canal; that of the southern, down the Mississippi to New Orleans. The middle part has suffered inconvenience hitherto from the want of a water communication; but this will be remedied by the canal which is to unite the Ohio with Lake Erie, and, by this means, the waters of the Hudson and the Mississippi. Of the general condition of the country, the Author of the "Americans as they are," draws a picture as pleasing, as his representation of the state of things in Kentucky is dark and repulsive.

"In Ohio," says this Writer, "wealth is not accumulated in one place, or in a few hands; it is visibly diffused over the whole community. The farms and country houses are elegant. They are generally of brick, sometimes of wood, and built in a tasteful style. It is astonishing to see what has been done during a few years, and under an increasing scarcity of money, by the mere dint of industry. The

* The average produce of the farming lands in the basin of the Ohio, generally, are, of Indian corn, 40 bushels per acre; wheat, 22; rye, 26; oats, 35; barley, 30; tobacco, from 12 to 15 cwt.; and cotton, from 5 to 7 cwt. The last two are cultivated only in the south-westerly region, and oats and barley in the upper or north-easterly parts.—James's Rocky Mountains, vol. iii. pp. 200, 220.

traveller will seldom have reason to rail at bad roads or bad taverns.....The whole State bespeaks a wealthy condition, which, far removed from riches, rests on the surest foundation,—the fertility of the soil, and the persevering industry of its cultivators. Although behind-hand, perhaps, with the Yankees in literary accomplishments, they are far more liberal and intelligent.....The inhabitants of Ohio are not, however, so religious as their neighbours, the Pennsylvanians. Their ministers exercise little influence, and numerous sects contribute greatly to lessen their authority. The people of Ohio are equally free from the uncultivated and rude character of the Western American, and from the innate wiliness of the Yankees." *

This Writer's ideas of the Yankees appear to have been picked up in the South, and not to be derived from an acquaintance with the inhabitants of New England. On this point, therefore, his testimony is not to be relied upon; and, in fact, the character of the Ohions, the North American Reviewers assert, is "the Yankee character under varied circumstances, and modified by extraneous admixtures." The larger part of the population have actually emigrated from New England, New York, and New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Great Britain. The Presbyterians form the most numerous sect, and next to them, the Methodists; but the Quakers are numerous both in this State and in Indiana. One section, or thirty-sixth part of every township, has been set apart by the State

* "Americans as they are," pp. 14—17. We have omitted in this citation, some sentences of encomium, which the North American Reviewers admit to be somewhat overcharged. The roads are not at all seasons in the best order; the inns are not always the most elegant; nor are the towns superior to those of New York and New England.

Legislature for the support of schools; and education is very generally attended to. There are two infant colleges at Athens and Oxford! the former styled the Ohio University; the latter, the Miami University.

The eldest town in the State is Marietta, (so named by its Yankee founders from the unfortunate Marie Antoinette of France!) badly situated on ground liable to inundation, at the mouth of the Muskingum. Columbus, the present seat of Government, is "regularly laid out" on the eastern bank of the Scioto, just below the confluence of the Whetstone. The largest town in the State, and the only one of importance, bears the *classic* name of Cincinnati! * For the first six years of the existence of this State, it was the seat of the Legislature.

In 1780, the spot where now stands one of the prettiest towns in the Union, was a native forest. In that year, the first attempt was made at forming a settlement there, by erecting a block-house, which was subsequently enlarged, and was called Fort Washington. It was not till after the year 1794, however, that the infant town of Cincinnati, having been made the seat of the territorial government, began to attract to itself the eastern population. In 1805, the population was only 500. Five years after, it contained 2540 inhabitants; in 1820, 9733; in 1826, upwards of 12,000; in 1828, 18,000! The town is well situated on the Ohio, twenty miles above the mouth of the great Miami, near the south-western corner of the State. The river is here about a mile wide, forming a crescent. The streets are regular, broad, and mostly

* In allusion, probably, to "the *almost* noble society!" which assumed that name.

well paved, and many of the houses are very handsome. Among the public buildings, the court-house is constructed in an extremely simple, but noble style; and the Episcopalian, the Roman Catholic, and the Presbyterian churches, the Academy, and the United States' Bank, are handsome buildings. Besides these, there are churches for Presbyterians, Lutherans, Methodists, Baptists, Swedenborgians, and Unitarians; three other banks; a Lancasterian school; a reading-room with a well provided library; a theatre; five newspaper printing-offices; and a variety of manufacturing establishments, chiefly carried on by steam-engines.

Hitherto, the whole produce of the State has been brought to Cincinnati, and shipped for New Orleans by way of Louisville, distant 115 miles; * but, as none of the projected canals will come up as far as this town, they will probably have the effect of diverting a considerable proportion of its trade, if not of its population.† Favoured, however, by its coal-mines, its water-communication, and the cheapness of the necessaries of life, it bids fair to maintain its rank as one of the first manufacturing towns in the Union.

Captain Basil Hall speaks of the society in this town as very agreeable and kind. It probably resembles, in its general characteristics, that of the larger cities in the northern States; though, if we may believe the Author of the above description, with less formality, mannerism, and religious narrowness than in the eastern sea-ports. "Freedom of thought pre-

* The voyage to Louisville is performed by the steamers in 12 hours, and back again in 20 hours.

† The produce exported consists of flour, corn, whisky, salt, hams and pork, beef, and fruits. Wheat is the principal production of the State.

vails in a high degree ;" by which may be understood great latitude of opinion.*

Below Cincinnati begins the State of Indiana, running down the Big Miami westward to the Big Wabash, which separates it from Illinois. It exhibits nearly the same features as Ohio, except that it declines in elevation, being the second stage of the slope from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi. Though not inferior to Ohio in fertility, it lies under the serious disadvantage of a deficiency of water communication; there being no river of any importance in the State, except the Ohio, which forms its southern boundary. Its original population was by no means equally respectable with that of the State just described. The north-western part was peopled by French emigrants from Canada, and the southern, by Kentuckians who fled their country for debt or other causes. The State has thus been the refuge of adventurers and idlers of all descriptions. Numbers of Germans, French, and Irish, are scattered in the towns and over the country, carrying on the business of bakers, grocers, *store*-keepers, &c. The northern part of the State is partly occupied by Indian tribes, whose numbers are estimated at between seven and eight thousand, and has been but imperfectly explored. Many of the Canadian French, by whom Vincennes, the largest town in the State, was originally settled, have intermarried with the natives, and gradually approximated to the savage state. Captain Basil Hall, who

* Some years ago, when the inhabitants of Cincinnati amounted to about 6000, they included settlers of the following descriptions. From New England, 441; Pennsylvania, 394; New Jersey, 337; New York, 233; England, 192; Ireland, 173; Virginia, 113; Germany, 62; Scotland, 39; Wales, 21; France, 19; Switzerland, 17.—North American Review, No. lxi. p. 419.

traversed this State, merely speaks of the country as hilly, the roads as execrable, and the people as "cold and gruff," though not positively uncivil. On the Wabash, the finest part of the State, some settlers of a more respectable character from the east, have planted themselves.

Illinois is, in point of commerce, more advantageously situated than any of the Western States. It forms the last slope of the northern valley of the Mississippi. The fertility of the soil surpasses that of either Indiana or Ohio. Wheat thrives on the high lands; the soil of the valleys is too rich. Tobacco, if well managed, is found to be superior to that of Virginia and Kentucky. Rice and indigo grow wild. The timber is of colossal magnitude. Sycamores and cotton-trees of immense height, walnut-trees, pecan-trees, honey-locust-trees, and maples cover the rich bottom lands, while two thirds of the surface (or about 1,200,000 acres) are occupied by extensive and fertile prairies.*

"The country," remarks this Writer, "is complained of as being sickly. There is no doubt that a State which abounds in rivers, marshes, and ponds, must be subject to epidemic diseases; but, the climate being temperate, the fault lies very much with the settlers themselves. The settler who chooses for his

* The most fertile lands are the bottoms along the Mississippi, the Illinois, and the Big and Little Wabash. The "solid class of inhabitants" live on the latter two rivers, and between them and the Illinois. Towards the north, on the banks of the Mississippi, the settlers are generally descended from Canadian French by Indian mothers;—"a light-footed kind of people, who from their fathers have inherited frivolity, and from their mothers uncleanliness. Kaskakia, Cahokia, and several villages towards the Prairie des Chiens, owe their origin to them."

dwelling-house a spot on an eminence, * and far from the marshes, taking at the same time the necessary precautions in point of dress, cleanliness, and the choice of victuals and beverage, may live without fear in these countries. The greater part, however, of the new-comers and inhabitants, live upon milk † or stagnant water taken from the first pond they meet with on their way, with a few slices of bacon. Their wardrobe consists of a single shirt, which is worn till it falls to pieces. It cannot, therefore, be matter of astonishment, if agues and bilious fevers spread over the country; and even in this case, a quart of corn brandy is their prescription. This being the general mode of living, and we may add, of dying, among the lower classes, disease must necessarily spread its ravages with more rapidity.

" Illinois has now 80,000 " (it has since risen to 85,000) " inhabitants, 1500 of whom are people of colour. The rest are Americans, English, and French, and there is a German settlement about Vandalia.‡ In the year 1824, the question was again brought forward concerning the possession of slaves: it was, however, negatived, and it is to be hoped, will never be pressed upon the people. The State is much in-

* An important remark, however, is made by the North American Reviewers respecting the Valley of the Mississippi. " We are struck with one fact, rather contrary to expectation, that all the inhabitants whom we questioned, from the mouth of the Ohio downward, were agreed in this; that the most healthy spots were on the margin of the river, and the most unhealthy, the knolls and elevated hills, whether back or near the river."—North Amer. Review, ibi. p. 430.

† The aversion of the Indians to milk, remarked by Humboldt, originates, most probably, in experience. See James, vol. i. p. 77. Mod. Trav., Brazil, vol. ii. p. 218.

‡ Now the seat of the State government.

debted in every point to the late Mr. Birkbeck, who died too soon for the welfare of his adopted country. He was considered as the father of the State; and whenever he could gain over a useful citizen, he spared no expense, and sacrificed a considerable part of his property in this manner. The people of Illinois, in acknowledgement of his services, had chosen him for secretary of the State, which office he held at his death in 1825. He was generally known under the name of Emperor of the Prairies, from the vast extent of natural meadows belonging to his lands." *

On the Big Wabash, about 30 miles above its mouth, but on the Indiana side, is the singular settlement of Harmony, originally established by "Father Rapp," a Swabian heresiarch, in 1817; and purchased, in 1823, by the equally famous Mr. Owen of Lanark, for the sum of 150,000 dollars. We waive the description of this Utopia, having neither room nor inclination to discuss the merits or demerits of this gentleman's chimerical schemes; but it is justly remarked, that "Great Britain has no cause to envy the United States this acquisition." †

One State remains to be described,—the only one that has at present been organized beyond the Mississippi,—that of

* Americans as they are, pp. 86—90. "Some of these singular places (the prairies) are nearly level; others have a gently swelling or rolling surface. The Grand Prairie of Illinois has specimens of both kinds, but its general character is level, with a few clumps of trees, and these far between. The resemblance to the sea which some of the prairies exhibit, is really most singular."—B. Hall, vol. iii. p. 385.

† See "Americans as they are," pp. 66—71. Some valuable remarks on Birkbeck's settlement, and on the advantages the Western States hold out to emigrants, will be found in Hodgson, vol. ii. pp. 64—88, and James, vol. iii. pp. 200—209.

MISSOURI

THIS State, the largest except Virginia, was received into the Federal Union in 1821, and, to the deep disgrace of the Congress, as a slave-holding State. The territory lies on both sides of the river of the same name. Its surface is rolling or hilly in the northern part, and slopes considerably towards the south, where it is crossed by the Ozark mountains. It contains less wood than Illinois, and the soil is said to be generally less fertile; although the bottom lands along the Mississippi and the Missouri are very rich. The prairies occupy "at least nineteen twentieths of the surface." For many miles on each side of the Missouri, the prairies afford abundance of good pasturage; but the best soil is found along the right bank, from ten to twelve miles in breadth. In the summer, very little water is to be found in the prairies, all the smaller streams failing, although the season be not unusually dry; and on account of the deficiency both of wood and water, Dr. James says, the settlements will be for a long time confined to the immediate valleys of the Missouri, the Konzas, and the larger rivers. The immediate valley of the Missouri preserves great uniformity of breadth, and is bounded on both sides by chains of rocky bluffs, rising from one to a hundred feet above the valley, and separating it from those vast woodless plains which overspread so great a part of the country.*

In the south-eastern part of the State, there is a district 70 miles in length by 45 in breadth, contain-

* James, vol. i. p. 131: *Ib.*, p. 81; and vol. iii. pp. 109—222. To this interesting work, we must refer our readers for the best description of the territory west of the Mississippi that has yet appeared.

ing the richest lead mines, it is supposed, on the face of the globe. The number of mines now worked, is 165, in which more than 1100 men are employed, and the annual produce has been about 3,000,000 lbs. *

Captain Basil Hall penetrated almost to the extreme frontier of the civilized settlements. Embarking once more in a steam-boat at Louisville, he descended the Ohio to the Mississippi, and then ascended the latter river to St. Louis, picturesquely situated on the right bank, 170 miles above the mouth of the Ohio, and 13 below that of the Missouri. This town was founded by some French traders in 1764. It extends for about two miles along the river, in three parallel streets, rising above each other in terraces, on a *stratum* of limestone. The houses are, for the most part, built of this material, and are surrounded with gardens. The number of inhabitants is about 5000. The principal public buildings are, a Roman Catholic and two Protestant churches, the court-house, the government-house, an academy, and a theatre. There are two banks, two printing-offices, and "an abundance of coffee-shops, billiard-tables, and dancing-rooms." St. Louis is, in fact, described as "a sort of New Orleans on a smaller scale."

"The French are seen engaged in the same amusements and passions that formerly characterized the Creoles of Louisiana; with the exception, that the trade with the Indians has given to the French backwoodsmen of St. Louis, a rather malicious and dishonest turn; a fault from which the Creoles of Louisiana are free, owing to the greater respectability of their visiters and settlers, from Europe and from the north of the Union. The majority of the inhabitants

* Carey and Lea's Atlas.

of this town, as well as of the State, consists of people descended from the French, of Kentuckians, and foreigners of every description,—Germans, Spaniards, Italians, Irish, &c. Kentucky manners are fashionable. Not long before my arrival, there occurred a specimen of this, in an open assault and duel between two individuals in the public street. For the last five years, men of property and respectability, attracted by the superior advantages of the situation, have settled at St. Louis; and their example and influence have been conducive of some good to public morals.

"The enterprising spirit of the Americans is remarkable in this State. Within the twenty-three years that have elapsed since the cession of this country (part of the former Louisiana) to the Union, much more has been achieved in every point of view, than during the sixty years preceding, when it was in possession of France and Spain. Streets, villages, settlements, towns, and farms, have sprung up in every direction; the population has augmented from 20,000 to 84,000 inhabitants; and if they are not superior in wealth to their neighbours, it is certainly to be attributed to their want of industry, and to their passing the greater part of their time in grog-shops, or in dancing-companies, according to the prevailing custom. Slavery, which is introduced here, though so ill adapted to a northern State, contributes not a little to the aristocratic notions of the people; the least of whom, if he can call himself the master of one slave, would be ashamed to put his hand to any work. Still, there is more ready money among the inhabitants, than in any of the western States; and prices are demanded accordingly. Cattle that fetch in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana, ten dollars per head, are sold in Missouri for twenty-five dollars; and so in proportion. The

country about St. Louis to the north, south, and west, consists of prairies, extending fifteen miles in every direction, with some very handsome farm-houses, and numerous herds of cattle." *

The junction of the Missouri with the Mississippi, is thus described by Captain Basil Hall.

"The most striking circumstance observable at this confluence, is the difference in the colour and purity of the two rivers. The Missouri is nearly as thick as pea-soup, of a dirty, muddy, whitish colour; while the Mississippi, above the confluence, is of a clear light blue, not unlike that of the deep sea, or the Rhone at Geneva. At some places, it looked like the Tweed, when it has got a slight tinge of the moors; but when a glass of it was taken up, it always appeared as clear as any spring water. If a glass of the Missouri was, however, dipped up in like manner, it was perfectly turbid, worse than the rain puddles on a highway road, and in a few minutes a stratum of mud was formed in the bottom of the tumbler. The surface of the Mississippi, above the confluence, was clear of drift wood, while that of its companion was all covered over with half-burnt logs, trees with their branches torn off, and great rafts or floating islands of timber, drifted from the interior, sweeping and swirling along at a furious rate.

"The Missouri enters the Mississippi from the westward, nearly at right angles to it; and such is the impetuosity of its current, that it fairly drives the Mississippi over to the left or eastern bank. There were literally not above ten or twelve yards of clear water on that side of the river, while all the rest was muddy. The line of actual contact was particularly

* "Americans as they are," pp. 94—96. In 1828, the population of Missouri had risen to 106,200, including nearly 21,000 slaves.

interesting. It seemed as if the dirty Missouri had insinuated itself under the clear Mississippi; for we saw it boiling up at a hundred different places. First a small, curdling, white spot, not bigger than a man's hand, made its appearance near the surface. This rapidly swelled and boiled about, till, in a few seconds, it suddenly became as large as a steam-boat, spreading itself on all sides in gigantic eddies or whirlpools, in a manner that I hardly know how to describe, but which was amazingly striking. At other places, the two currents ran along side by side, without the least intermixture, like *oil* and water. But this separation never continued long, and the contaminating Missouri soon conquered the beautiful Mississippi. Indeed, the stain is never got rid of for one moment during the 1200 miles that the united stream runs over before it falls into the Gulf of Mexico." *

This Traveller ascended the Mississippi fifteen miles further, and landed at the Portage des Sioux; whence he drove across an extensive prairie, to the little town of St. Charles, on the left bank of the Missouri, twenty miles above its mouth. This was his *ultimatum*. In 1819, when the exploring party under Major Long traversed the plains of the Missouri, that town contained about 100 houses, two brick-kilns, a tan-yard, and several stores. Higher up, at the mouth of the Gasconade, was placed a projected town, which appears, from the maps, to have received the absurd name of Mexico. Opposite the lower mouth of the Osage is situated the little village of Cote-sans-dessein, then containing about thirty families, mostly French, and boasting of a tavern, a store, a blacksmith's shop, and a billiard-table. At the upper mouth of the Osage,

* Basil Hall, vol. iii. pp. 378, 9.

another town had been located, and the lots disposed of at St. Louis *. Nashville, Smithton, Rectorsville, and numerous other towns of similar character, containing from one to half a dozen houses each, were to be met with within a few miles above the Little Manito Rocks. "Almost every settler," says Dr. James, "who has established himself on the Missouri, is confidently expecting that his farm is, in a few years, to become the seat of wealth and business, and the mart for an extensive trade." Franklin, which had been then founded only two years and a half, contained, in 1819, about 120 log-houses, several framed dwellings of two stories, two of brick, thirteen sale shops, two smith's shops, two large team-mills, four taverns, two billiard-rooms, a court-house, a log-prison of two stories, a post-office, and a printing press issuing a weekly paper. Wheat fetched one dollar a bushel, and the price of labour was 75 cents. per day. This town is built on a low and recent alluvial plain, backed by a small stagnant creek; and it is doubtful whether its site will not one day be occupied by the river, which appears to be encroaching on its bank. That of St. Anthony, a town which existed thirteen years before, near Bon-Homme, is now occupied by the channel of the Missouri. Opposite to Franklin is Boonsville, then containing eight houses, but bidding fair, from its more advantageous position, to rival its neighbour. Charaton, at the mouth of the river of the same name,† contained about 50 houses and nearly 500 inhabitants, on a spot where, only two years be-

* Jefferson, which has been recently laid out as the seat of Government for this State, is situated on the southern side of the Missouri, near the mouth of the Osage river.

† This river, which is 75 yards wide at its mouth, is navigable, at high water, 150 miles.

fore, no permanent habitation had been established. Fort Osage, about 140 miles higher up, was, at the period of the Expedition, the extreme frontier post, and, we believe, remains so for the present.

There is something very extraordinary in the strong and seemingly irresistible impulse which is bearing the American population westward. A passion for migration prevails, quite apart from the mania of speculation or the desire of gain. In the inhabitants of the New States and Territories more especially, there is "a propensity to remove westward, for which," Dr. James admits, "it is not easy to account." * By the habit of frequent migration, it may indeed be well understood, how a fondness is acquired for an adventurous, unsettled life. But this love of the Backwoods seems native to the American, and may justly be termed a national passion. It has clearly its seat in the imagination; the result, in part, of an habitual familiarity with geographical ideas, and of associating those ideas with political magnitude. From the interest which every American takes in his Government, he connects a feeling of personal importance and conscious power with the extension of its territorial domain; and he expatiates in the boundless range with all the pride of freedom. What poetry and romance are to more refined spirits, the wilder-

* "A settler on the Missouri observed to us, that the land he at present occupied, was not better than that he had left in Tennessee; but he did not wish to spend all his life in one place; and he had learned from experience, that a man might live in greater ease and freedom where his neighbours were not very numerous. A person upwards of sixty years old, who had recently arrived at one of the highest settlements of the Missouri, inquired of us very particularly of the river Platte, and of the quality of the lands about its source. We discovered, that he had the most serious intention of removing with his family to that river."—James, vol. i. p. 98.

ness is to him,—an abstract region to which he can escape from the littleness and narrowness of the present, and find an ample field for the indefinite rovings of his mind. Geography exercises over his imagination the power of the fine arts; and to his eye, the map glows with all the richest colours of the canvass. The west is the site of futurity, and he travels in that direction in pursuit of it. That this is no exaggeration, will appear from the language of Americans themselves. "The solitude and silence which reign in the colossal forests of the Missouri," remarks one of their ablest writers, "strongly impress a meditative mind. But it is association, imagination,—it is history, prophecy, that imparts to this spot a thrilling interest, for every American. We have no remembrances like those which cluster about York Minster. England has no anticipations like those awakened at the junction of the Ohio with the Mississippi." * With those anticipations, are no unwelcome apprehensions ever blended?

* N. Amer. Rev. No. lxi. p. 426.

END OF THE UNITED STATES.

BRITISH AMERICA.

THE British possessions in North America comprise the whole of the territory north of the United States, with the exception of the Russian settlements on the north-west coast. The only settled countries, however, are the Canadas, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland.

The last-mentioned possession is the oldest British settlement. It was first visited by Sebastian Cabot in 1502, who carried several of the natives to England, and presented them to Henry VII. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in 1583, took formal possession of the Island in the name of the Queen of England. It subsequently became an object of contention between this country and France; but, at length, was entirely ceded to Great Britain by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713.

Newfoundland derives all its importance from the valuable cod-fisheries carried on upon its shores, and upon the banks which lie to the south-east of the island.* The interior, which has never been completely explored, is, for the most part, barren and

* The Grand Bank, which is described as a huge mountain under water, 100 miles from the south-eastern extremity of the island, is about 330 miles in length, and 75 in breadth. The depth of water upon it, varies from 15 to 60 fathoms. Not less than 3000 sail of small craft, belonging principally to Great Britain and the United States, have been annually employed in these fisheries. In 1813, the exports in fish and oil amounted to 1,100,000*l.* sterling.

mountainous, covered with vast forests of pine, which afford shelter to a great many wolves, deer, foxes, and bears.* The rivers and lakes abound with salmon, beavers, otters, and other amphibious animals. The British settlements are confined to the harbours and the shores of the bays. The population is very fluctuating, depending entirely on the state of the fisheries. In 1813, when they were most prosperous, it amounted to nearly 70,000.† St. John's, the capital, on the south-eastern coast, contained, in 1815, about 12,000 inhabitants. There are a few cattle, which occasionally find good pasturage in the glades, and some vegetables are raised; but the provisions and other necessaries are almost entirely imported from Great Britain and North America. The climate is exceedingly cold in winter, and the bays and harbours are then entirely frozen. The coasts are at all times subject to fogs, attended with continual storms of sleet and snow, the sky being usually overcast.‡ The island is 381 miles

* The Newfoundland dog is supposed to be a breed originally produced from an English dog and a native she-wolf; as the animal is ascertained not to have existed at the time of the first settlers.—Malte Brun, vol. v. p. 142.

† "This island," says M. Malte Brun, "which was so long considered the inhospitable residence of fishermen, has, within a few years, doubled its population and industry. The towns of Placentia and St. John, since their embellishment and extension, have assumed a European aspect. The population of Newfoundland was estimated, in 1789, at 25,000 inhabitants; it contains at present 75,000 souls. The predictions of Whitbourne and Gilbert have been verified, and the activity of the British nation has added another fine colony to the civilized world."—Malte Brun, vol. v. p. 142.

‡ These fogs are supposed to be produced by the currents that flow from the Antilles, and which, retaining a great portion of the heat imbibed in the tropical regions, are from 15° to 20° warmer than the surrounding water at the banks of Newfoundland. Hence, when the temperature of the atmosphere is colder than that of the currents, a vapour must rise from them.

in length, its breadth varying from 40 to 267 miles, and about 900 miles in circumference. It lies between the parallels of 47° and 52°, and is separated by the straits of Belle-isle from the coast of Labrador.

Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward's Island, and Cape Breton, were all comprehended under the general name of Acadia, which was given by the French to these settlements, where they had established themselves before they had occupied any portion of Canada. In 1621, the French having been previously dislodged, Sir William Alexander obtained a grant of the country by royal patent, from James I., under the name of Nova Scotia. By the treaty of St. Germains, in 1632, Charles I. restored to France, Canada, Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton, which were immediately taken possession of by the French Government; and from that unfortunate treaty may be dated the commencement of a long train of calamities to the country, and the origin of the subsequent provincial disputes. Nova Scotia, neglected by the French, fell again into the hands of the English in 1710, and was formally ceded to Great Britain by the treaty of Utrecht. By that of Aix-la-Chapelle, however, in 1748, Cape Breton was once more restored to the French. At that time, not the slightest progress had been made by the English in the settlement of Nova Scotia, and the British Government seemed to be unaware of the importance of the possession. But other counsels afterwards prevailed, and the conquest of Canada decided the fate of the other provinces. By the treaty of Paris in 1763, France renounced all Nova Scotia, Canada, Cape Breton, and the Islands in the River and Gulf of St. Lawrence.

At that time, the population of Nova Scotia was

estimated at 13,000. In 1772, it had risen to 17,000, exclusive of 2100 Acadians (or French settlers) in Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, and 865 Indians. In 1784, after the peace which established the independence of the United States, the western part of the province was erected into a separate Government, being appropriated to such of the German troops in the service of Great Britain as wished to establish themselves in America; on which account it received the appellation of New Brunswick. Cape Breton was at the same time made a distinct Government, but was, in 1820, re-annexed to Nova Scotia. In 1787, Nova Scotia was erected into an episcopal see, the Rev. Charles Inglis being appointed the first bishop. In 1817, the census of Nova Scotia Proper shewed the population to have risen to 82,053. In 1824, that of New Brunswick was 74,176. In 1828, that of Nova Scotia, exclusive of Cape Breton, was ascertained by census to be 123,848, having increased 41,795 within the preceding ten years. To this we may add, for Cape Breton, 30,000; and taking the population of New Brunswick at 150,000, we shall have a total of about 304,000 as the population of the two provinces.*

Nova Scotia Proper is a peninsula of irregular shape, stretching more than 300 miles from S.W. to N.E., and comprising an area of 15,617 square miles, or 9,994,880 acres. It is connected with the main continent by a narrow isthmus; having, on the north, Northumberland Strait, which separates it from Prince

* For the preceding historical and statistical details, we have been indebted chiefly to the recent work of a Nova Scotian, Haliburton's "Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia," 2 vols. Halifax, 1829. The population of New Brunswick is according to the estimate adopted by Malte Brun.

Edward's Island ;* on the N.E., the Gut of Canseau divides it from Cape Breton ; on the W., the Bay of Fundy runs up between its shores and the coast of New Brunswick ; and on the S. and S.E., it is washed by the Atlantic. It lies between the parallels of 43° and 46°, and between the meridians of 61° and 67°. "The face of the country is agreeably diversified with hills and dales ; but, though undulated, is not mountainous, the summit of the highest hill being not more than 600 feet above the level of the sea. There are several ridges of high land, which generally run N. and S., branching off into irregular and hilly land, terminating sometimes in high cliffs on the coast, and sometimes losing themselves in gentle declivities in the interior. In scenery, therefore, it partakes not of the sublime; but its numerous and beautiful lakes, its harbours studded with islands, its rivers, brooks, and streams, of which it boasts a great profusion, enliven and embellish the country, naturally picturesque from its variety of highlands and prairies. The appearance of the sea-coast is generally inhospitable, presenting a bold, rocky shore, and a poor and sterile soil, clothed with a thin and stunted growth of birch and spruce. The southern margin is rugged and broken, with very prominent features, deep indents and craggy islands, and ledges inserted in the sea; either formed by nature to resist the constant attacks of the western ocean, or more probably exposed by its action. The features of the northern coast are soft and free from rocks. The shores are every where indented with

* Originally called St. John's Isle: but, great inconvenience having arisen from the name being common to several places at no great distance, its name was changed in 1799, by an act of the local legislature, to Prince Edward's Island, in honour of H. R. H. the late Duke of Kent.

harbours, rivers, coves, and bays, in most places communicating with the waters of the interior of the country, scarcely any part of which is thirty miles distant from navigation. The most remarkable cliff on the whole coast, is the summit of Aspotagoen, which lies on the promontory that separates Mahone from Margaret's Bay. This land, which is about five hundred feet in perpendicular height, may be discerned at a great distance, and is generally the first object seen in approaching Halifax from Europe or the West Indies.

"The great inequality in the surface of Nova Scotia, is the cause of the existence of numerous lakes, which are scattered over it in every direction. Some of them are of very great extent, and, in many places, form almost a continued chain of water communication across the province. Lake Rossignol, to the westward of Liverpool, is said to exceed 30 miles in length. From the head of the Shubenacadie river, they almost reach the harbour of Halifax, and afford so extensive an inland navigation, that a company has been formed to complete the junction by means of a canal. Between Windsor and the Atlantic, there is a similar connexion in two different places; one between the St. Croix and Margaret's Bay, and the other between the head of the Avon and Chester Bay. Some of these lakes are extremely beautiful, containing, in general, one or more small islands, which are covered with a luxuriant growth of wood, and vary in every imaginable shape; while the hills with which they are generally environed, are often undulated in the most romantic manner, and, with few exceptions, well wooded. A large portion of the land on the southern coast, however, for many miles into the interior, is stony and barren, frequently devoid of trees,

and presenting a dreary and desolate waste. There are also some inconsiderable bogs, covered with peat and aquatic grasses. One of the largest of these is the Carriboo bog, the source of both the Horton and the Annapolis rivers, which flow thence in opposite directions, one discharging itself into the Basin of Menas, and the other into the Bay of Fundy.

"The arable lands bear, as yet, a small proportion to the wilderness parts of the country; and these, as in all other places in America, are chiefly confined to the neighbourhood of the rivers, harbours, and coasts; though small scattered settlements are to be found in the interior, where the lands are of sufficient value to invite cultivation. But the appearance of the old townships will vie with any part of America for beauty. The extended and well cultivated valley of the Annapolis river; the diversified and picturesque country of Horton and Cornwallis; the richness, extent, and variety of the views in the vicinity of Windsor; the unrivalled beauty of Mahone Bay, with its numerous islands; the whole country bordering on the Shubenaccadie; very many places in the eastern parts of the province; and the extensive townships of Newport and Yarmouth; cannot fail to excite the wonder of strangers, that they exist in a country which has always been represented as the most uninteresting part of America.*

* Haliburton, vol. ii., pp. 3—7. A patriotic partiality may be thought to have lent its colouring to this representation; but there is nothing that savours of exaggeration in the Author's general statements. "It has been the misfortune of Nova Scotia," he elsewhere remarks, "to have suffered alike from its enemies and friends. By the former, it has been represented as the abode of perpetual fog and unrelenting sterility; by the latter, as the land of the olive and the grape. Many of the loyalists who emigrated to this country, and experienced a total failure of their hopes, in

The soil of Nova Scotia is of very varying quality; but the following scale of twelve parts, is given by Mr. Haliburton as an approximation to the truth: Prime land, three parts; good ditto, four parts; inferior, three parts; incapable of cultivation, two parts; exclusive of lakes, ponds, and all other lands covered with water. The worst lands are chiefly on the southern coast. In the neighbourhood of Halifax, for instance, the soil is poor and rocky, and has only within a few years been partially brought under cultivation, under the stimulus of a bounty upon its produce.* Of the ten million of acres comprised in Nova Scotia Proper, the quantity of appropriated land at present amounts to 4,338,647, leaving at the disposal of the Crown, 5,656,233 acres. But, of this ungranted land, a large proportion consists of lakes, swamps, and barrens; and all that is valuable will, probably, be soon required by the expansive growth of the native population.†

The climate of Nova Scotia appears to be decidedly milder than that of Lower Canada or the northern

consequence of their precipitate and ill-judged attempt to make the formation of towns precede the cultivation of the land, returned in disgust to the United States; and attributed their misfortunes to the poverty of the soil, and the inclemency of the climate, rather than to their own indiscretion. The repining of these people converted the name of Nova Scotia into a proverb; and this *ultima Thule* of America became the terror of nurseries.·· Those persons who have attempted to counteract these erroneous impressions, have run into the opposite extreme; and the effect has been to overwhelm the deluded men who believed them, with ruin, disease, and death."—*Ib.* vol. ii. pp. 358, 9.

* "Land, notwithstanding, in the neighbourhood, sells high," Mr. Head says; "for people, as soon as they scrape together a little money by farming, flock to the sea-ports, and reverse the usual order of life, by finishing with commerce, instead of retirement."—Head, p 20

† Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 360

part of New England ; and, what is remarkable, there is a considerable difference between the opposite coasts of the Bay of Fundy. The inhabitants of St. John's, New Brunswick, Mr. Head states, " estimate a fortnight's difference in the seasons," to the advantage of their opposite neighbours on the eastern shores of the Bay. The weather and temperature at Halifax, are not far different from what they are on the shores of Lake Huron ; while at Quebec, the range of the thermometer is both higher in summer, and lower in winter. There is no season answering to an English spring. Winter, Mr. Haliburton says, is not unfrequently found " *lingering* in the lap of May ;" but, when vegetation commences, it is very rapid, and the whole face of nature becomes altered in a few days. About the 1st of June, the fields afford pasture; yet, the summer has not arrived. " Floating islands of ice, which infest the coast at this season, influence the climate considerably; and till these gradually recede, and, becoming porous, sink to the water's edge, the weather is never settled and warm. In the hottest day, whenever the wind happens to blow from the sea, it drives before it a dense, chilling fog, like a moving pillar, over the town. There, while it rests, the change of atmosphere is violent in the extreme; the very eyes feel wet and cold ; and the sea-breeze, which in England invites the invalid to the coast, to inhale its freshness, drives the Nova Scotian within the walls of his house. The evil, however, is of short continuance; for the ice-islands, on whose gelid surfaces these damp fogs have been engendered, melt by degrees, and, dispersing themselves over the ocean, cease, for the remainder of the year, to interfere with the sun's dominion." * The heat of the summer is generally

* Head, pp. 11, 12, *note*.

moderate and regular; it is greatest in August. The nights are seldom rendered oppressive by heat, but the dampness which is occasioned by the south-west winds in the dog-days, is very disagreeable.* The autumn is deemed decidedly the finest portion of the year in Nova Scotia. The mornings and evenings are cool, while the temperature of the air during the day, is not unlike that of June, and the sky is generally clear and cloudless. This season often continues, with occasional rains, and a progressive increase of cold, until about the 1st of January; there being seldom any severe weather till the 20th of December. But the earth is bound with frost from Christmas to the 1st of April. Some winters have been very mild, the navigation of the rivers remaining open till a late period.

"To say that the climate of Nova Scotia is not unfriendly to the human constitution," says Mr. Haliburton, "would be conveying but an inadequate idea of it. It is remarkably salubrious and conducive to health and longevity. A great proportion of the inhabitants live to a very advanced period. It is not uncommon to see people ninety years old, and many have attained to the age of a hundred. The emigrants from New England are peculiarly long-lived, a very large proportion of them reaching their eightieth year, in the full enjoyment of all their faculties. Until lately, this great longevity was also observable among the savages, especially the females, who lived to an extreme old age. But the use of ardent spirits, to which many of both sexes are addicted, has contributed to shorten the duration of their lives; and it is now rare to see an aged Indian." †

* "Fog prevails, in summer, on the southern shore, and at the mouth of the Bay of Fundy, but does not extend far inland."

† Haliburton, vol. ii. pp. 351—4.

Captain Basil Hall represents the maritime resources of the United States as inconsiderable, in comparison with those furnished by the coasts of the British provinces. "The American maritime line does not embrace above one-third of the distance that ours occupies; and it possesses no single port or bay (not excepting New York) to compare, in a naval point of view, with Halifax, and various other harbours of British North America, into which the largest line-of-battle ships can sail at all times of the year, and at all times of tide."* The number of fishermen and other thorough-bred seamen who crowd the shores of the British line of coast, is also greater than of those who frequent the coast of the Atlantic States. Yet, till very lately, the importance of these Colonies has been very inadequately appreciated in this country; and a narrow and impolitic system of commercial restrictions had greatly impeded their prosperity, and lessened their value. Already, the beneficial effects of a sounder and more liberal policy have been manifested, in the impulse given to colonial enterprise, the growing demand for British manufactures, and a strengthened attachment to the Mother Country.†

Halifax, the capital of Nova Scotia, situated on the west side of Chebucto Bay, was, in 1790, a town of only 700 houses, with 4000 inhabitants: it now contains 1580 houses, with a population of 14,439. The streets are regularly laid out; and Water-street is well paved and flagged, while the other main streets

* Basil Hall, vol. i. p. 407.

† Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 388. In the year 1828, of 2,094,357 tons of shipping which entered the ports of the United Kingdom, 400,841 tons, or more than one-fifth, were from the North American Colonies, and exclusively British. The number of seamen employed in this trade alone, was 18,714.

have been "Macadamized." There are two Episcopal churches, one Roman Catholic chapel, two Presbyterian places of worship, two Baptist, one Sandemanian, and one Methodist. The other public buildings consist of the government-house, the general's house, the province-house (a handsome edifice, in which are most of the public offices), the court-house, the military hospital (erected by the late Duke of Kent), and Dalhousie College. Six newspapers are published weekly, besides one at Pictou. The manufactures are at present in an infant state, most of them having been commenced since 1815. This is the only town which claims distinct notice. Annapolis, the original capital, appears never to have been any other than a very inconsiderable place. It contains a court-house, a church, a methodist chapel, a public school, and barracks; but its fortifications are dilapidated; the lumber and produce formerly transported from it, are now shipped at Bridge Town; and St. John, New Brunswick, has become the chief mart at which the inhabitants are supplied with European manufactures.

CANADA.*

THE most important of the British Colonies in North America, is, unquestionably, Canada, which forms the principal link in the chain of possessions extending from Nova Scotia and Newfoundland to the vicinity of Lake Winnipeg. Under this name, a vast region is

* The origin of the word Canada is involved in uncertainty. There is an absurd story, which refers the origin to the exclamation of some Spaniards, who are *said* to have visited the country before the French, and finding it barren, to have expressed their disappointment in the words *Aca nada*, Here is nothing, which the Indians caught up and repeated.—Talbot, vol. i. p. 57.

now comprised, which includes provinces differing not less widely in their climate and physical circumstances, than in their manners and customs, laws, religion, and government. Lower Canada, extending from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the rivers Uttawas and Abbitibbee, (between the meridians of 64° and 82°,) is bounded, northward, by Hudson's Bay and the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company (in about lat. 52°), and southward, by New Brunswick and the American States of Maine, Vermont, and New York. The St. Lawrence passes through nearly the whole length of the province in a north-easterly direction. Upper Canada has for its southern boundary, an imaginary line commencing at the village of St. Regis on the 45th parallel, and running S.W. up the middle of the St. Lawrence and Lakes Ontario and Erie; then, bending northward, it passes up the St. Clair, crosses Lakes Huron and Superior, and runs north-westward along the La Pluie, to the N. W. angle of the Lake of the Woods.* On the west and north-west, its limits have not been assigned, but it is bounded, northward, by the Hudson's Bay territory or Rupert's land, and eastward, by Lower Canada. The superficial extent of the two provinces cannot of course be correctly estimated, but it may be averaged at 1500 miles in length, and about 200 in breadth.

When Canada was conquered by the English in 1759, the number of its inhabitants was estimated at 70,000. The revolution which took place in the political circumstances of the country in consequence of that event, retarded for a few years the progress of population; but the change of allegiance was rendered as

* Distant from Quebec, Mr. Talbot says, not less than 1826 miles.

easy as possible, by the lenient policy which was adopted. The laws were allowed to remain unaltered while the inhabitants were secured in the undisturbed possession of their lands under the ancient feudal tenures, and in the free exercise of their religious rites. The consequence was a speedy improvement in the prosperity of the country, as indicated by the following table, furnished by Mr. Lambert:—

Date of Census.	*Population.*	*Acres in Cultivation.*	*Horses.*	*Horned Cattle.*	*Sheep.*
1765	76,275	764,604	13,757	50,329	27,064
1783	113,012	1,569,818	30,096	98,591	1,184,666
Increase in 18 years	36,737	805,214	16,339	48,262	57,602

In 1814, according to a regular census, Lower Canada alone contained 335,000 inhabitants, of whom 275,000 were descendants of the original French settlers. The inhabitants of the Upper Province, which, in 1783, contained only 10,000 settlers, including the frontier posts and garrisons, amounted in 1814, to 95,000; consisting chiefly of disbanded soldiers and emigrants from the United States and Great Britain.* In 1825, the population of Lower Canada had increased to 420,679; that of Upper Canada, to 211,713; forming a total of 732,392.† The total population of the Canadas, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, which, seventy years ago, did not much

* Mr. Gourlay estimated the population of Upper Canada in 1820, at 134,259, including 3259 Indians.

† In 1825, 2024 settlers were sent out by the British Government, at the cost of 21*l.* 5s. 4d. per head. The details of this experiment in emigration will be found in the Third Report of the Emigration Committee; and a favourable account of the progress of the New settlements is given by Capt. B. Hall, vol. i. pp. 280—346.

exceed 100,000 souls, cannot now be far short of 1,200,000, or twelve times that number.

For a general description of the country, we cannot do better than avail ourselves of the information furnished by Mr. Talbot, (son of the founder of the Talbot settlement in Upper Canada,) who resided for five years in the country.

"Nature has probably done more for Upper Canada, than for any other tract of country of equal extent; and art seems to conduct herself upon the modest principle, that it would be an act of unpardonable presumption in her, to attempt the further improvement of a country so greatly indebted to the kind indulgence of her elder sister. Here is the finest field for the exercise of human industry and ingenuity;—a soil not only capable of producing in abundance all the necessaries of life, but equal to the culture of its greatest luxuries;—a climate, not only favourable to the human constitution, but also eminently calculated for the cultivation of every species of grain and fruit. And yet, so great is the delusion under which many Europeans still labour, with respect to the real character of this fine country, that most of those who have not seen it, compare it in imagination with the deserts of Siberia; and receive all that travellers relate in its favour, with no more candour than can be expected from persons who evince no wish to be undeceived. Its real advantages, however, are now becoming so well appreciated by the inhabitants of Great Britain, that on a moderate calculation, it annually receives an accession of 8000 European settlers, in addition to those who pass over from the American confines.

"Lower Canada is not only a more picturesque country than the sister Province, but, having been

much longer settled, the roads are greatly superior, and the population more condensed. The principal road runs along the north bank of the St. Lawrence, which, as well as the southern bank, is thickly-settled. The farm-houses stand very close to each other,—a circumstance from which the French writers, in their exaggerated accounts of the country, have derived the romantic idea of villages 50 miles in extent. The land along the whole course of this noble river, from the point where it discharges itself into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, to within about 30 miles above Montreal, was divided, by order of the French King, into a certain number of seigniories, or lordships, which were granted to such enterprising persons as were desirous of seeking their fortunes in the Transatlantic forests. These seigneurs, or lords of manors, were bound to concede their possessions, in lots of about 200 acres, to such of the peasantry in the country as might be able to back their applications for land with respectable testimonials of their loyalty and good character. On obtaining farms, the peasantry were bound to become actual settlers; to clear, within a certain period, a specific portion of each lot; to keep open the public road; and to fulfil certain other conditions which will hereafter be detailed. Each of the lots runs along the course of the river about 38 English perches, and stretches backwards into the country about 1018. When the land which fronted the river was settled, the seigneurs formed other concessions in the rear of the former, which, in their turn, also became settled. But, as it is usual, in every part of the Canadas, to clear only the front of each lot, leaving 40 or 50 acres of wood in the rear for fuel and other domestic purposes, a stranger would hardly suppose that any settlements existed beyond the

visible boundaries of the cleared lands. This custom affords a good reason why the country still retains the same wooded appearance which it had a few years after its first settlement; and why you can seldom extend your view beyond the limits of a mile. On the banks of all the minor rivers which communicate with the St. Lawrence, similar settlements have been formed; and of late years, many townships have been surveyed and partially settled, which are far remote from navigable waters. The only picturesque scenery in the Province, is that which borders immediately on the rivers. The new townships of the Lower Province, exhibit, in every thing except the inferiority of the soil, an appearance very similar to those of Upper Canada. Gloomy forests, rail-fences, log-huts, and decayed stumps are all the inanimate objects which present themselves, in varying groupes, to diversify the prospect; and though you, now and then, hear the hammering of the wood-pecker, the growl of the bear, the monotonous note of the blue jay, or some other equally *attractive* music, their uncheering discord redoubles, instead of dispersing, the gloom which frequently arises within the minds of those who have been accustomed to more busy scenes and to more lively society.

"In Upper Canada, there are no mountains, and but very few hills. The only one of any note, is that which extends from the head of Quinte Bay, along the north side of Lake Ontario to its western extremity, whence it afterwards pursues an eastern direction until it embanks the river Niagara. The Canadians call this 'a mountain,' although its greatest altitude does not exceed 340 feet, and its general height is not more than 85 or 100 feet. This hill, notwithstanding its great extent, tends very little to

diversify the country. An aëronaut, in his towering flight, might possibly derive some pleasure from the contemplation of it, and might, from his lofty balloon, perceive many picturesque and romantic spots along its ridge; but many of these are concealed, by the intervention of impervious forests, from the observation of pedestrian or equestrian travellers.

"If the banks of the navigable rivers in Upper Canada were settled like those of the sister Province, the newly-cleared farms would greatly add to the beauty of the country. The Ottawas or Grand River, which empties itself into the St. Lawrence about 30 miles west of Montreal, is a very extensive and beautiful river. It is navigable by boats, almost from its source to its mouth. The Trent rises in the neighbourhood of the River Lakes, and after running a course of more than 100 miles, falls into the Bay of Quinte. The Grand River Ouse disembogues itself into Lake Erie, about 40 miles from its eastern extremity. It is navigable by small craft for about 50 miles; and some of the richest and most beautiful flats, or prairie lands, in the Province, border on its banks, and are occupied by the Indians of the Six Nations. The river Thames rises in a part of the country yet unexplored; and after winding along in a serpentine course of more than 200 miles, falls into Lake St. Clair. On the banks of this fine river, lie thousands of acres of flats, similar to those on the Grand River. This soil is formed by the annual overflowing of the river, and is not, I am confident, inferior in richness to any in the universe, not even excepting the river-bottoms on the Ohio. It produces the most fruitful crops of Indian corn imaginable; but is too rich for wheat, oats, or any common grain. Potatoes, turnips, and all kinds of culinary plants and

vegetables, are cultivated on these flats with astonishing success. Besides these rivers, there are innumerable fine brooks and rivulets running through every township. These are all called 'creeks' by the Americans; for what reason, or by what authority, I have never been able to ascertain.

"The most improved parts of Upper Canada are, from the line which divides it from the Lower Province, to the head of the Bay of Quinte, a distance of nearly 150 miles; from Fort George to Queenstown for seven miles along the Niagara river; and in the neighbourhood of Sandwich and Amersburgh. Every other part appears but in its infancy; and yet, young as are the settlements, and great as were the difficulties with which the first inhabitants had to contend, in their efforts to redeem the wilderness from its sterility, you observe not a joyless countenance among them." *

The southern extremity of Upper Canada forms a peninsula, separated from the rest of the province by the rivers Severn and Trent, which are connected by a chain of small lakes, and distinguished by the fertility of the soil and the peculiar mildness of the temperature. On the banks of Lake Erie, the climate is almost as mild as that of Philadelphia.

* Talbot's "Five Years' Residence in the Canadas," vol. i. pp. 150—155. To this work, the reader may be referred for the fullest description of the country. The military settlements of Perth, Richmond, and Lanark, in Bathurst district, Upper Canada, which "have been so fortunate as to engross the almost exclusive attention of Government," are more particularly described in "Hints to Emigrants" by the Rev. William Bell, minister of the Presbyterian Congregation at Perth, U. C. The situation is represented by Mr. Talbot to have been injudiciously chosen; but "the meliorating effects which human industry gradually produces on the rugged face of nature, are beheld with satisfaction in several parts of the district."

Lower Canada is subject to the extremes of cold and heat. The thermometer is sometimes as high as 103° in summer, and in winter 36° below zero. These extremes, however, do not last above two or three days at a time. The mean of summer heat is from 75° to 80°, and that of the cold in winter about 0. Frost begins in October; but the heat of the sun still keeps the weather tolerably warm during the day. During the early part of November also, the weather is sometimes mild, with frequent rain and snow. Towards the close of the month, the cold increases, and one snow-storm succeeds another, often attended by violent hurricanes from the frozen regions of Hudson's Bay and Labrador, till the whole face of the country is deeply covered. It is esteemed very hazardous for vessels to sail for Quebec later than about the 1st of December. About the middle of this month, the boisterous weather is succeeded by a more serene sky, with intenser cold; and sleighs and carioles pass over the hardened snow with great facility. The months of March and April are in general very hot, the sun beginning to have great power, which is considerably heightened by the reflection of the snow and ice. The snow begins to melt early in April, and by the second or third week, it is gone. The ice in the river seldom totally disappears before the first week in May. In the five ensuing months, May to September, are comprised the spring, summer, and autumn of Canada. The rest of the year, Mr. Lambert says, may be said to consist wholly of winter.* "The month of Oc-

* Yet, Mr. Lambert asserts, that the people of Great Britain suffer more from the cold than the people of Canada. He explains himself by referring to the better provision the Canadians make against the rigours of winter, in their warmer dress and their stoves. These, however, he adds, often heat the body beyond what the

tober is sometimes agreeable; but nature has then put on her gloomy mantle, and the chilling blasts from the north-west, remind the Canadians of the approach of snow and ice. November and April are the two most disagreeable months. In the one, the snow is falling; in the other, it is going away. Both of them confine the people to their houses, and render travelling uncomfortable, and even dangerous.....The fall of the year is the most agreeable season. The sultry weather is then gone, and the night frosts have entirely destroyed or palsied the efforts of the venomous insects. The inhabitant of Canada has then no house-flies, no sand-flies, no musquitoes, nor *coups de soleil* to fear. He can then, and then only, walk abroad, range the woods, or sit at home with ease and comfort to himself." *

Canada is not the only country in which the peace of man and beast is disturbed by these insect enemies, whose winged armies oppose a more formidable resistance to the civilized intruder, than the bear and wolf, or fiercer Indian, or dreaded rattle-snake. In this country, however, they amount to a real plague. The Canadian stoves serve to keep alive in winter, one species of these tormentors, whose incredible numbers, when revived by the heat of the sun, render them a disgusting nuisance. The musquitoes are the scourge of every new settlement; but, where the woods are cleared, their numbers are generally lessened, or they

climate requires, debilitating the frame, so that the Canadians feel the cold more than Englishmen do on their first arrival. "The constant use of stoves, renders them very little better than hot-house plants during winter; and in summer, they are exposed to a burning sun."—Lambert, vol. i. p. 119.

* Lambert, vol. i. pp. 125—8. See also Talbot, vol. i. pp. 240

disappear, unless in the neighbourhood of marshes or stagnant waters.*

Quebec and Montreal, in Lower Canada, and Kingston, in the Upper Province, are the only towns that claim a distinct notice. Between the former two, on the northern bank of the St. Lawrence, the greater part of the French population is concentrated. Of Quebec, the capital of the Lower Province, as it was of New France, Lieutenant Hall gives the following description.

QUEBEC.†

"The city of Quebec is built on the northern extremity of a narrow strip of high land, which follows the course of the St. Lawrence for several miles, to its confluence with the Charles. The basis of this height is a dark slate-rock, of which most of the buildings in the town are constructed. Cape Diamond terminates the promontory, with a bold precipice towards the St. Lawrence, to which it is nearly perpendicular, at the height of 320 feet: it derives its name from the crystals of quartz found in it, which are so abundant that, after a shower, the ground glitters with them. The lower town is built round the foot of these heights,

* Mr. Talbot luxuriates in the description of these nuisances; and, were not his representation borne out by Lambert and others, it might be suspected of exaggeration. There is, no doubt, a considerable variation in different parts of the country, as to the prevalence of these annoyances. Mr. Bell gives a much more favourable statement ("Hints," &c. pp. 185, 6) as to Upper Canada. While all these writers mention the fire-fly, none of them advert to the reported fact, that this insect preys upon the musquito.

† The name of the city is said to be derived from the Algonquin word *Quebeio* or *Quebec*, which signifies narrow or contracted, in allusion to the contraction of the river between Quebec and Point Levi.—Lambert, vol. i. p. 31.

without the fortifications, which, with the upper town, occupy their crest, in bleak pre-eminence: the former, snug and dirty, is the abode of thriving commerce, and of most of the lower classes employed about the navy. . .

"Among the principal buildings, the Government-house, or Castle of St. Louis, may take precedence, being a thin blue building, which seems quivering, like a theatrical side-scene, on the verge of the precipice, towards the St. Lawrence: its front resembles that of a respectable gentleman's house in England: the interior contains comfortable family apartments. For occasions of public festivity, there is another building on the opposite side of the court-yard, much resembling a decayed gaol. The furniture is inherited, and paid for by each successive governor. The grand entrance to the Chateau is flanked, on one side, by this grim mouldering pile, and on the other, by the stables, with their appropriate dung-hills. There is a small garden on the bank of the river, commanding, as does the Chateau itself, an interesting view of the opposite shores of the St. Lawrence. These rise boldly precipitous, clothed with pine and cedar groves, and studded with white villages, and detached farms; beyond which, the eye reposes on successive chains of wooded mountains, fading blue in the distant horizon; meanwhile, the river below is spreading broadly towards the north, until it meets and divides round the Isle of Orleans.

"In front of the Chateau is an open space of ground, with great capabilities of being converted into a handsome square; but at this season (May), a formidable barrier of bog-land, intersected with rivulets of snow-water, is all that it presents to the bewildered pedestrian, who endeavours vainly to steer for the castle-

gate. On one side of it stands the Protestant cathedral church, an unfinished building, much more than large enough for the congregation usually assembled in it. In style and arrangement, it resembles a London parochial church, and has nothing about it reproachable with earthly beauty: there is a good organ, but mute for want of an organist; and as there is no choir, the heavy flatness of the service amply secures the English church from all danger of being crowded with the overflowings of its neighbour, the Catholic cathedral, in which are still displayed, with no inconsiderable degree of splendour, the enticing ceremonies of the Romish worship. I was present at the service on Easter Sunday. A train of not less han fifty stoled priests and choristers surrounded the tapered altar: the bishop officiated in *plenis pontificalibus*, nor lacked the mitre 'precious and aurophrygiate;' while the pealing organ, incense rolling from silver censers, and kneeling crowds, thronging the triple aisles, presented a spectacle, on which few are rigid enough, either in belief or unbelief, to look with absolute indifference. . .

"In Catholic countries, there are few public buildings, either for use or ornament, but are in some way connected with religion, and most frequently with charity. There are several charitable Catholic institutions in Quebec: the principal of these is the 'Hotel Dieu,' founded in 1637, by the Duchess D'Aiguillon, (sister to Cardinal Richelieu,) for the poor sick. The establishment consists of a superior and thirty-six nuns. The 'General Hospital' is a similar institution, consisting of a superior and forty-three nuns, founded by St. Vallier, bishop of Quebec, in 1693, for 'Poor Sick and Mendicants.' It stands about a mile from the town, in a pleasant meadow watered by the Charles. The style of building is

simple, and well suited to the purposes of the establishment, consisting only of ' such plain roofs as piety could raise.' . .

" The Ursuline Convent, founded in 1639, for the education of female children, stands within the city. It has, both in its interior decoration, and the dress of its inhabitants, a greater appearance of wealth than the General Hospital and Hotel Dieu. The Seminary is a collegiate institution, for the gratuitous instruction of the Catholic youth of Canada. The number of scholars is commonly about 200. The expenses of professors, teaching, &c. are defrayed by the revenue arising from the Seignoral domains belonging to the establishment. The course of studies here qualifies for ordination. There is a small museum, or ' *Cabinet de physique*,' which seems in a growing condition ; it contains, besides natural curiosities, electrical apparatus, telescopes, and other instruments of science. The library is somewhat too theological ; there is a small *hell** attached to it, in which I perceived our Common Prayer Books, Testaments, &c. in company with many divines, as well Catholic as Protestant, Bayle, and a few travellers and philosophers, but the greater part theologians.

" The old palace, besides the chambers for the Council and House of Assembly, contains a good public library. The nature of the collection may be defined, generally, as the reverse of that of the Seminary library : there is a good assortment of historical works, of a standard quality, and of travels ; but no classics, probably because none of the inhabitants affect to read them. A library was also on the eve of being established, by the officers of the staff and garrison ; but

* The name given to that part of a Catholic Library allotted to the reception of heretical and prohibited works.

the society of Quebec is generally on too limited a scale, and too exclusively military or commercial, to foster any considerable spirit of literature or science. An attempt was made during Sir G. Prevost's administration, to establish a society on the plan of the Royal Institution; but it fell to the ground, for want of a sufficiency of efficient members, eleven being the supposed necessary quantum to begin with. Nor is this seeming scarcity surprising, when we consider that the short Canadian summer is appropriated to business, and that during the tedious winter, the men are never tired of dinners, nor the ladies of dancing." *

The fortifications of the city are more particularly described by Mr. Duncan.

"On the south and east, the precipice of rock on which the city stands, is in most places perfectly inaccessible, while the more practicable points admit of easy and effectual defence. On the north, the banks of the St. Charles are low, shallow, and muddy; effectually securing the town from the approach of ships of war, or the erection of hostile works; both of which, besides, would, in this situation, be under the fire of the batteries along the brow of the rock. The only vulnerable point is on the west, adjoining to the plains of Abraham.

"The citadel, upon the highest part of Cape Diamond, may be said to be the nucleus of the works which have been erected to protect this side of Quebec. No strangers, unless by very rare and special permis-

* F. Hall, pp. 58—66. Lambert may still be referred to for a full and particular description of the manners and amusements of the Canadians, the state of society in Quebec and Montreal, and the characteristics of the *habitans*. He travelled in 1806—1808. Our limits will not admit of entering into minute detail; and the more brief accounts of subsequent travellers have been therefore preferred to his diffuse, though amusing description.

sion from the highest authorities, nor in general any but the military, are permitted to enter the citadel. I understand, however, that there is really nothing extraordinary to be seen. Its defences are of the strongest kind, its guns of the largest calibre; and magazines are embraced within its circuit, which might enable the garrison to make a final stand, even were the whole range of the outer works reduced by an enemy. The highest point within the citadel is Brock's battery, which was erected during last war, and commands, it is said, all the works on this side of the town. From the citadel, which is immediately over the St. Lawrence, enormous walls cross the plain, extending down towards the St. Charles. These walls have all the additional aid of outer-works, ditch, glacis, and covered way. Strong bastions project at intervals; and in whatever direction you look, heavy cannon converge, so as to meet the assailant at every turn, both with a direct and a cross fire. There are two gates on this side, St. John's and St. Louis's; but every approach to them is fortified with such jealous care, that one cannot conceive a possibility of their ever being entered but by consent of the garrison. The wall at each gate is said to be about fifty feet in thickness. Within the walls and between the two gates is a fine sloping bank, or esplanade, of considerable extent. Other batteries and lines of defence are continued round the brow of the rock, on both sides, towards the lower town; but, excepting in the neighbourhood of the Prescott gate, there appears to be comparatively little occasion for them. Between this gate and the St. Charles, is the grand battery, commanding the bay and a great part of the harbour.

"Upon the whole, Quebec may be regarded as pretty nearly impregnable. The walls are so high, that esca-

lade is hopeless; so thick, that a breach seems impracticable; and while Britain retains its naval superiority in the river, blockade is out of the question. The length and severity of the winter also act as a powerful auxiliary, for field operations could scarcely then be carried on. I have heard it indeed said, that, in the winter nights, the sentinels on the ramparts are relieved every fifteen minutes, so overpowering is the intensity of the cold." *

Of the state of society in Quebec, at the time of his visit, this intelligent Traveller gives a very unfavourable account, especially in a religious aspect. The Sabbath was openly disregarded by the Protestants, the Roman Catholics being by far more attentive to its external observance. There are four Protestant places of worship; an Episcopalian, a Scotch Presbyterian, an Independent, and a Methodist; but there was not a Protestant minister, either in the city or the province, capable of preaching in the language of the Canadian natives. "Upon the whole," he says, "the religious aspect of Lower Canada, is very much the reverse of what, as a Briton and a Christian, I should wish it to be." † The population of Quebec was estimated, in 1815, at 18,000.

MONTREAL.

MONTREAL, the second town in Canada, is built upon the island of the same name, (about 32 miles in length,) immediately below the junction of the Ottawas

* Duncan, vol. ii. pp. 213—217.

† Since the date of these Travels, some progress has been made in the establishment of schools and Bible Societies; so that it may be hoped that Protestantism wears at present a somewhat more respectable aspect, and is better represented in its ministers.

and the St. Lawrence, 180 miles above Quebec. The customary mode of travelling, formerly, was by calashes, along the bank of the river, where there was a regular establishment of post-houses under Government regulation. But this is now superseded by steamboats of a very large size, which are constantly employed between the two cities. The river here bends, so as to flow very nearly northward; and Montreal, with its suburbs, extends for about two miles along the western bank.

"From the opposite shore," says Mr. Duncan, "the town has a showy appearance; and in summer, the circumjacent scenery is exceedingly beautiful. Behind and to the left of the city, rises the mountain from which it originally took its name; not a conical eminence, but a swelling, semi-circular ridge, with its concave surface towards the stream, and placed like a rampart behind the city to shield it in winter from the unkindly blast. A dense forest covers the greater part of the hill, except where space has been cleared for a few neatly-built mansions, whose bright tin roofs glitter in the sunbeams. Behind one of the most remote of these, a monumental column rises from among the trees. Between the bottom of the eminence and the spires of the city, a thin, blue smoke ascends from part of the suburbs which the sinking of the ground conceals from view. In front of its dark-coloured outline are the tall masts of merchantmen from the Thames, the Mersey, and the Clyde, huge steam-boats with double chimneys, river craft of all sizes, and enormous rafts of timber. In the middle of the stream reposes the Island of St. Helena, encircled by a groupe of smaller ones; while the unceasing sound of a small rapid which surrounds them, falls gently on the ear. To the right and left rolls, the

majestic flood of the St. Lawrence, about two miles in width, and although yet 500 miles from the ocean, capable of floating on its surface vessels of 600 or 700 tons burden.

"The city, unfortunately, does not gain much upon you by a nearer inspection. The streets are for the greater part most inconveniently narrow, and the foot-walks are in many places incumbered with cellar doors and other projections. The dark-coloured limestone of which the houses are built, has a dull effect; and the massive iron shutters, folded back from almost every window and door, considerably increase the gloom. The bright tin which covers the spires and roofs, has decided utility to recommend it; but, in warm sunshine, its reflection is painful to the eyes, and at all times it has an air of flaunting vulgarity. Blue slate harmonizes much more agreeably with the azure of the sky, but it will not stand, as I have been told, the intense cold which prevails in winter. The tin is put on in rows, not parallel, but obliquely to the eaves of the house; the nails which fasten it are carefully overlapped, and no where is the slightest degree of rust to be seen.

"Between the older part of the city and the mountain, some wider streets have been laid out, which will greatly improve the general features of Montreal; and I was astonished to observe, on my second visit, the great number of buildings which have started up, in various directions, since the period of my first. The town is obviously increasing with rapidity, and a number of very splendid mansions have lately been erected on the slope of the mountain, which would be regarded as magnificent residences, even by the wealthy merchants of the mother country.

"Notre Dame-street, the best in the older part of

the town, lies nearly parallel to the river, and is about three quarters of a mile in length. It is, however, unfortunately broken into two separate portions by the principal French church, which, like St. George's in Glasgow, has been awkwardly set down in the very centre of the street. In making a turn round this church, the street widens into a small square called the Place d'Armes.

"Montreal possesses a few public buildings, civil, military, and ecclesiastical; the neatest of which, for none of them can be called elegant, are the new Court House and the Jail. Behind the Court House is the Champ de Mars; a very level piece of ground of considerable extent, which is a favourite promenade in the summer evenings, and the principal scene of military displays. Opposite to the Jail, is a monument to the memory of Lord Nelson, consisting of a Doric column, springing from a square pedestal, and surmounted with a statue of the Admiral. Upon the four sides of the pedestal are basso-relievo representations of his principal achievements, surrounded with inscriptions and allegorical figures. The column is of stone, the statue and bas-reliefs of composition. It stands at the top of a pretty steep street at right angles to the river; his Lordship looks towards the river, because the best view of the monument is obtained from the bottom of the declivity; but it unfortunately happens that the principal street of the city passes behind him, and he has consequently turned his back upon it and all that it contains.

"The Episcopal church, a recent erection, was intended to be a splendid one, with a towering spire; but the *wherewithal* was exhausted ere the spire grew up, and for the present, a covering of boards serves to indicate where it is intended to be.

"The population of Montreal, notwithstanding the mixture of British merchants,* has still an aspect decidedly French, and that language assails your ear in every quarter. The dress of the lower orders is somewhat peculiar. The women and children have a kind of quaint formality in the shape of their clothes. The men, in place of a hat, wear a red or blue night-cap of a thick texture, with a parti-coloured worsted sash around their waist, and shoes fashioned like the Indian moccassins, but of thicker leather. They are great smokers, and are seldom to be seen without a small black pipe in their mouths, not unlike the Scottish *cutty*. The politeness of the common people is quite characteristic of their descent: a couple of carmen cannot address each other in the street without pulling off their caps, and 'Bon jour, Monsieur.' The Romish priests, who are seen gliding quietly along, are habited in a close black robe, buttoned up in front, with a small scull-cap under an ordinary hat, and the lapels of a small black band, with white edges, depending below the chin. The students of the Seminary wear a long blue surtout, with seams of white cloth, and a sash of coloured worsted round the waist, gathered into a knot in front.

"Besides the varieties of costume to which I have alluded, a few Indians are almost always in the streets from the Caughnawaga village. Some of them have a squalid and dirty appearance; but others, and more particularly the females, are very decently attired. I have indeed seen some of them with an ample mantle of fine blue cloth, over garments of India silk. They

* "Of the merchants of Montreal, the greater proportion are, I believe, Scotch. A few Englishmen mingle with them; and there are also a considerable number of Americans from the New England States."

are fond of silver ornaments, and have generally a broad ring round their hats, and a large disk perforated with holes hanging on their breast."

There are now no monasteries in Canada. A large building, formerly occupied by the Recollets, is now converted into a barrack. There are two academical institutions connected with the Romish Church; "the Seminary" (founded in 1657) and the New College. These academies, although in many respects useful, yet tend to perpetuate both the French language and the Romish religion, and consequently to prevent the thorough amalgamation of the French inhabitants with those of British descent. Unhappily, however, there is no English college. There are two nunneries (*Les Sœurs Gris* and *La Congrégation de Notre Dame*, or Black Nuns,) and a *Hotel Dieu*, conducted by a *Supérieure* and thirty-six nuns, for the reception of the sick and diseased poor. There are four Protestant places of worship; an Episcopalian, a Scotch Presbyterian, a Burgher, and a Methodist; but, judging from the slight observance of the Sabbath, the efficiency of the pulpit instruction appeared to Mr. Duncan very equivocal.

"As to the society of Montreal," says Mr. Duncan, "and the style of living which prevails, strangers are very likely to differ somewhat in their opinions. If you enjoy good eating, card-playing, dancing, music, and gayety, you will find abundance of all. If literary society is your choice, you will discover, I am afraid, but little; and if religious, still less. I was particularly struck with the extent to which card-playing and the dice-box abound: they seem indeed to be almost the only resource in an evening party, if it is not professedly a dancing one. That the citizens of Montreal are hospitable and kind in their attention to a

stranger, I bear my willing and most grateful testimony; but unless the traveller is prepared to enjoy such expedients for recreation, he must lay his account with being occasionally somewhat singular in company. The literature of the city may be estimated by the fact, that there is at present but one book-shop in it whose collection of English authors has even moderate claims to respectability; a few others are to be found with Romish prayer-books and monkish legends, but their shelves can boast of little else except a few articles of stationery. We cannot expect that the demand for books here should be at all equal to that at home, or even in the United States: among the great majority of the Canadians, none but a few of the females are able to read. And of the British residents, the greater part are eagerly intent upon the acquisition of wealth, and in general, anticipate a return to their native country to spend it; and if in their hours of intermission from other pursuits, they can glance at a novel, or a fashionable poem, it is all that in most cases is attempted." *

Montreal has hitherto belonged to Lower Canada; but Captain Basil Hall mentions a project that had long been agitated, for annexing it to the Upper Province, which had suffered materially from the want of a port of her own. "Until the only sea-port she can possibly obtain, be included within her boundary," remarks this Traveller, "and her Legislature be thus vested with efficient control over the commercial resources of the colony, that province must be virtually separated from us and from the rest of the world. Two-thirds of the exports from the river St. Lawrence, are the produce of Upper Canada; and this *ratio* will

* Duncan, vol. ii. pp. 171, 2.

probably go on increasing in her favour. The Lower Canadians might well be contented with the magnificent port of Quebec." * According to recent accounts, this most desirable arrangement is likely to be carried into effect. The Island of Montreal is to be annexed to the province of Upper Canada, but not the intermediate country between Montreal and the present boundary line. It is also reported, that the seat of government for Upper Canada, is to be removed from York, the present contemptible and ill-chosen capital,† to Kingston.

KINGSTON

Is favourably situated, both for commercial and for warlike operations. It stands at the lower end or north-eastern extremity of Lake Ontario, where the waters contract into the commencement of the channel of the St. Lawrence; and is the great concentrating point of intercourse between Montreal and all the settlements along the Great Lakes. The harbour is deep, safe, and commodious, one of the best on the Lakes; and the natural advantages of the position have been greatly strengthened by fortifications. Its appearance from the water is described by Mr. Dun-

* B. Hall, vol. i. p. 328.

† "The burning of York by the Americans during last war, with the public buildings, was the ostensible justification of our conduct at Washington. It certainly sounds like a matter of importance, when we hear of the *Capital of Upper Canada* being destroyed, and the buildings appropriated to the *two Houses of Parliament*; but when the Capital is found to contain little more than a single small street, and the Parliament-house is discovered to have been only a wooden one, the transition is something like that from the sublime to the ridiculous."—Duncan, vol. ii. p. 111. See p. 180 of our first volume.

can as very imposing. "The town extends about three quarters of a mile, along a point of land at the narrow entrance to a small bay; a peninsula intervenes between this and a second little bay, beyond which is a corresponding projection on the opposite shore.

"Within the entrance to the larger bay is the harbour of the town, which is generally crowded with schooners, Durham boats, and batteaux. The intermediate peninsula is occupied by the dock-yard, where the frames of two 74 gun ships were on the stocks, and beyond them, rose piles of heavy cannon, gun-carriages, and shot, with an armoury and various buildings connected with the naval department. In the basin which succeeds, were six or eight ships of war, dismantled and laid up; among which are, one of 100 guns, two frigates of 50, and one of 36. On the brow of the projecting point below this basin, is a strong fort, from whose battlements the British colours are displayed. Smaller batteries line the shore in front of the dock-yard and the town, and contribute not a little to the gallant bearing which the settlement exhibits.

"Kingston is built partly of dark stone, and partly of wood. The wooden houses predominate, but there are enough of the others to give the town a character decidedly different from that which prevails among those in the United States. Its public buildings consist of a Government and Court House, an Episcopalian and a Romish church, with a market house, jail, and hospital. The inn at which I lodged, was a most comfortable one; and in its internal management, the same system prevailed with which travellers are familiar at home."*

* Duncan, vol. ii. pp. 113, 14.

From Kingston to Prescott, 67 miles, the river is descended by schooners and sloops; but between Prescott and Montreal, 130 miles, there are numerous rapids, which are impassable by any thing larger than a *batteau*, or a Durham boat. These rapids are from half a mile to nine miles in length, and require regular pilots. They have been often described, and the burden of Moore's Canadian Boat Song,

"The Rapids are near, and the day-light's past,"

have familiarized their name at least to every one. A canal, however, is nearly completed, from Kingston to the Ottawas river, by which this navigation may be entirely avoided.

"The Rideau Canal, as this extensive work is called, is formed almost entirely of a string of lakes joining one another; so that in its whole length, which is 133 miles, there are not above 20 of regular canal work. The rest is accomplished by lakes, by locks, and by a series of dams thrown across the valleys, which, by confining the water, produce artificial reservoirs, many miles in length, on which steam-boats can navigate without injury to the banks.

"This important military work, undertaken at the expense of the British Government, is intended especially for the transport of troops and military stores at all times, but will be more particularly useful during any future contest with the United States. In order to prevent the possibility of our communications between Lower and Upper Canada being interfered with in time of war, it has been deemed right to carry this canal across a part of the country removed to a considerable distance back from the frontier; and so situated, in other respects, that no probable incur-

sion of the enemy could destroy it, or even interrupt the passage of boats." *

Owing, however, to "the round-about course" taken by this canal, there is little chance, our Traveller observes, of its being used for commercial purposes in peace, although, in time of war, it would become the great channel of intercourse; a ship-canal round the Rapids of the St. Lawrence, is still desirable, therefore, for the commercial interests of the country.

Here we must terminate our rapid sketch of this important Colony, still so imperfectly known and partially explored; a country which, in spite of its long winter and its insect annoyances, holds out so many solid advantages to the settler, and promises to afford a happy asylum to successive thousands under a judicious system of emigration. "The facilities and intrinsic value of Canada," remarks Mr. Hodgson, "the fertility of its soil, the beauty of its scenery, and the salubrity of its climate, greatly surpassed my previous ideas, and, as far as I had an opportunity of judging, the ideas generally entertained in England. Americans also appear to me universally to return from Canada with far higher ideas of its importance than they had before conceived."

Adverting to the possibility of abandoning this important possession, the Author warmly deprecates the idea of England's relinquishing so fair a portion of the globe;—"a beautiful, romantic country, watered by a river into which the tide flows more than 400 miles; which is navigable for 580 miles by ships of 500 tons burthen; and which, after a course of nearly 3000 miles, (the outlet of inland seas whose area is com-

* Basil Hall, vol. i. p. 231.

puted at 96,000,000 acres or 150,000 square miles; expands at its mouth, to the width of 90 miles, and discharges, according to the estimate of the American geographers, one half more water than the Mississippi."*

So far as regards the empty pride of territorial possession, Great Britain, the Mistress of the Indus and the Ganges, might well afford to resign her claim to the St. Lawrence. Endowed with the commerce of both Indies, and possessed of such vast unoccupied territories as Australia and Southern Africa, she could not very materially suffer from the alienation of her North American dependencies. But the Canadians are well aware of the benefits they derive from the political protection of this country; nor is there any probability of their wishing to renounce that alliance, in order to enjoy the equivocal benefits of the American Federacy. We trust, however, that no future cause of collision will arise between English America and American England. Policy, religion, the voice of Nature and of God, enjoin the strictest amity between the two grand portions of that favoured nation, to whom Divine Providence appears to have committed the moral empire of both hemispheres.

* Hodgson, vol. ii. pp. 55, 6.

THE END.

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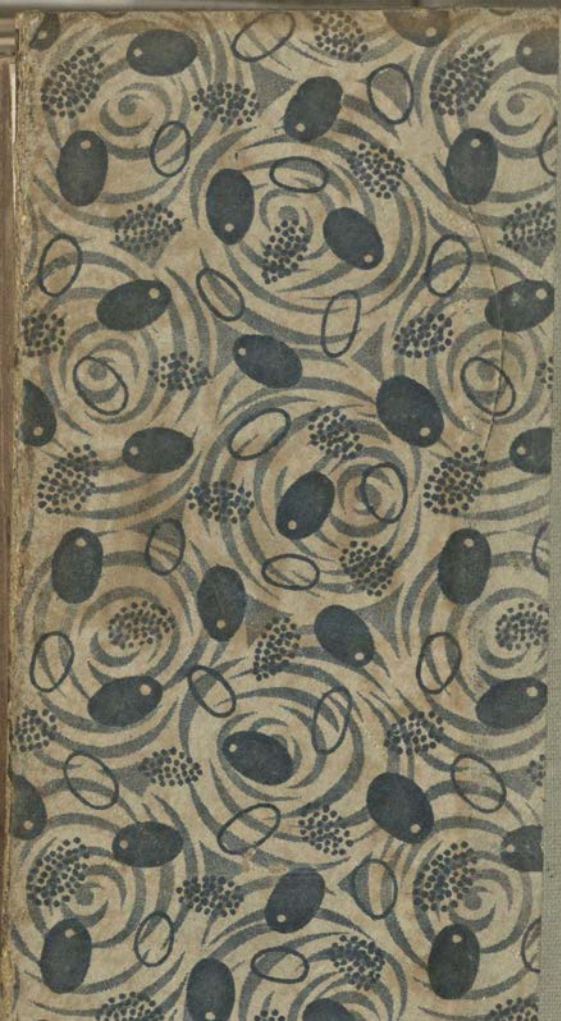
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